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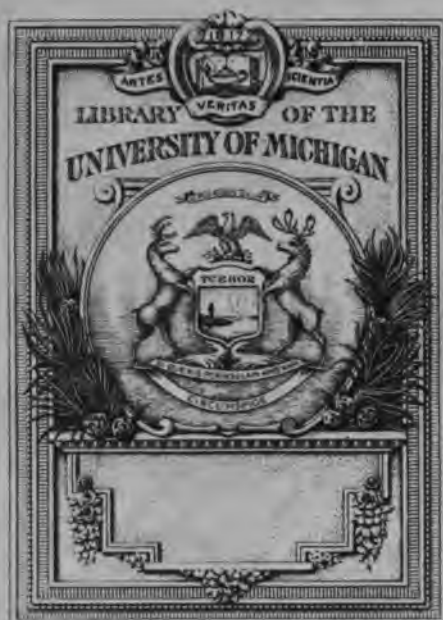
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THE
ECLECTIC REVIEW,

MDCCCXXXVIII.

JULY—DECEMBER.

NEW SERIES.

VOL. IV.

Φιλοσοφίαν δὲ οὐ τὴν Στωικὴν λέγω. οὐδὲ τὴν Πλατωνικὴν, ἢ τὴν Ἐπικουρεῖαν τε καὶ Ἀριστοτελικήν· ἀλλ' ὅσα εἴρηται παρ' ἐκάστη τῶν αἵρεσέων τούτων καλῶς, δικαιοσύνην μετὰ εὐσεβοῦς ἐπιστήμης ἐκδιδάσκοντα, τοῦτο σὺμπαν το' ΕΚΛΕΚΤΙΚΟΝ φιλοσοφίαν φῆμι.

CLEM. ALEX. Strom. L. 1.

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THE
ECLECTIC REVIEW,
FOR JULY, 1838.

Art. I. *Lectures on the Establishment and Extension of National Churches.* Delivered in London, from April 25th to May 12, 1838. By THOMAS CHALMERS, D.D., and LL.D., Professor of Theology in the University of Edinburgh, &c. 8vo. Glasgow: Collins. 1838.

THE gentlemen who call themselves 'The Christian Influence Society,' at whose request these Lectures were undertaken, and are now published, must, we think, feel not a little chagrin and disappointment at the abortive result of their exertions. Not only have they failed of their main object, which was to forward the Scottish Church-extension scheme by bringing up from the North its author and champion to enlighten the polite world upon the question, and thereby to influence the decision of Government; but they have exposed to closer observation the weakness of the cause which Dr. Chalmers has been put forward to advocate. The grounds upon which the Lecturer rests his vindication of Establishments, are so paradoxical as to bring the soundness of his judgment into question even with his own party; and his concessions to the Voluntaries and the Dissenters must have been far more displeasing to the high-church portion of his auditors, than his arguments were acceptable. We are much mistaken, if the reputation of Dr. Chalmers in the metropolis did not stand much higher before he delivered these Lectures, than it has since their publication.

The political purpose which the Lectures were obviously intended to promote, was not indeed avowed. The Times newspaper, in an elaborate announcement of the intended course, affirmed distinctly, that they would not 'involve in the slightest degree a spirit of political partizanship, or any reflections on the policy of Government in regard to Church Extension.' Few

persons, we imagine, believed this; certainly none who were acquainted with the intense partizanship of the Lecturer. And those who entertained any such expectations were speedily undeceived. In his first Lecture, the Doctor, with 'a sort of sledge-hammer energy,' (to use his own phrase,) assailed 'the economical and arithmetical reformers of our age,' as 'coarse utilitarians,' acting under the influence of 'frenzied delusion,' or 'distempered speculation;'—'machine-breaking reformers, far more mischievous in their higher walk, but hardly more intelligent, be they in or out of Parliament, than the machine-breakers of Kent, the frame-breakers of Leicestershire, or the incendiaries of a few years back in the southern and midland counties of England.' (pp. 22, 23.) The parties to whom these gentle epithets and complimentary intimations are intended to apply, are not very distinctly designated; but it is evident that those who 'would abolish church-rates,' and all who oppose the Church-extension scheme, fall within the scope of his invectives.

In the third Lecture, however, all reserve or disguise is laid aside, and the Doctor comes to the point.

'After having obtained from the good will of our countrymen the sum of £200,000 for the erection of places of worship, and that in behalf of a people unable to build churches of themselves,—we now knock at the door of our rulers, in the hope of propitiating their good will to a grant, and that too on behalf of the same people, quite as unable of themselves to maintain their clergymen. We stand before the ministers of the crown, not so much in the attitude of supplicants,—for we ask nothing for our own personal advantage,—but rather in the attitude of donors, telling them what is *our* contribution, and asking what is *theirs*, to the religious education of the community.' p. 97.

Having so recently laid before our readers a full exposition of the history and mystery of this notorious project, we shall not now stop to animadvert upon the delusive character of the above statement, or upon the fallacy involved in speaking of parliamentary grants as a contribution from Government, as if Government could contribute from any other funds than those which are drawn from the people. It seems, however, to have escaped observation, that this Church-extension scheme is precisely the counterpart of the system that has been for some time in operation in Ireland, where the Presbyterian clergy of Ulster occupy, by the Regium Donum grants, that very position as stipendiaries of the State, in which the grants sought for would place the ministers of the new churches. According to the regulations adopted in 1803, by which the distribution of the bounty was taken immediately into the hands of Government, any minister of a new congregation duly enrolled as belonging to the Presbyterian body, has only to present a memorial, properly attested, to the Lord Lieutenant,

soliciting the stipend usually granted, which bears a certain proportion to the number of families in the congregation; his having subscribed the oath of allegiance being also attested by two magistrates; he thenceforward receives his £50 or £70 yearly, as a recognised stipendiary minister. The natural consequence of this system of endowment has been to multiply the number of Presbyterian congregations. Those under the care of the General Synod, which amounted in 1804 to 177, had risen in 1835 to 237. Little, however, can be said in favour of the working of the system in other respects. As the stipend undergoes no alteration, whatever may be the increase or falling off of the congregation, it forms no incentive either to ministerial fidelity or diligence, or to the liberality of his flock. On the contrary, we are told, in many instances, the members of the congregation feel discharged from all obligation to contribute much, if anything, to their pastor's support; and he is therefore compelled to have recourse to farming, grazing, or some other secular employment, for the support of his family. The operation of the system is thus, in too many instances, at once degrading to the character of the minister, and prejudicial to his interests, by paralysing the zeal and public spirit of the people; and to its unfavourable influence, the inefficiency of Presbyterianism in Ireland has, with apparent justice, been ascribed.* Yet, if any where the helping hand of Government might seem to be required by the circumstances of the country, if any where a bounty upon the increase of Protestantism might be deemed necessary or advisable, it would be in Ireland.

In order to judge of the efficiency of the stipendiary system, however, as compared with that which trusts to the force of the voluntary principle in connexion with the moral obligations arising out of the relation between the Christian teacher and his flock, it is necessary only to bring into comparison the history of Presbyterianism in Ireland during the last century, and that of the Presbyterian churches of Scotland. In 1731, the population

* 'The people among whom these endowed ministers labour, are not among the poorest and meanest of the inhabitants; they are the middle classes; in some cases, the gentry; in most, the farmers of the North; and yet how little is done by them! . . . Think of a congregation of one thousand families, many of them large and wealthy farmers, not raising £40 per annum, for the support of Christian ordinances among themselves and their families; and perhaps not £3 per annum (for this is considered liberal) for the extension of these ordinances through all nations of the earth.'—*Congregational Mag.*, May, 1833, p. 274.

Many Presbyterians, it is said, subscribe more toward the support of the Romish priest, than they do for their own minister, on the avowal that the former is poor and has no state provision, while the latter is a pensioner on the *Regium Donum*.

of Ireland was little more than two millions, of whom rather more than a third were Protestants. Of these, the Presbyterians may be assumed to have formed about one-half; and if so, they have, within a hundred years, doubled their numbers. The congregations under the care of the General Synod in 1725, were 148; in 1830, they had risen only to 216. The Protestants of all classes, according to the First Report of the Commissioners of Public Instruction, amounted, in 1835, to little more than a million and a half, having only doubled their numbers, while the Roman Catholics were nearly quintupled, having increased from 1,310,000 to 6,427,712.

Now let us turn to Scotland. The Secession Church, founded by the congregations of the eight seceding ministers deposed by the General Assembly in 1740, together with those forming what is termed the Relief Synod, now comprises between four and five hundred congregations, including not less than a fourth part of the population of Scotland. That is to say, in Scotland, while the population has increased scarcely more than a million in the course of the century, one section of the Presbyterian community, unconnected with the State, has advanced from a handful of seceders to at least half a million of souls. In Ireland, while the population has increased from two to eight millions, the Presbyterians of all classes have risen in number only from, say 300,000 to 650,000; and instead of comprising, as in 1731, a sixth of the people, now bear the proportion of less than one-twelfth! And let it be recollected, that, although the present arrangements of the Government bounty are of recent date, the system has been in operation during the whole of last century, the grants having been augmented in 1784 and 1792. It has, therefore, had its fair trial. In Scotland, it is unnecessary to say, that the seceding congregations that have sprung up, have been entirely planted and maintained by voluntary contributions.

We might adduce the rapid decline of endowed Presbyterianism in England, together with the corresponding expansion of unendowed Congregationalism, as a further illustration of the comparative efficiency of the opposite systems. But, as this country is so very differently circumstanced from either Scotland or Ireland, we will not press the argument that might be fairly drawn from these facts in its religious history. As a second and most remarkable exemplification of the energy of the voluntary principle, we would direct the attention of our readers to the statistics of the Principality. The rise of Methodism in Wales dates from the year 1735. At that time, the number of Dissenting congregations was small: in 1716, they were under fifty. The population, up to the middle of the century, appears to have been almost stationary. It was only 541,546 in 1801, but had risen in 1831 to 805,000, chiefly through the influx of manufacturing labourers.

The poverty of the people is proverbial. The Established Church, however, has its territorial arrangements all compact, with its four bishops, its chapters, and its full corps of dignitaries and sinecurists.* What is now the religious distribution of the people? The Dissenters of the Three Denominations have about 550 congregations; those of the Calvinistic Methodists, according to a list published by them some years ago, are 360 in North Wales, and 212 in South Wales; and those of the Wesleyan and other Methodists are about 220. In the course of little more than a hundred years, therefore, by the simple efficiency of the preaching of the Gospel, the congregations which support their own pastors have risen from fifty in number to upwards of 1340, being three times the number of Presbyterian places of worship in Ireland, in the midst of a population ten times as numerous. In fact, almost the only evangelical instruction enjoyed by the natives of the Principality in their own language, has been supplied by the Dissenting ministry.

In Wales, as in Ireland, the Established Church is an alien, mocking the poverty upon which it draws for its wealth, while contributing next to nothing toward the spiritual benefit of the people. It deserves remark, that the congregations of the Calvinistic Methodists have erected and supported all their places of worship at their own cost. It is an invariable rule in this Connexion, that each county shall bear and discharge the expense incurred in building its own chapels, unless it be too poor. In that case, if it be in North Wales, the other Northern counties assist it: if in South Wales, the other Southern counties. And the only assistance which the other denominations may have received, has been in the shape of voluntary contributions. Compare these spontaneous exertions of Christian zeal on the part of a poor but warm-hearted people, thirsting for the bread and the water of life, and gratefully attached to their pastors whom they maintain out of the depth of their poverty,—compare these noble manifestations of the voluntarism taught and inspired by the Gospel, with the languid struggles for existence of endowed Presbyterianism in Ireland, or with the pompous munificence of opulent church-patrons or church-building associations in this country;—in either

* A large portion of the church property of Wales has been alienated to the support of sinecures and bishoprics in remote parts of England. Thus, the Bishop of Litchfield draws £1,100, and the Bishop of Chester £560 from the Bangor diocese; and the Dean and Chapter of Winchester £2400 from that of St. Asaph. In these two Welsh dioceses, the bishops, chapters, colleges, sinecurists, and absentee clergy engross a larger amount than the stipends of all the working clergy put together. See 'A Letter to Lord John Russell on the Established Church Bill with reference to the Interests of the Principality of Wales.' 8vo. 1836.

point of view, the advantage will be immeasurably on the side of the poor Welsh mountaineers, and the conclusion drawn by every dispassionate inquirer must be in favour of the principle which is found so mighty in its practical efficacy.

If, then, the Cambrian mountaineers have found the means of building upwards of 1,300 places of worship for themselves, and of maintaining their ministers, what pretence of truth can there be in the allegation, that the Scotch people are unable to build churches of themselves, and equally unable to maintain their clergymen? Why less able, why less willing than the Welsh? But in point of fact, taking together those erected by the Presbyterian Seceders, the Congregationalists, the Episcopalians, Scottish and Anglican, and other classes of Scottish Dissenters, the people of Scotland will be found to have built not fewer than from 750 to 800 places of worship, the ministers of which they also maintain; and a large number of the churches for which endowments are sought, have existed for forty or fifty years, and have been adequately supported without any aid from the State. Ministers, too, are procured for the new churches as fast as they are erected; and means are found of paying them; so that the only effect of their being endowed by the State would be, to convert into State pensioners those clergymen who now subsist by their pastoral labours.* Dr. Chalmers has slandered his countrymen, who are both able and willing to support the pastors of their choice, while they disdain, with decided aversion, the gratuitous sittings for the poor and working classes, ostentatiously tendered to decoy them from the Dissenting places of worship.

In these Lectures, however, Dr. Chalmers stands forward not only as the advocate of Regium Donum grants and Parliamentary endowments,—of such modest ecclesiastical establishments as the stipendiary church of Ulster, but as the champion of National Establishments in general; not excepting ‘the deeply injured ‘hierarchy’ of the Irish church, although, while the machinery is eulogized, nothing, it is admitted, could be much worse than the working. We must here forestall a little, to introduce the Author’s honest account of the main cause of the present embarrassing state of things in Ireland.

‘Had this Establishment been what it ought to have been, a great home-mission, with its ministers acting as devoted missionaries, we

* Dr. Chalmers proposes, that every shilling of the Government grant should go, not in augmentation of the minister’s stipend, but in deduction from the seat-rents which it is now necessary to demand from the general population. Now it is a remarkable fact, that the mean or average rate of seat-rents is considerably lower in the unendowed, than in the endowed churches. And, of the unlet seats in Edinburgh and Glasgow, the lowest priced form the larger proportion.

should by this time of day have been rid of all our embarrassments. There would have been no Catholic question to perplex,—and that because there might have been few or no Catholics. But, matters there have not been so ordered. We need not speak of their pluralities, and their sinecures,—and of all the evils of their clerical absenteeism; these are the more patent corruptions of the Protestant hierarchy in Ireland, and perhaps the only ones that strike the public observation. But, over and above this, there was a mistaken policy, maintained and avowed even by their best clergymen, in the form of an honest, though still of a grievously mistaken principle,—as if they went beyond their legitimate province if they at all meddled with the Catholic population; at which rate the primitive Christians went beyond their legitimate province when they meddled with the pagans of the Roman empire. . . . In virtue of this false principle or false delicacy, the cause of truth has suffered even in the hands of conscientious ministers; and when to this we add the number of ministers corrupt, or incompetent, or utterly negligent of their charges, we need not wonder at the stationary Protestantism, or the yet almost entire and unbroken popery of Ireland. We now inherit the consequences of the misgovernment and the profligacy of former generations. They may be traced to the want of principle and public virtue in the men of a bye-gone age. Those reckless statesmen who made the patronage of the Irish church a mere instrument of subservience to the low game of politics,—those regardless clergymen who held the parishes as sinecures, and lived in lordly indifference to the state and interests of the people,—these are the parties who, even after making full allowance for the share which belongs to the demagogues and agitators of the day, are still the most deeply responsible for the miseries and the crimes of that unhappy land.’—pp. 126—128.

This is assuredly a very true and correct statement, but a very strange one, viewed as proceeding from the champion of the ‘deeply injured hierarchy’ in question. The learned Doctor insists, however, that ‘the goodness of a machine’ is not to be judged of by ‘the goodness of its working;’ and that the thing called a Church, ‘viewed as a machine,’ has not been in fault, but only the living apparatus, the clergy and their patrons. Granting, for a moment, that the excellence of the system is not at all disproved by its having for centuries worked so mischievously, we would put it to any man of reasonable candour, whether those persons deserve the harsh epithets which Dr. Chalmers has dealt out to them, who, not being gifted with his profound sagacity and metaphysical acumen, and judging of the cause by the effect, infer that the Irish Church Establishment is as vicious in principle as it has been noxious in operation. That it has worked ill, is an admitted fact. The inference that the machinery is bad, is, at least, a very natural one. If a mistaken opinion, it ought to be deemed a very pardonable mistake. Dr. Chalmers contends, that the machinery is excellent notwithstanding; but this

is but an opinion; an hypothesis, which the Voluntaries must be excused for not accepting as an article of faith. Because the Establishment has not been what it ought to have been, Protestantism has been stationary, and Popery has increased. We are agreed, then, that in point of fact the Irish Church has been, either negatively or positively, the cause that has produced this lamentable state of things. It is not against things as they ought to be that the Voluntaries raise their voice, but against a church establishment which *is* what it ought not to be; which, moreover, never was, at any period of its history, what it ought to have been; and which, judging from the experience of centuries, they conclude, never can be made what it ought to be. Let them be shown, upon the wide face of the globe, a single church establishment answering to Dr. Chalmers's *beau idéal* of 'a home mission with its ministers acting as devoted missionaries,' an establishment such as it ought to be; and it will be time enough then, to inveigh against the Voluntaries, for opposing the principle of institutions which have hitherto been found to work so injuriously to the best interests of mankind.

This political miracle, however, Dr. Chalmers would fain persuade us, is taking place before our eyes. 'The truth is,' he tells us, 'that among the established churches of our empire, that of Ireland, in the vital and spiritual sense of the term, is the most prosperous of the three. 'While its outward man perisheth, its 'inward man is renewed day by day;' which rendered into plain English seems to mean, As the establishment decays, the church revives. Be it remembered, then, that we have no quarrel with the clergy of Ireland, who are now rousing themselves to their duties, but only with the establishment as a system; and so far from seeing any thing in the present religious movement in Ireland to reconcile us to the odious machinery of the Irish Church, we deem its 'body of sin and death,' to be the greatest possible obstacle to the exertions of 'the vital and spiritual' principle of 'its inward man.' We do not now refer to the construction of the hierarchy; although, at the present moment, *that* in itself is fettering the exertions of the evangelical clergy, and enabling the rulers of the church to prevent its being that 'great home mission' which it ought to be. And it has tended not a little to confirm the Voluntaries in their opinion of the anti-christian character of that alliance between church and state which arms prelacy with such despotic power, to find the pious clergy who have been engaged in the labours of the Irish Home Mission, passively succumbing to the Popish interdict laid upon their missionary operations. But what we more especially regard as the great obstacle to the usefulness of the clergy, is the unhappy political predicament in which they are placed by the 'territorial establishment' itself; a system which ploughs with the sword, and reaps with the

bayonet; reaping what it has not sown, and gathering what it has not scattered.

Let us now proceed, however, to examine Dr. Chalmers's statement of the question at issue between the advocates and the opponents of National Establishments, and his vindication of them in opposition to the views of those who allege the sufficiency of the Voluntary Principle. In his first lecture, he starts with what, if not (as we would hope) an intentional misrepresentation, must be regarded as a prodigious blunder. Either he has never taken the trouble to read, or he most unaccountably misconceives the arguments of his opponents whom he describes as being indisposed to go into the consideration of the question 'of the best platform for a church,' because 'it seems to imply a distrust in the efficacy of divine grace.' We cannot imagine to what religionists he means to refer, whose 'drivelling, though sincere piety greatly underrates the importance of a visible and material economy in things ecclesiastical, and would set it aside as a mere system of earthly expedients.' No such notion as this is to be found, we believe, in the writings of any who have advocated the voluntary system. What then can Dr. Chalmers mean by gravely premising, what his opponents have always been most forward to maintain, that there is nothing 'in the doctrine of the Spirit to reduce, but every thing to enhance the importance of the gospel being preached, and so the importance of the question, what is best to be done that we might secure its being preached to every creature?' Why should he have commenced his lectures with insinuating that this is denied by the fanatical drivellers he has to confute? 'If there be one economy,' he proceeds to say, 'under which there is every likelihood that, with all our strenuousness and care, we shall fall short of more than half the population; and another economy by which it might be made sure that the calls and lessons of Christianity shall be brought to every door; this, all other circumstances being equal, forms in itself a strong ground for our preference of the latter over the former.' Up to this point, the Voluntaries would perfectly agree with him; and they would be satisfied to debate the matter upon this practical ground. They would say, we have the former economy palpably realized in the Irish Church Establishment, which, though its revenues are drawn from the produce of the entire territory, not only falls short of conveying religious instruction to half, or a fourth, or a tenth of the population, but, in the provinces of Cashel and Tuam, does not number five in every hundred within its pale. In every parish, tithes are levied, but two hundred and ten parishes have no church, and in nearly five hundred, the incumbent is non-resident. Such is the one economy. The other, by which 'the calls and lessons of Christianity are brought to every door,' we see not less strikingly carried into operation by the Voluntaries of Wales.

There, the free spirit of the Christian economy, in spite of the poverty of the people and the counteracting influences of the State Church, has created and sustains a machinery which does what the Establishment only affects to do—carry the gospel to every corner of the land; raising more places of worship for its population of 800,000, than the Irish Establishment has provided for 8,000,000. ‘Look here upon this picture and on this.’ We do not see how a case could be made out more completely in favour of the superior and absolute efficiency of the voluntary economy. Nevertheless, Dr. Chalmers undertakes to *demonstrate*, that ‘this invaluable property of a full or universal diffusion (of the ‘calls and lessons of Christianity) belongs only to a national establishment; and to make it palpable, by all the lights of ‘history and human nature, that it never is, and never can be ‘realized, either by the voluntary system, or by what has been ‘termed the system of free-trade in Christianity.’

To make way for this demonstration, the learned Lecturer pre-mises a definition of an Establishment which takes it out of the class of things extant into that of hypothetical abstractions. An Establishment may or may not, we are told, imply what is commonly meant by a connexion between the church and the state. That which forms its ‘essence,’ and which, ‘as such, must be singled out ‘from among all other accessaries wherewith it may happen to be ‘variegated,’ is, ‘a sure legal provision for the expense of its ‘ministrations.’

‘To realize our idea of an establishment, it is enough that there be legal security for the application of certain funds to the maintenance of Christian worship or Christian instruction in a country, and this, in whatever way these funds may have originated.’—p. 10.

This is mis-stating the actual question, which relates to State establishments, and, as we shall see hereafter, to the principle of *territorial* establishments. According to this fallacious definition, not only is the Presbyterian Church of Ireland an establishment, but the Unitarian churches of this country, which are maintained by endowments legally secured, must also be taken to be *established*. And why say, ‘funds applied to the maintenance of ‘Christian worship?’ The idea of an establishment must be the same, the legal security being the same, whether the funds are applied to the support of Christian or of Mohammedan worship; to the maintenance of Irish sinecure clergymen, or of the priests of Juggernaut. Dr. Chalmers intended to say, perhaps, ‘an established church;’ which his great authority, William Cobbett, explains as meaning ‘a church established upon Christian principles.’ ‘This you, the parsons,’ he says, ‘will tell the people that they ‘actually have. Alas! you will tell them this in vain.’

We shall not now go into the question of Endowments. After

affirming that they *may* imply no connexion between the church and the state, the Dr. proceeds to assert, that, in such connexion, there is nothing more corrupt or corrupting, than in the connexion between a missionary board and its pecuniary supporters. This is, of course, one of the demonstrable conclusions to which the lights of history and human nature have conducted him. We can but marvel at the process of ratiocination by which he has satisfied himself that no 'secularization of Christianity' is implied in the very idea of a secular church. But Dr. Chalmers, whatever else he is not, is the boldest of logicians; and in fearlessness of assertion he leaves all rivals far behind. In a note, he claims for the Church of Scotland, notwithstanding its connexion with the State, an ecclesiastical independence of the civil power, not only such as does not exist in law or in fact, and such as that church has never been in a condition to exercise, but such as is discountenanced by the very formularies and standards of its doctrine and discipline. The language of the Confession is, that the civil magistrate 'hath authority, and it is his duty, to take order 'that unity and peace be preserved in the church; that the truth 'of God be kept pure and entire; that all blasphemies and heresies 'be suppressed; all corruptions and abuses in worship or discipline prevented or reformed, and all the ordinances of God 'duly settled, administered, and observed; for the better effecting 'whereof he hath power to call synods, to be present at them, 'and to provide that whatsoever is transacted in them be according to the will of God.' The fact is, that the Church of Scotland, to employ the words of Lord Fullerton in speaking of the Veto Act, 'as a privileged and endowed church, owes its institution to the State, and is the creature of the law of the land.*' The decisions of the Court of Session in the Auchterarder case,

* See the article on 'the Church of Scotland tried by the Test of Experiment,' in our Number for March last. We may also refer our readers to an able article, on 'The Auchterarder Case,' in the 'United Secession Magazine,' for June. 'That the Scottish Church owes much more than her revenues to the State,' it is remarked, 'that her whole constitution and substance, internal and external, has emanated directly from that source, it were easy to show by a detailed examination. But one or two particulars will suffice. 'If,' says the Lord President, 'there was one thing more than another within the exclusive cognizance and jurisdiction of the Church, it would seem to be the settling of the terms of her creed.† But the Church knew that it could not do so, and did not venture to do so, by its own authority.' And he proceeds to mention that, after drawing up what she thought *ought* to be the creed, the church presented it to Parliament, which enacted it in the terms of the Act 1690. To show how completely the authority of the Church was disregarded throughout this transaction, it may be added, that the Confession, after being compiled at Westminster, was adopted by the General Assembly, in 1647, with certain qualifications; but neither of the act of the Church adopting it, nor of the qualification which they affixed to it, did the parliament, in 1690, condescend to take notice.'

place this in the clearest light, and render the gasconade of Dr. Chalmers and his coadjutors not a little ridiculous.

In the second lecture, our Author proposes to vindicate a religious national establishment in opposition to the reasonings and views of the Economists, who contend, as he says, 'for the 'system of free trade in Christianity.' Here, again, he misconceives or misrepresents the arguments which he undertakes to combat. The only writers referred to by name are Adam Smith and Turgot. The former, he tells us, in his 'Treatise on 'the Wealth of Nations,' argues against Religious Establishments, on the ground, that the articles of religious instruction should be left to the pure operation of *demand* and *supply*, like any article of ordinary merchandise. And the Doctor's answer is; that 'though we may trust to man's natural longing for the goods which 'are to be had in a market, there is no such natural or universal 'longing for the good to be had in a church, or in a college, or 'even in a school.' Granting this, it is quite obvious, that the demand, even in respect to articles of merchandise, does not always occasion the supply, but is in many cases originated by it. And what governs the supply, is the demand as regulated, not so much by the desires of the consumers, as by their ability to purchase. If there is not in all men a longing after religious instruction, there is in all a religious instinct as strong as any physical appetite, which requires only instruction to develop it. And the facility with which false teachers, traders and craftsmen in religion, monks and priests, moollahs and maraboots, have availed themselves of this universal aptitude to be taught or craving after religious instruction, proves that the demand will always be sufficient to secure a supply of some kind. As Hooker finely remarks, 'a longing to be saved, without knowing the true way 'how, has been the cause of all the superstitions in the world.' Look at Ireland at the present moment, and then say, whether, at least as regards *quantity*, the article of religious instruction might not be left to the simple operation of demand and supply. It is true, 'that nature does not go forth in quest of Christianity; 'but Christianity must go forth in quest of nature.' It always has done so. It has always created, so to speak, the demand for itself. We may safely trust, first, to its self-diffusive energies, and then, to its self-sustaining resources. And nothing more can be meant by the free-trade principle in religion, than that *Governments* should not interfere to restrict the supply by a jealous monopoly.

Dr. Chalmers, however, has not met, has not deigned even to notice, the main objections of the Economists against Government interference and State endowments. One objection is, that such a provision is a bounty upon inefficiency. Adam Smith, in treating of bounties, shows how the State suffers itself to be im-

posed upon when, as in the case of a tonnage bounty, the premium is proportioned, not to the diligence or success of the trader, but to the burden of the ship, and vessels are in consequence fitted out 'for the sole purpose of catching not the fish, 'but the bounty.* This is very similar to the working of a Church-extension scheme. Upon the same principle, this great Economist elsewhere remarks, that 'the endowments of 'schools and colleges have necessarily diminished, more or less, 'the necessity of application in the teachers. Their subsistence, so far as it arises from their salaries, is evidently 'derived from a fund altogether independent of their success and 'reputation in their particular professions.†' In every other profession, the exertion of the greater part of those who follow it, is always in proportion to the necessity they are under of making that exertion. In an ecclesiastical establishment, no such necessity is laid upon those who receive the pay of the State; and we need not look very far to see the consequence. Accordingly, Hume is a staunch advocate for ecclesiastical establishments, upon the ground, that the most advantageous composition which the civil magistrate can make with the spiritual guides of the people, is, 'to bribe their indolence by assigning stated salaries to their profession, and rendering it superfluous for them to be further 'active than merely to prevent their flock from straying in quest 'of new pastors.' Even this measure of activity, however, is rendered superfluous by the tithe system, which allows the incumbent to reside at Dublin, Bath, London, or Paris, while his flock stray to the mass-house or the conventicle, as it may happen, and, so long as his tithes are duly remitted, he needs give himself no concern about the matter. Adam Smith, too, though represented by Dr. Chalmers as an opponent of religious establishments, contends, that, where there is an established religion, 'the sovereign can never be secure, unless he has the means of influencing, 'in a considerable degree, the greater part of the teachers of that 'religion,' either by the fear of deprivation or by the expectation of preferment; in other words, by rendering the supply of religious instruction a source of influential patronage to the State. Is this the free-trade system?

Overlooking or mis-stating all that has been actually urged by the Economists, whether in favour of the free-trade principle or against it, our Author proceeds to argue, that it comes to the same thing, whether Government pays any part of the price of religious instruction in the shape of a bounty (such as an establishment provides, or a *regium donum* grant), or whether the instruction is provided by a missionary society or by private individuals, without expense to the parties receiving it. Christianity, according to this curious reasoning, was first introduced and propagated upon

* 'Wealth of Nations,' b. iv. c. 5.

† Ib. b. v. c. 1.

a system the very opposite to the free-trade principle. The Establishment principle, if we are to believe the Professor of Theology in the university of Edinburgh, is the *gratuitous* principle; and the tithe system, which taxes the many for the benefit of the few, is in strict accordance with that by which the apostles were maintained 'at the cost of the few for the benefit of the many!' Lest our readers should suspect that we are jocosely burlesquing the learned Doctor's argument, we must transcribe a few sentences of the paragraph in which he labours to prove, that it was not upon the free-trade principle, as he calls it, that the world was supplied with its Christianity.

'It was not so when the apostles went forth after the resurrection; and received their maintenance from such as Simon, the tanner, or Lydia, the seller of purple, or Stephanus and Fortunatus, and Achaicus, and others of those scripture worthies, who harboured and entertained the men of God, while they held out the bread of life, without money and without price, to the multitude at large. It was not so when the last, but not the least of the apostles, provided with his own hand for his own necessities; and the wages of Paul the tent-maker, enabled Paul the apostle, to labour in his sacred vocation without wages. It was not so when he received from other and distinct churches, that, in the church of Corinth, the gospel might not be chargeable to any; and he would suffer no man to strip him of this boasting in the regions of Achaia. And, to come down from the age of the New Testament, it generally could not have been so, that the extension of Christianity was carried forward during the three first centuries. The men who were not yet Christians did not, in those days, send to the apostolic college for men who might give them the lessons of the gospel; but, by a reverse process, teachers went forth among the yet benighted countries of the earth; and their expenses, at least in the first instance, behoved to be borne, not in the shape of a price by those who received the benefit, but in the shape of a bounty by those who dispensed it. In all these instances, contrary to every law or character of pure trade, the expense was borne either totally or partially by one party, and that for the good of another party.' —pp. 51, 52.

How extremely edifying and gratifying it must have been to certain parties among the learned Lecturer's polite auditory, more especially to any right reverend personages claiming to be the successors of the apostles, to be reminded that 'Paul the tent-maker' wrought with his own hands, in order that he might not be burdensome to the Achaian churches; that he as it were *endowed himself* with his own labour, that he might there preach the gospel without charge! And how much surprised, if not delighted, they must have been, at learning that St. Paul was therein acting in the very spirit of the endowment system, and discountenancing, not less than Constantine when he 'set up in 'his dominions a national establishment of Christianity,' the volun-

tary system ! And yet, while contending that Christianity could not possibly have been introduced into any land upon the free-trade principle, without a bounty, Dr. Chalmers admits, that 'commerce sometimes obtains a footing for itself in particular 'countries,' in the very way which he represents to be so impracticable on commercial principles.

'Before the natives can have a liking for certain of its articles, they must first have a sight and a trial of them ; and so instances can be given, where dealers have adventured their goods into places where, instead of finding a market, they had first to form one, at their own hazard, therefore, or even expense, in the first instance, and not at the expense of customers And might not Christianity be sped in like manner ? Though introduced at the expense of others, might it not, when the appetite for its lessons is excited, be maintained by themselves afterwards ; and that not by certain of the nation for the benefit of the rest, but entirely and exclusively by those who receive the benefit ? It might be very true that missionaries, at the charge and bidding of those who are Christians, must be employed for the conversion of those who are not Christians ; but may it not also be true, that, after their conversion has been effected, then a native demand will be set agoing ; and ministers be employed, at their own charge and their own bidding, for keeping up this religion from generation to generation ?

'There is a great semblance of probability for this, in much that might be seen, both throughout our own land and in various countries of Christendom. In Britain, there are many hundreds of large and flourishing congregations, where all the expenses of the service are defrayed by the hearers themselves. These are pure instances of free trade, and of an interchange as complete and equal as any which ever takes place between the buyers and the sellers of a market—where Christian instruction is rendered by the one party, and where its price, its whole price, is rendered by the other party—where there is not one farthing of endowment to help out the maintenance of the clergymen ; and a remuneration for his labour, often adequate and respectable, is fully made good to him by those who enjoy the fruits of it. 'This operation of demand and supply is often exemplified both within and without the church of England, in many a successful chapel and many a prosperous meeting-house—where, in virtue of a large or a wealthy attendance, the produce of the seat-rents is sufficient, both for the payment of the minister and for all the other expenses of the concern. And, most assuredly, we have no quarrel with institutes like these—provided only that a pure gospel is delivered, and that Christian good is done by them. In whatever way Christ is faithfully and efficiently preached, it is the part of every honest disciple therein to rejoice ; and no one can question the undoubted contributions made to the cause of religion, in the proprietary chapels of such churchmen as Newton, and Cecil, and Howell, and Daniel Wilson, or of such dissenters as Watts, and Doddridge, and Andrew Fuller, and Robert Hall. But it follows not, that, because there is a fitness in such as these to supplement the Establish-

ment, there is also a sufficiency in them to supersede the Establishment?'—pp. 55—57.

All this is so excellent, and forms so complete a reply to the foregoing argumentation as to the impossibility of propagating the gospel upon the free-trade principle, that we regret to have any quarrel with an opponent who does us the justice of answering himself. It is hard, however, to keep him to the point. The question he has undertaken to discuss, is not whether there is a *sufficiency* in such free institutions to supersede the Establishment, but whether Christianity can either be introduced or be maintained in any land upon the free-trade principle. Missionary work, he argues, is paid and provided for, not by the receivers of Christianity, but by its dispensers; 'we do not sell the gospel, but give it;' and this he calls having recourse to a bounty, 'that dread and deprecation of all the economists.' It is no such thing; it is nothing like what is understood by a bounty, which is a premium paid by Government to encourage mercantile enterprises for the ostensible benefit, not of the consumer, but of the producer; and, generally speaking, bounties have been granted to uphold monopolies, and to counteract the effects of beneficial competition. To compare these State bounties with the voluntary advances of Christian benevolence, designed to benefit, not those who are engaged in the enterprise, but the objects of it, is a most palpable and ridiculous fallacy. What, in the name of common sense, does Dr. Chalmers understand by the principle of free trade? The epithet free has no meaning, in this connexion, but as opposed to injurious monopolies and restrictions. Does that principle forbid the raising of funds for planting colonies, for engaging in new schemes of mercantile adventure, or even for benevolent enterprises? Assuredly not. It only requires that the State should not embarrass by fiscal restrictions the operations of commerce. Its motto is, *Laissez-faire*. Protect trade, but do not force it by injurious patronage. Let it find its own channels. Do not, by a system of bounties, make the many pay for the benefit of the few. Do not, for instance, by a bounty upon the product of slave labour, counteract the competition of free labour, and thus, by bolstering up a wasteful system incapable of sustaining itself by its legitimate profits, rob the consumer, and inflict a moral wrong upon human nature by your fiscal blunder. Such is the language which the doctrine of free trade would dictate. Now, although we are not fond of the phrase, and have never been accustomed to hear it used, we must say that, by a fair analogy, the free-trade principle applies to the duty of Governments in respect to the instruction of the people. All State bounties which preclude legitimate competition, which raise the price to the consumer, which uphold an unjust monopoly, which limit the supply, or vitiate it, as is the inevitable effect of religious establishments and state endowments, are to

that extent, and on these grounds, injurious to the cause of Christianity and to the national interests.

But, 'on the strict principles of a reciprocal trade,' whether free trade or not, Christian institutions could not, it is said, be maintained. What economist, what voluntary has ever held language that could by possibility be tortured into the sense of treating the Christian ministry as a trade, or reducing the supply of Christian knowledge, or the education of the people, to the strict rules of trade? Dr. Chalmers is very fond of fighting the air; no wonder that, in so doing, he often deals his blows upon himself. It is a principle of trade, that, unless the price which a commodity fetches covers the cost of production, it will cease to be brought to market. But 'the returns for the articles of Christian instruction are very often beneath the prime cost incurred in the preparation of it.' They who receive the whole benefit of the ministration, do not pay the whole price of it, and the deficiency is covered by certain others. What then? An analogy may be pushed too far. The only object of trade is profit; the only principle of trade, remuneration of labour and capital. But the object of religious institutions, is not profit; and the principle of trade does not apply to them. What has this to do with the question, whether the supply should be *free*?—whether, so far as the analogy holds good, the principle of free trade, rather than of monopoly, should be adhered to? St. Paul, referring to the claim of the Christian pastor or evangelist to maintenance, lays down the axiom, that the 'labourer is worthy of his hire.' What if some well endowed Rabbi, nettled at the apostle's advocating the *wages* principle, had said; 'The world can never be supplied with its instruction on that principle; for, first, the labourer must wait to be hired before he can claim wages, and those who most need to be instructed will not hire a stranger to teach them: secondly, some of you labour for nothing, and thereby undersell the paid labourer; thirdly, you abandon your own principle by 'robbing other churches, taking wages of them to preach the gospel freely' to others;* and, fourthly, it comes to the same thing, whether you allow the brethren of Macedonia to support you while preaching in Achaia without hire or wages, or whether you draw your support from the Temple funds or from the Roman treasury.' Would the learned professor of Jewish theology, who should thus have combated the voluntary principle as implied in the apostolic axiom, have proved St. Paul or himself to be the blunderer and the sophist? But, to use the words of our Author, 'such is the melancholy upshot of those rash and unfortunate generalizations which the philosopher often indulges in his closet.'

* 2 Corinthians xi. 8.

In his third Lecture, Dr. Chalmers undertakes to disprove the sufficiency of the Voluntary principle. But there are, he tells us, two sorts of the Voluntary principle; 'the Voluntaryism *ab intrâ*, and the Voluntaryism *ab extrâ*.' The former is coincident with the principle of free trade: the latter is in conflict with it, and is but the Establishment principle in disguise! If a congregation is left, out of its own resources, to pay the expenses of its own ministry, it acts out the principle of 'internal voluntaryism.' But if it receives a sixpence by way of aid from the contributions of others, it 'draws upon external voluntaryism,' and makes a practical acknowledgment of the insufficiency of the free-trade 'system.' Consequently, every Dissenting congregation that contributes out of its internal voluntaryism to the support of missions or village preaching, gives up the voluntary principle, ceases to be acting freely, and adopts the whole principle of a State Establishment! And 'if the offerings of the external be 'thankfully received by the voluntaries themselves when harassed 'by the short-comings of their internal voluntaryism, what becomes of the economical argument against National Establishments of Christianity?' With an individual who can impose this upon his own understanding for reasoning, it were useless to argue. As this Lecture is but a fantastic repetition of the fallacious assumptions and almost insane logic in the preceding one, we shall not stay to dilate upon the ineffable absurdity of the Author's definition of the voluntary principle, which makes it mean any thing but what the advocates of the voluntary system intend or understand by it; a definition which identifies opposites, making the duty of a man's paying his own minister to clash with his attending to the claims of benevolence, and representing voluntary contributions for the support of religion to be the same thing as involuntary and compulsive payments exacted by the State. By such an abuse of words it were easy to make a show of proving any thing; and the Doctor complacently concludes, on the strength of such showing, that 'it will be seen there is a 'harmony not previously seen, perhaps not even suspected before,' [true enough!] 'between the doctrine of a National Establishment, and at least one great branch of the voluntary principle;' 'a parliamentary vote' being, 'both in principle and in effect, 'but an example of the voluntary principle *ab extrâ*.' Triumphant demonstration!

Lecture IV., 'On the Circumstances which determine a Government to select one Denomination of Christianity for the 'National Religion,' may be dismissed with a very brief notice. The only distinctly intelligible proposition which we can extract from a flood of words, is, that the British Parliament did well to prefer Protestantism to Popery; and that should ever Government exercise its prerogative in a manner which Dr. Chalmers

would think not right, by an application of the voluntary principle *ab extrâ* to the endowment of any other faith than the Protestant, he trusts that the people of this land would resist and overbear it. From which it is manifest, that it belongs to Government to select a denomination, when it happens to make a right selection; and that an Establishment is a very good thing, when the Established Church happens to be as orthodox as the Church of Scotland, or as 'prosperous, in the vital and spiritual sense,' as that of Ireland. Dr. Chalmers is a Liberal after all, for, in thus limiting the right and prerogative of Government, he clearly recognizes the sovereignty of the people.

But 'it is easier to state the grounds of preference on which Protestantism should be adopted rather than Popery, as being 'the worthier of the two for a national provision,' than to state any valid reason why one denomination of Evangelical Protestantism should be selected, to the exclusion of all others, 'as entitled to the privileges and honours of an Establishment;' and why a different denomination should be selected in two different parts of the same kingdom. Dr. Chalmers adverts to this difficulty, and leaves it pretty much where he found it. The chief subject of the Fifth Lecture is, the alleged efficacy of a *Territorial* Establishment; not an Establishment deriving its revenues from territorial wealth, as the term might seem to imply, but a scheme which assigns to the clergyman a certain district 'within the limits of which he may exert an ecclesiastical surveillance or 'guardianship over one and all of the families.' In this territorial principle, he remarks, which is no other than that of the parochial system, 'lies the great strength of an Establishment,' and its superiority over the congregational plan. It is true, however, he admits, 'that though we can create the right machinery, we cannot create the right men; and without these, the machinery may either be ill worked or not worked at all, and so be the instrument of evil instead of good.' But what if the machinery itself be adapted to exclude the right men, and so to defeat its professed object in nine cases out of ten? We do not simply 'denounce this as Utopianism;' we deny, in the first place, that an Establishment gives any advantage to the territorial incumbent over the city missionary, the visitor of a Christian Instruction Society, or any other description of voluntary agency; and next, we deny the legitimacy of the ecclesiastical surveillance which an Establishment affects to vest in the parochial minister. We object to the territorial principle so explained, because it is one of usurpation and exclusion. The parish minister resents the intrusion of any other upon his territory, as an ecclesiastical trespass, an invasion of his office, a reflection upon his competency, or a competition with his endeavours. It is thus that a territorial

Establishment necessarily fosters the pride of caste and the spirit of intolerance.

The concluding Lecture treats of the 'circumstances which justify a Government that has assumed one from among the several denominations for the National Establishment, in abiding by the selection it has made.' And the first argument adduced in vindication of this policy, is the incompatibility of the territorial principle with the endowment of different sects. But not only is it incompatible with the *endowment* of different sects; it forbids their being placed on the same footing of civil equality. It therefore involves not only partiality, but injustice; and it throws the greatest possible obstacle in the way of religious harmony. Yet, strange to say, these necessary results of a territorial Establishment are Dr. Chalmers's reasons in favour of it.

'The attempt to combine the territorial principle *with an equal treatment of all the denominations*, must be given up as impracticable; and some one denomination must be singled out for an Establishment whose ministers are to be charged *overhead* with the Christian education of the country, and each in his own sphere, to have an oversight and a certain responsibility laid upon him, for the religious knowledge and habitudes of all the families.'—p. 160.

Of *all* the families, Presbyterian or Episcopalian, Protestant or Romanist, native or foreign. It is this territorial principle which commits the charge of a Welsh parish to an English incumbent, unable to speak a word of the vernacular dialect; and consigns the oversight of some thousands of Irish papists to a clergyman of an alien church, whom they must consider as at once an intruder and a heretic. Regarded in one aspect, this exclusive system may be viewed, our Author admits, 'in the light of an injury to the sects;' but this 'collateral effect,' he treats as a trivial consideration, it being no part of the design of Government; while, 'regarded in another aspect, it should be viewed in the light of a benefit to society.' This is begging the whole question. The injury is undeniable; the benefit problematical. We claim his admission, and reject his hypothesis. We deny that the territorial principle would work beneficially, even if it did not operate thus unjustly,—even if no such sectarian distinctions divided society.

In resting the vindication of National Religious Establishments upon such grounds as these, Dr. Chalmers, however, concedes much to the Voluntaries, whose auxiliary labours he admits to be as valuable as they are necessary. Standing as a Presbyterian clergyman in the midst of Episcopalians, he could not altogether forget, that the orders of his own church are treated as invalid by the church established in this country, and that all its pulpits are

closed against him and his brethren as schismatics. Some recollection of this kind, probably, prompted him to exclaim :

‘ We do not speak of the sin of schism in the abstract. There is much said on this subject by certain domineering churchmen, who arrogate a mystic superiority to themselves, while they would consign all others beyond the pale of Christianity—wherewith we cannot in the least sympathise. It is not on any pretension of this sort, that we would vindicate the establishment of the churches, either of Scotland or England. We do not feel it necessary for such a purpose, to depress immeasurably beneath us, either the creed or the government of other denominations. We most willingly concede of sectaries we could name, that they are at one with us in all which is vital, and only differ from us in certain minute and insignificant peculiarities ; and yet the establishment, the single, the exclusive establishment, of our existing churches in their respective countries, might be made to rest, we think, on a firmer because a more rational basis—on a far clearer principle, than is alleged by those who claim for their ministers the immaculate descent of a pure and apostolic ordination. We disclaim all aid from any such factitious argument,—an argument which could have been of no avail against the Popery that we rejected, and should be of as little avail against those denominations of Protestantism which have been left unendowed.

* * * *

‘ When once the Church of England shall have come down from all that is transcendental or mysterious in her pretensions, and, quitting the plea of her exclusive apostolical derivation, shall rest more upon that wherein the real greatness of her strength lies—the purity of her doctrines—her deeds of high prowess and championship in the battles of the faith—the noble contributions which have been rendered by her scholars and her sons to that Christian literature which is at once the glory and the defence of Protestantism—the ready-made apparatus of her churches and parishes—the unbroken hold which, as an establishment, she still retains on the mass of society—and her unforfeited possessory right to be reckoned and deferred to as an establishment still—When these, the true elements of her legitimacy and her power, come to be better understood ; in that proportion will she be recognised as the great standard and rallying-post, for all those who would unite their efforts and their sacrifices in that mighty cause, the object of which is to send throughout our families in more plentiful supply, those waters of life which can alone avail for the healing of the nation. But the best and highest sacrifice of all were by the Dissenters of England, those representatives and descendants of the excellent ones of the earth—the Owens, and Flavels, and Howes, and Baxters, and Henrys of a bye-gone age—who rejoiced to hear of all the Christianity which there was in the church, and to see all which the church did, if but done for the Christian good of the people. We speak not of the sin of schism, of which we have sometimes heard, in language far too strong for any sympathy or even comprehension of ours. But we speak of the blessings of unity.’—pp. 172—179.

How strange that, perceiving the blessedness of unity, and that 'only by an undivided church can a community be out and 'out pervaded with religious instruction,' our Author should vindicate a policy which necessarily *divides* the church by setting one denomination above and over against every other. But we would willingly believe that Dr. Chalmers's errors are those of the head rather than of the heart; and it is impossible, after reading such a passage as we have extracted above, to part with him in any other temper than that of cordial good humour. He has done us no harm, but good service. And those who brought him into the field to prophesy against us, may have reason to complain as Balak did to Balaam: 'What hast thou done? I took thee to curse mine enemies, and behold! thou hast blessed them altogether.'

Art. II. *Whatcheer, or Roger Williams in Banishment.* A Poem.

By JOB DUFFEE, Esq. [Late Member of Congress, and now Judge of the Supreme Court of Rhode Island]. pp. 200. Providence, R. I. 1832.

PERHAPS it may be as well, at the outset, to obviate the impression which some readers might be apt to receive at sight of so uncouth a designation, standing as the leading title of a long poem (of more than five thousand lines), by explaining that the word was a cheer of salutation from a tribe of savages to a family of Christian exiles, uttered at a time and place which gave it an important significance. The denomination *Whatcheer Cove*, then given to the spot, and still retained, has contributed to perpetuate the tradition.

The scenes are laid chiefly among the savages, such as those tribes were some two centuries since, and such as they are no longer; at least, those remains of them who linger in the neighbourhood of the civilization imported from Europe.

The doom of that race, progressively accomplishing from the commencement of the colony, and now proceeding with accelerated rapidity toward its consummation, appears an anomalous as well as a mournful chapter of human history; since there have been so many examples of people reclaimed in course of time from barbarism by contiguity and interfusion of a civilized race, acting on the rude materials partly in the way of subjugation, and partly of instruction. That a numerous section of the human race, in full and immemorial possession of a vast continent, of a high-toned and intrepid temperament, and well endowed with mental faculty, must absolutely, inevitably, perish under the pro-

gressive ascendancy of civilization on their territories, would have been a prediction to bring in more than doubt the pretensions of any oracle that should have pronounced it. Could any thing have appeared less probable, than that the arrival on their coast of a small party of virtuous and religious men, self-exiled for conscience sake, bringing with them the useful arts, the principles of civil society, and the true religion, should be the signal for the destruction of all the primitive race, from the one side of the continent to the other? How could it be conceived, that the vessel bearing the essential means of rescue from barbarism and misery, should prove to be the box of Pandora, without that reserve of hope said to remain at the bottom in mitigation of the contents of her fatal casket? Some of the pious emigrants might, at moments, entertain the idea that, in their own deliverance from tyranny, they were also appointed by Providence to bring to the wild children of nature an emancipation from their paganism and savage state of existence. And if a prophetic intimation could have been given to them of what the actual consequence would be, they would have cast anchor and touched the land with awful emotions, at the thought that they were making the first step toward the execution of so mysterious decree.

To a great extent it has already been accomplished. Some tribes, of magnitude enough in numbers, power, and extent of domain, to be called nations, have wholly perished. Of others there exist only relics, degraded, forlorn, and gradually dwindling away, under the effects of ardent spirits, aggravated diseases, mutual slaughters, from which the wretchedness suffered by them in common cannot reclaim them, and the rapid encroachments of the white (it is as yet in a modified sense, that we may say civilized) invaders of the forests. Recent accounts inform us of the prevalence, in the western tracts, of an intensely malignant pestilence, resembling the Black Death which once half desolated Europe. It kills the victims in two hours. It has almost wholly destroyed several minor tribes, and made frightful ravages in the larger; among others the Black Feet and the Crows, who make so conspicuous a figure in some of Washington Irving's memoir-romances.

But the grand comprehensive agent of destruction is this continual advance, on the whole line of the middle regions of the continent, of the European race, occupying, within each short term of years, some millions of acres more of what had been the inheritance of the Indians from their forefathers. Enfeebled in numbers, and broken in spirit, the tribes retreat westward, under an impulsion of which the peremptory nature is but thinly disguised in the semblance of a cession by sale. They fall back to become in their turn invaders of the territories of other nations, less reduced as yet in power and courage, to perish in conflicts

for a portion of their hunting-grounds, which they must perish if they do not obtain. It costs the government nothing to make a plausible representation to them of vast tracts unappropriated, pretending to guarantee the possession. They will be sure to find claimants there, who may fairly allege, that they were no parties to the treaty or bargain which has sent these aliens to share their forests, and devour the game. But it will signify little to them in the end whether they combat or combine; for the movement which threatens them all, can know no limit or pause. At no very distant time, the remoter tribes will begin to feel the pressure coming on them of the same irresistible power. And if, forced backward from one river, forest, and prairie after another, they shall think to make the mighty range of the Rocky Mountains the final barrier between them and the insatiable monopolist, the next generations of them are destined to find that its ridges, snows, and formidable defiles, have not availed; so that they have nothing at last behind them but plainly the Pacific Ocean. The collective race is doomed to extinction. This fatality is placed beyond all question in Tocqueville's striking and melancholy chapter on the subject of the Indians. Their wild nature never will, with trifling exceptions, submit to a fixed and industrious state of life, which, in spite of all the benefits they see attending it, they regard as both a misery and a dishonour. But that able writer shows, that even if they could be brought to overcome their repugnance, and make trial of the change, they would do it under such disadvantages, in comparison and competition with the intrusive occupants of their country, as no fortitude of such ill-prepared cultivators could bear them through.

While thus abandoned irretrievably to their roving, hunting, and fighting, they are suffering not only by the encroachment on their ancient territory, but by a disaster which falls on that which they nominally retain. It is a remarkable circumstance mentioned by Tocqueville, that the wild animals, the main resource of savages, retire as by some instinct at the approach of the civilized population, even when yet at a great distance; retreating hundreds of miles away from the operations and noises disturbing their wilderness. So that no small part of the lands successively ceded had, previously, become nearly useless to the Indians for affording their indispensable subsistence. This retreat of their means of living, so far beyond the actual limit of the invading cultivation, might well be mistaken by the superstitious savages for the effect of some power of sorcery, or intervention of a malignant spirit, operating in advance of the race come to supplant them.

The American authorities, in their transactions named treaties, for the cession of lands, have taken every possible advantage of the Indians. By management of the agents, quantities of

tempting wares have been exhibited before them ; some adapted to temporary usefulness, and some to their fancies and appetites, the means of intoxication included. In a late instance, which was made an affair of extraordinary 'pomp and circumstance,' in pretended honour to a numerous deputation of chiefs, come as representatives of several tribes, to negotiate a 'treaty' of this sort on a great scale, a sum of money was stipulated, in the amount of which they were beaten down to what would have been a contemptible equivalent for a twentieth part of the tract surrendered; and this to be paid by instalments at such intervals that, by the time the last shall be due, far toward twenty years hence, if we remember right, it may become a question who and where are the parties to claim it. The tribes are speedily to be cleared off to 'the far west,' and that is enough.

Our right to condemn flagrant imposition and oppression, with a total indifference to any consideration and means of mitigating their hard destiny, is not the less for the question that arises—what must or can be done with or for the irreclaimable aborigines, by a powerful civilized nation of colonists. We suppose no one will be so romantic in philanthropy as to insist, that a vast portion of the earth is to be held sacred in perpetuity to some wild hordes of human creatures, of a number that, in a civilized condition, the condition which man was intended for, might subsist and flourish on a hundredth part of the space. By such a rule what would our own island have been at this time? Ought the Anglo-Americans, rapidly augmenting in numbers, turning the desert into fruitful fields, carrying with them in their advance a civilized polity, the cultivation of mind, useful ever-growing knowledge, lights of religion—ought they, on arriving at a particular brook, or touching the edge of some forest or savannah, to have felt themselves arrested there, in deference to an inviolable right of a certain band of savages, who might come in that neighbourhood once or twice in a year to hunt buffaloes—so arrested as to be precluded from progressively appropriating the ground by purchase; forbidden to think of it, as foreseeing that the acquirement of the territory would inevitably cause a bearing back of the tribe on other tribes, and conflict and destruction as the consequence? Were they, instead, to recoil on themselves, to seek out lines and corners not so tabooed, to expend their labour on bogs and sterile spots, where the aboriginal hunters' right would not be, or would be less, infringed? Were they to believe that the claims of man to the use of the earth were incomparably the largest in that portion of the species that could make the least use of it, and which sunk the nearest in habits of life to a level with the irrational animals that shared the possession; only surpassing by far the most ferocious of those animals in the propensity to riot in combat, carnage, and torture? It were doubtless

their duty to cast about for any practicable means of trial, to redeem such a degraded section of the human family from the wretched condition. But such an experiment would be met by the most direct and powerful cause of frustration in the very circumstance, of the boundless desert, their patrimony, being left and secured clear of intrusion. Such unconfined scope for their roving existence, would serve to perpetuate their barbarous condition, transmitted from their ancestors, and in which every individual of them would continue to be trained from infancy; acquiring, and we know not but inheriting, a disposition abhorrent from confinement to a place, and regular labour. And it is obvious, as Tocqueville observes, 'that not one successful step can be made toward the civilization of beings who cannot be brought to localise their interests and employments. They never will do this, never will take the ground of an improved humanity, and therefore must yield up their ancient domain to another order of possessors, dwindle to extinction, and, at no distant time, have left nothing on earth but their memory; a memory not aided by any visible traces, like those left in the monuments of some unknown race that inhabited the continent before them.

The poem from which our attention has been diverted thus immoderately long, takes us back, as we intimated, to a time when red men, the last and best performance of the Great Spirit after several trials, presented an improving spectacle. The tribes were powerful in numbers. The ancestral pride of independence and valour sat on their brow, frowning contempt on tillers of the soil, the toiling slaves of workshops, the degraded creatures who could submit all the year round to be immured in houses and towns, or limited to the petty circle of a plantation. They retained the pristine order of society; the customs, ceremonies, superstitions, magical arts, and solemnities on grand occasions. They had not been infected with artificial tastes and want, and European diseases; had not been reduced to depend on traffic with over-reaching factors, had not been maddened and debilitated by the produce of distilleries. They had begun, however, to apprehend the danger which was approaching them in the settlement of the 'pale faces' on their coast; regarded them with a menacing aspect; and maintained with them only a precarious peace or truce, in a temper prompt for war.

It was in the midst of such a community that the hero of this narrative poem was reduced to seek—Religious Liberty. 'Of course,' says our reader, 'it was liberty from the tyranny of ecclesiastical bigotry, at that period in high and malignant domination in his native Britain.' No; it was liberty from the domination over conscience arrogated by his fellow puritans, who had themselves gone into voluntary exile to escape that very persecution. It is evident from the author's references to historic

documents that Williams was a person highly worthy of commemoration 'in prose or rhyme,' as one of the patriarchs of American christianity.

'Roger Williams was born of reputable parents in Wales, A. D. 1598. He was educated at the University of Oxford; was regularly admitted to orders in the Church of England, and preached for some time as a minister of that Church; but on embracing the doctrines of the Puritans, he rendered himself obnoxious to the laws against non-conformists; and embarked for America, where he arrived with his wife, whose name was Mary, on the 5th of February, A. D. 1631.' p. 167.

Though he could not have expected, on arriving at Salem, to have much use, defensive or offensive for his nonconformist and protesting principle, it had not become pointless or rusty during its short abeyance. And he soon found matters to declare against, with an uncompromising boldness which brought him into collision with the sort of mongrel ecclesiastical and civil authority established there.

'He had scarcely landed ere he began to assert the principle of religious freedom, and insist on a rigid separation from the Church of England. A declaration that the magistrate ought not to interfere in matters of conscience could not fail to excite the jealousy of a government constituted as that of Massachusetts then was. And this jealousy was roused into active hostility when, in the April following his arrival, he was called by the Church of Salem as teaching elder under their then pastor, Mr. Skelton.'—p. 167.

He insisted that the magistrate had no right to punish for heresy, 'or any breaches of the first table' (the appointment of the Sabbath included) 'otherwise than in such cases as did disturb the public peace.' The freest thinker must have a crotchet or two. Williams would not allow the magistrate 'to administer an oath to an unregenerate man;' maintained 'that a man ought not to pray with such, though wife, children,' &c.; and 'would not join the churches at Boston, because they would not make a public declaration of their repentance for having communion with the Church of England while they tarried there.' But the mortal offence to the government was, his declaration against the king's patent, granting to his subjects the lands which belonged to the Indians. A solemn process, secular and sacerdotal, terminated in an order to depart from within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, after a short interval, during which he was commanded to keep his heresies to himself. The discovery that he was employing this term of special indulgence in concerting with some of his zealously attached friends in projecting to form a little

extraneous colony somewhere within the Indian borders, where the principle of religious freedom should be fully carried into effect, decided the governor to have him forthwith shipped off for England. A naval officer was commissioned to execute the mandate; and here begins the first Canto.

In an evening in the midst of winter, he is sitting by the hearth of his humble dwelling, with his lamp and Bible; beside him his young children, and his wife at her needlework, quietly striving to repress the signs of her sorrow at the thoughts of what is before them; when a visitation still more austere than the snow storm, which is driving around the cottage, rudely pushes in among them in the shape of a 'Deacon,' to announce, in the harsh and magisterial tone of bigotry armed with authority, that unless the refractory schismatic shall immediately repair to Boston, to make his submission and forswear his heresies, he will be seized and taken on shipboard, to rid the country of such a pest; a few hours' grace being the utmost that is allowed him. Expostulation, pleading of the inclemency of the season, injury to health, or any thing else, are in vain. The thing is said, and the messenger is off.

To submit or not to submit is no question with the heresiarch. But in what way to escape the instant peril is a most distressing perplexity, which excites an earnest ejaculation of prayer that some decisive counsel may, in some manner, be brought to him. He composes himself to wait and think, while the tempest is roaring with redoubled violence, followed by a partial calm; when entrance is obtained by another visitor, unknown, and of strange and striking appearance; of dignified demeanour; extreme age marked on the lineaments of his countenance; but more, and with far more of a spirit's glance, than the fire of youth gleaming in his eyes; and tones of voice which thrill through the soul. In the fewest words, he dictates an immediate journey into the wilderness; names a circumstance which shall occur to signify to the wanderer where to take his ultimate position; and departs, leaving Williams in amazement and doubt as to the quality of the mysterious stranger; but perfectly decided to obey his injunction, as an indication of the will of heaven. After a short restless slumber he rises to make his preparations; and with a tender reluctance awakes his wife to assist him, she having sunk from a fainting fit caused by the deacon's message and spite, into a sleep which has not been disturbed by the second visitation. A few travelling necessities got ready, including provisions for several days; a sorrowful adieu; and we have the adventurer setting off at the earliest dawn, to traverse, with guidance of a pocket compass, a boundless solitude of forest and snow; a solitude which was *relieved* at the approach of night by sounds which, distinguishable amidst the blasts which roared

through the woods, told him that wolves were not far off; his attention to which is withdrawn by the growl of the American panther, so evidently near that he is expecting, every moment, the deadly spring. Coming darkness and exhausted strength make it necessary to set up for the night; and, fortunately he finds himself at the entrance of a narrow valley, protected in some degree from the tempest by rocky steeps on both sides, and offering the shelter of a close growth of trees, intermingling their branches to form a thick shade overhead. He plies his hatchet for fuel, kindles a fire, and sits down to his evening meal, fortified by conscience and a sense of the protective presence of divine power, against hardship and peril, and against all access of repentance for having maintained his integrity at such a cost.

He has not more courage than is wanted. His fire is the signal to bring a pack of wolves to see after *their* evening repast, on somebody that they know must be there to have lighted it. The description, through several stanzas, is not less vivid on the page than was the light of that fire in the dark wood. We must be content with transcribing one, presenting the first spectacle in a striking night's adventure.

‘Growling they come, and in dark groups they stand,
Show the white fang, and roll the brightening eye;
Till urged by hunger seemed the shaggy band
Even the flame's bright terrors to defy.
Then mid the group he hurled the blazing brand;
Swift they disperse, and raise the scattered cry;
But rallying, soon back to the siege they came,
And scarce their rage paused at the mounting flame.’

—Stanza 54. Canto I.

While severely tasked in cutting additional fuel he would be surprised to perceive the assailants becoming mute and slinking off, but that at the same moment he is startled at the cause,—the ‘long whine of the panther,’ which after a fearful interval of silence, breaks out into ‘a long-drawn yell.’ He is standing in a posture to receive the attack, not forgetting even in so critical a moment Daniel and the lions, when a human voice calls from the thicket, in words intelligible and friendly; and an armed red man darts to the spot, greeting him as ‘brother;’ promptly lighting the calumet; expressing his surprise at a white man's having so venturously exposed himself; and quelling his terror by explaining that it was *his* (Waban's, that is his name) mimic cry of the panther that has sent off the wolves. As plain an account as could be given in Indian language, and to Indian faculties, of the cause of the self-banishment, puts the intelligent savage in a thoughtful mood of wonder that white men should hate and persecute one another about differences,

even slight differences, of religion. He strongly surmises that *Chepian* (the Indian's Devil) must be their god. He might be excused if he deemed himself a disciple of a better faith, when he insists that the wanderer must partake the shelter and the fare of his not distant wigwam, where it is pretty certain the 'deacon' will not intrude, and very doubtful how he would get off if he should. This humble dwelling, with its wild hunter's furniture and accoutrements, becomes dignified in the description by the generous hospitality, and sedulous and perceptible care, of the proprietor; and additionally so by his pensive, reflective, and inquiring temper of mind. The loss of his affectionately remembered wife has left him lonely and meditative; and he is restlessly desirous to know something, if he might, of that invisible world to which she is gone.

From a profound repose our exile awakes to his sabbath orisons, performed under the wondering but quiet observation of his host, who is an especial subject of them, in prayers that his benighted spirit may be 'visited of heaven's fair light;' and that he may be made, through his knowledge of the tribes, chiefs, and localities of the great desert, an agent to assist toward finding the land of promise for planting religious liberty. The prayers are followed by an endeavour to unfold before him the leading facts of revealed religion, to which he gives the most serious attention. He shows a philosophic candour; there is no venom of the *odium theologicum* in his savage blood; the term heresy has not found its way into his language; but he requests the bringer 'of strange things to his ears' to listen in turn, while he shall exhibit the system of religious faith devoutly held by the red men on the authority of their ancestors; a mythology which we presume the author has correctly drawn from the Indian traditions; in part, he has verified it by reference to accounts written at a time when the race yet retained the integrity of their ancient dogmas and habits. Waban describes in highly picturesque language the genesis of the world by the great spirit Cawtantowit, existent through all space, but till then in a profound slumber, from which he awoke at last to survey a dead boundless waste of waters, which were put in commotion by the great event.

'In a vast eagle's form embodied, he
 Did o'er the deep on outstretch'd pinions spring;
 Fire in his eye lit all immensity;
 Whilst his majestically gliding wing
 Trembled hoarse thunders to the shuddering sea;
 And, through their utmost limits quivering,
 The conscious waters felt their Manittoo,
 And life, at once, their deepest regions knew.'

—Stanza 13, Canto II.

Next the earth emerged, and was speedily furnished with its appropriate inhabitants—all but Man. At the creative voice a man came forth formed from a rock; but betrayed so hard and cruel a nature that the Great Spirit dashed him in shivers, to be replaced by a man and woman made from an oak and a pine, the original red pair. By the time that to these creations, with that of deities (Manittoos) and the celestial luminaries, had been added, all the good materials were worked up. But through some principle of fate the worthless and noxious refuse also felt the formative energy, and sprang to life in the shape of a horrible demon, the Chepian of the mythology. There is a controversy between our two friends about the propriety of worshipping this malignant power 'through fear; in which an argument addressed to the Indian's pride of courage decides him never more to render a coward's homage.

He gives Williams all the required information respecting the tribes and chiefs, their relations and dispositions; undertakes to convey intelligence to his wife, with a savage's address and caution; and indicates to him the proper direction for an excursion in the mean time, through a scenery depicted in vivid images, towards the border tract of a powerful tribe, on speculation whether to seek there the refuge for himself, his family, and freedom. Returned to the lonely cabin, to meditate on the past and the dark future of his strange destiny, and growing impatient at the protracted absence of his friend, he is at length startled by the entrance of a savage so formidably set off in all the plumed, painted, and armed array of battle, that even a packet he silently delivers from Mary leaves him unrecognised for Waban, till revealed by the tones of his voice, uttering a fierce exclamation of 'war!' It announces that a deadly feud between his and a powerful neighbouring tribe is on the point of exploding; and that there is coming a band of chiefs to demand Awanux's (the white man's) military co-operation. They arrive with the regent Sachem, Massasoit, at their head, an ancient warrior, whose undiminished valour has, nevertheless, been tempered by time and reflection. The grave ceremonial of the calumet and silence duly observed, then follows a long, animated, and eloquent discussion between the old chief and the Puritan, whose single aid in martial enterprise could not be of any account but from some notion, we may suppose, that in each individual of the 'pale-faced' nation there must reside a certain portion of that power which is proving itself irresistible in its progress of usurpation on the Indian realms; an usurpation on which the Sachem dilates in strong language of animadversion, though not personally offensive. A place of settlement shall willingly be granted to Brother Awanux; but there will be dreadful battles first, and surely he will take his share. The Puritan, though not less intre-

pid than those of his order were at a later period found to be elsewhere, declares he will have nothing to do with slaughter; but, earnestly remonstrating against the war, surprises the chiefs by offering himself for the desperate adventure, as they deem it, of bearing overtures of peace to the ferocious Narragansets, already in arms. After an interval of solemn silence, to consider so unexpected a turn, the wise old Sagamore accedes, and by a very politic representation to his chiefs, on fire for battle, obtains the acquiescence of all but one, a sort of Moloch of the council, under whose sullen half submission there appears to lurk a malignant treachery, which draws from the presiding chief a stern denunciation of death against any one who shall waylay the messenger of peace. Waban is appointed to accompany him, bearing the calumet.

An alarming scene opens on their view, in their near approach to the central station of the Narragansets—the war dance, in all its fantastic, ramping, and yelling furies. It required our ambassador's strongest efforts to repress his own apprehensions, and the kindling fierceness of his companion, while they advanced with the emblem of peace through the frowning and menacing multitude, whose hands were observed going instinctively into contact with their tomahawks and arrows; the very children's precocious ferocity being darted at them in looks, gestures, and curses. But the laws of truce must not be violated; and the messenger is conducted by Miantonomi, a young warrior of noble, but formidable aspect and loftiest bearing, into the presence of the venerable head of the tribe, under whose dignified austerity his courage somewhat quails; especially when the Sagamore, in reply to the pacific proposition, goes, though calmly, into a train of severe and just comments on the ill faith and insatiable rapacity of the pale-faced race. But, fortunately again, he is a person whose martial spirit has been tempered to moderation by reason, experience, and policy; he discourses with a judgment and equity which might shame almost any statesman; is willing to entertain the overture of the enemy; and for the purpose of deliberation issues a command to delay the march of his fiery legions. Williams improves the interval to make acquaintance with the most influential chiefs, whom he brings to a favourable temper by his frank deportment, his representations of the very palpable and solid benefits of peace, and a distribution of trifling presents. There is, however, one individual who repels and scorns his advances, a pawaw, or wizard, the priest of Chepian; a man abhorred, but still more dreaded, as being firmly believed to wield the powers of the terrible demon. The poet is true to the early history of the colony, in representing the pawaw as exercising a power which would appear preternatural to the Englishman as well as the Indians. Those men did possess some unexplained

means of producing effects so strange and frightful, as to be ascribed, in the opinion of probably all the settlers, to an agency beyond mere human art and power. Our author avoids committing himself on the question :

‘ I will not say that devils did enlist,
To do the bidding of this grim pawaw ;
He may have been a wild ventriloquist,
Formed by rude nature ; but the age which saw
The marvels which he wrought, would aye insist,
His spells surpassed material nature’s law ;
And that the monarch of th’ infernal shade
Mustered his legions to the wizard’s aid.’

—Stanza 18, Canto V.

This malignant has all that can be conceived of infernal in his disposition ; denounces destruction ; challenges to a trial of power ; and on an appointed day comes forth, with all the appalling insignia and ceremonial of his office, in the view of the whole tribe assembled to witness the experiment, with an awe that held them as if petrified, in expectation of some terrible event. The spectacle and process are exhibited with great vigour of description. He tells the assembled nation that he has received from his god an imperative command to rouse them with the alarm of the destruction that is darkening over them by the continual advance of the invading aliens from beyond the ocean, on whom he pronounces execrations, and ends his address with a challenge of defiance and scorn to the wretch of a white man now before them, a defiance intrepidly hurled back on the ‘ Priest of Beelzebub.’ An assemblage of beings who could heroically brave torture and death, here shrinking under the dire spell of superstition, are intent with shuddering breathless expectation on the opening of a casket, believed to contain a potent Manittoo, which comes forth in the shape of a rattlesnake. It swells, and glides, and spires, splendid in preternatural colours ; and after several evolutions fixes its glance on Williams, moving toward him with elevated crest ; while some magical fascination, of odours, colours, and musical sounds, diffused through the air, trances his senses and prostrates his strength ; the multitude shouting ‘ the manittoo ! the manittoo ! ’ He recovers at the critical moment, when the snake is coiled to make the spring, and strikes off its head. Enraged at the sight, the more hateful human monster poises an envenomed lance, and is prevented from darting it only by Waban’s arresting his arm. The brave and indignant Miantonomi, with a violent blow of the haft of his lance, drives the miscreant away yelling and howling into the woods. There is a short suspense of amazement and stupefaction in the multitude, and then a shout of exultation. The ancient

chief congratulates the victor and his own people ; assures him of unlimited privilege on their territories, at the same time enjoining on him to use his good offices for them with his white brethren ; and sends him back with the joyful news of peace to the tribe from which he has been commissioned. Welcomed on his return among them, he receives the free grant of whatever place within their domain he shall choose for the church in the wilderness.

We have then his surveying tour, his selection, the wooden construction of his lodge ; the enclosure and commencing cultivation of a portion of ground, with indefatigable toil, and able assistance in every operation from the faithful and equally indefatigable Waban. His imagination has begun to expand around this nucleus of a Free State, arranging over the tract the future dwellings, gardens, plantations, schools, places of worship, all the charities of life and religion ; with a total and endless exclusion of crabbed deacons and ecclesiastical tribunals. What a disturbance to his flattering visions to find this incipient Eden invaded by, almost literally, the infernal serpent—‘the fell Pawaw!’ Certain signs of some malignant presence preceded his being descried, with an assistant fit companion, by Waban, in the edge of a gloomy forest, on the opposite side of a river, across which there takes place a mutual demonstration of hatred and defiance, by furious shouts and shot of arrows. But a sudden and somewhat protracted cessation of the annoyances allows the patriarch of freedom to recover confidence enough to commission his brave and wary associate to fetch Mary and the children, by a journey which must be of several days. Such is, however, his impatience, that he follows his messenger all the way to a spot within view of Salem, and whence he can see the hasty transactions at the cottage, the loading of two horses, lent by one of his secret friends, with moveable articles ; and the setting out of the family on foot.

The narration of this journey is wrought up to an interest not exceeded in intensity by any story in poetry or romance. There is a first moment of unmingled delight at the re-union ; but as they proceed, Williams is alarmed at the manner of Waban, alternately accompanying and preceding the little band, in silence, and with a restless, starting, glancing vigilance ; explained after a while, in words not intelligible to Mary, by the information that, in his way to Salem he had been tracked by the hell-hound ; at the end of it had perceived him watching the family’s dwelling ; and is certain, from indications unequivocal to Indian sagacity, that he is now lurking near at hand in the forest, to dog them with deadly purpose in their progress. Whatever, for the frustration of that purpose, is possible to a wild hunter, and to no other man, is done by the quick senses, and searching and daring

tivity of Waban, as guide and protector of the slow and toil-me march, till the approach of evening; when the anxiety and ar which had harassed them at every step through the day are gravated to extreme distress at the almost hopeless prospect for e night. The nearest Indian village is named; but it is much o far off to be reached by the wearied females and children. o complete the dismay of the situation, an arrow from the dark rest passes and grazes Waban's head. He plunges into the icket to find the unseen foe, but only hears him breaking away a distance through the underwood. He then recollects, as the dy possible resource, and not very far off, a cave, in which he d other hunters had sometimes found shelter in tempest or the ght. The terror which hastens their movement toward the eary refuge is but partially allayed by their entrance into it; r it is quite certain that the demoniac pursuer will soon be in eir neighbourhood. The mother and children are bestowed in e rude but sufficiently capacious hold. At some distance down i open avenue, by which alone it is accessible, Waban makes a eat fire of the dry wood of the brake, to the surprise of Williams a proceeding just only fitted, as he should think, to betray eir hiding place. The sagacious Indian promptly sets him ght, by explaining that the deadly enemy knows their retreat rfectly well; and that the fire is for the purpose of exposing e in his approach, as a mark for the arrow. There is a discon-late yet thankful short repast; and then the two guardians to eir posts; Williams in the entrance, behind a partial curtain ade by a suspended wild vine; Waban concealed on a jutting ck outside. Dark night; distant howlings; a fierce beast, eather dog or wolf, leaping from the thicket toward the fire, ying and howling, but recalled by a whistle before Waban's row could strike it. He exclaims, 'The fell Pawaw! his dog!' d shrinks back so close in his covert as to raise an apprehen-e suspicion that his courage is failing. A mass of branches, vying out from the wood, tells who, though not discernible, ist be there.

'Straight to the blaze they moved, and dashing down
The branches green upon the mounting flame,
Put out the light; and smoke and shadows brown
In one dense rolling night, the glade o'ercame;
The mother shrieked—the father with a groan,
All horror-stricken, trembled through his frame;
For each now felt that, with that glancing ray
The last faint trembling hope had died away.'

—Stanza 49, Canto VII.

The fixed horror of a few moments is broken up by

'A fearful growl, close to the cavern's rent.'

It is the precursory bloodhound, believed by the savages, and even by Waban, to be the Pawaw's manitto. Williams's hatchet cleaves its head. But immediately there is a stirring of the vine, by some hand forcing it aside. An earnest call; 'Waban, where art thou!' is repeated as in doubt and reproach. But Waban is just where he should be; and an arrow from his obscure position lays 'a giant savage' on the earth, howling in death. Presently there is 'another and more fearful yell;' and the reviving blaze of the fire shows a figure advancing, not doubted to be the incarnate fiend himself. Williams springs out to share the peril. The brave defender's hand and eye are on another shaft, when the bow-string breaks. Instantly he leaps from his rock, darts down the avenue, evades a hatchet hurled with impetuous force at his head, and closes in mortal conflict. The combat soon passes out of view into the wood, where it is protracted through every variety of ardent, agonistic ferocity; the family listen to the sounds in an ecstasy of terror; Williams runs toward the spot with his axe, prepared to meet what might too possibly be the last extremity for them all. The signs of desperate struggle subside into silence, followed, after an interval, by the wild cry of victory; of which the expression, so intensely demoniac, conveys a fearful presage; he is held in a suspense almost intolerable, till a form issuing from the shade proves to be his champion, bearing a head into the light of the fire, in order to recognize the hideous features. All the savage flames up in his visage and action while, holding it by the long hair, he whirls it round and round, till the hard ball parts from the scalp, and goes bounding into the wood. Proceeding to the cave, he drags and tosses away the body of his previous victim; 'the black priest's comrade' cleanses himself from his bloody stains; throws himself on the ground, and falls asleep.

'Sire Williams,' with his happy family and brave defender, is re-established in his plantation; where they cheerfully labour; converse over all the trials and perils through which a good Providence has conducted them; have an amiable sympathy with all animate and inanimate nature around them; and exult by anticipation in that republic of religious freedom of which they are the hopeful germ. No fell pawaw, now, to break in on their peace. No; unless it be, perchance, the same spirit that has taken another form, the form being no other than that of—'a Plymouth elder.' A deacon again! who comes to announce from authority, with sanctimonious formality, that the recusant shall not stay there to plant and sow his heretical mischief. Just possibly, if even now at last he will repent, recant, and perform penance due, the outcast's doom may be reversed or mitigated, but else—
In vain, after an animated declamation on the prerogatives of reason and the benefits of free thinking, drily rebuked by the

elder, he represents that the tract he occupies has been formerly eyed to him in possession, by the chief of the state. The state will have him to know, that he is included within the limits of the colony, by the king of the time at his peril on this side, and that he may betake him to the pagan realm he pleases, so that this tool of intolerance ever again anathematize schismatics, however though Williams's stern repression of the wronging to administer the same quick reproof.

Certain that the mandate will be enforced, our ultra-exile prepares to abandon, with poignant regret, the scene of his labours, where his plants, his hopes, and his family, are all smiling and flourishing around him, and where he has contracted an almost affectionate relation with every object. But he resumes his fortitude to console Mary and the young ones, whose distress at this breaking up of what was to have been their delightful home, and the apparently interminable doom to destitution and wandering, is described in a touching manner. His reliance on Providence here receives a confirmation, by a more express recurrence to his memory of a circumstance of which he has sometimes been transiently reminded, but without due reflection; namely, that the mysterious and perhaps super-human visitant, at whose dictate he made an instant flight from Salem, intimated his probable re-appearance to the refugee at the place appointed for his ultimate asylum; and told him that the sign of his having attained it should be the greeting, 'Whatcheer! Whatcheer!' from a tribe of Indians. No such tokens have been given him in his present situation. Human injustice therefore is only the unwitting signification of the Divine will.

The particulars of the departure; the adieu to the scene so much loved by both parents and children; Mary's pious but sorrowful endeavour to respond to her husband's faith in Providence; the last sight of the forsaken dwelling, as they are rowed and steered by Waban in his slight canoe round a projection of the land; the stern aspect of the desert solitude as they coasted along; the appearance of wild animals disturbed or attracted by their passage; are traced in picturesque description.

It is not a very prolonged voyage that brings them in sight of wreaths of smoke, rising from behind a cape. A little further, and they hear sounds which betray the presence of a multitude in a state of excitement; probably, surmises our adventurer,

some grand assembling in preparation for war. He may well be delighted at Waban's information, obtained from incidental intelligence, that it is, instead, a joyous celebration of peace, that very peace which had been effected by his intermediation. A short labour more of the vigorous rower presents to the assembly the unknown pale faces, Mary's complexion additionally blanched at the formidable spectacle. The sudden appearance arrests their games, and brings them, all but the haughty chiefs, to the strand, gazing in silence, and not without menacing glances and gestures. There is a somewhat critical pause before their white brother has the resolution to stand up and bare his 'manly forehead : ' when he is recognised by some of the chiefs, who instantly hail him with the exclamation, 'Whatcheer !' which is speedily repeated in shouts by the universal multitude.

This wild chorus is to our exile the voice of heaven. Here at last he obtains the reward of his constancy to his principles. Here is the destined spot for planting, under the auspices of a savage nation, the religious liberty which cannot grow on Christian ground, on the one side of the Atlantic or the other. To exclude all doubt, the second predicted sign immediately follows, in the apparition of the personage whose mysterious intervention at the outset had determined the enterprise. He is instantly known ; but presently changes his appearance to the full splendour of an inhabitant of the upper world ; a manifestation not made in some merely visionary manner to the mind, but actually to the sight, through a temporary 'change wrought on the visual nerve.' We must acknowledge an interruption here of our sense of congruity. Poetical license was, we think, strained to the utmost in the first intervention, the visible intervention at all, of such a being. If, however, it should be admitted that a case of such urgent extremity was within the old orthodox canon (*dignus vindice*), it would seem to us that another descent from heaven, merely to confirm to the apostle of freedom the assurance for which the other circumstances were sufficiently determinate, is quite superfluous, and therefore unauthorised. And when this phenomenon, essentially superfluous, is presented, not in a temperate dignity, with signs just competent to indicate a superhuman nature, but arrayed in the overpowering splendour of angelic glory, we recoil ; under an impression of utter extravagance, from a spectacle out of place any where else than in oriental fiction, or the visions of the prophets. It would surely be disowning the laws of our economy, to represent such a scene as imaginable in the waking experience of modern good men in any circumstances ; but it appears specially out of keeping with the rough, austere, hard matter-of-fact character of a sojourn among forests and savage hunters. Perhaps the poet will plead, that it

was an indulgence of his imagination springing upward into a brighter region, in glad relief from the prevailing gloom of his subject.

Our heroic exile is welcomed, privileged, and revered by the Indian tribe; adores the Providence that has conducted and guarded him through so many perils; and looks with faith and exultation to the future ever-growing prosperity of that establishment of religious freedom of which he is to be honoured as the patriarch.

In coming to the end of this protracted article, we are admonished that we have hardly dealt fairly with our author, in so scanty an exhibition of his own composition; and we are wishing our analysis had been despatched with a brevity to allow room for a variety of extracts. We may allege in excuse, that we have been detained, at each stage of the progress, by the striking singularity of the story.

We do not pretend to have mastered the philosophical or critical theories which have attempted to define the nature of poetry, as distinct from the other modes of intellectual production which appear very congenial. Nor have we much tact for the application of certain niceties of prescription, which we may perhaps suspect to be arbitrary and pedantic. We are well content when a composition has the substantial elements which all must acknowledge to constitute the essence of poetry. And these, we think, the present work possesses in a high degree.

It was a daring proposition to the Muse to go on an adventure over such a field. Her silken robes and delicate habits were likely to come to rough service among the wildest of forests and of men. The scene of action affords, indeed, a marked advantage in point of novelty; but to some tastes this advantage will be counterbalanced by the rugged, sombre, dreary, frowning character of this new region for the incursion of poetry. He who has been attempered to all the refinements, genuine or spurious, of cultivated society, or, in his studies, has been sojourning in classic bowers, in the company of nymphs, of 'mortal or immortal mould,' softened in the luxuries of fine sentiment, enamoured of elegance and grace, fastidious in every taste, will look about him with strange and shrinking sensation, when he finds himself among dark primeval forests, howling wolves, the smoke of wigwams, and the yells of savages.

There is an importance quite adequate to sustain a poetical structure on so large a scale, in the subject it commemorates, that is, the origination of an absolute religious liberty, springing up on the border of a then barbarous continent, clear of all contamination of hierarchical and secular institution, destined to advance and spread through all future ages. And the hero (for so

he may justly be denominated, in a moral sense, as well as in that of his being the chief actor) of this noble cause, is worthy of his vocation. His soul is honestly zealous for the principle; he is firm, patient, persisting, inflexible; trusting in God and ready to abide all consequences; nevertheless not of iron consistence, but subject to anxious, painful, and tender emotions. His affectionate manner to his wife is just such as is merited by so amiable an associate, whose less vigorous spirit suffers a hard conflict, between pious resignation and the terrors of the adventure. The narration is perspicuous and consecutive, maintaining a close and natural connexion in the train of events. It is also in fact rapid, though it is not till on reflection how many particulars are told in a short space and in the fewest words, that the reader is aware of it. For there is a very singular cast of quiet sobriety in the language that bears us on through the changes, even when it relates matters of the strongest excitement; so much in contrast with the tumultuary, precipitate, and sonorous diction often assumed by poetic narration. There is often a sort of homeliness of phrase, with a slight tinge of quaintness, which does not put the reader in the mood for poetic perception; he does not seem to know that it is poetic feeling, while he goes on strongly interested by the strange scenes, situations, and transactions.

We have said the narration is consecutive. It is kept in a direct forward progress toward the ultimate event, without diverging or wandering to matters uncondusive to the design. The only part that may be called an episode is the Indian account of the mythology established in the faith of his race. With the exception on which we have just commented, there are not, we think any violent transgressions of probability, in the means and circumstances of the prosecution and accomplishment of the enterprise. Indeed the Author says he has adhered in a great measure to historical documents, including one written by Williams himself.

In the power of description the poet excels eminently. The wild aspect of nature, in both its permanent and its changing phases; the gloom of a solemn desolation, with, nevertheless, the beauties that here and there sparkle with life; the ominous incidents; the situations of alarm or relief; the external signs of the passions; the appearance, manners, and imposing spectacles, of the savage tribes; are presented with a graphic reality, by combinations of expression discriminatively selected in an ample command of language. We have noticed many instances of the happy introduction of small but characteristic circumstances, giving a verity to the description, and evincing an intimate vigilant observation of both material and moral phenomena. The reflections, always apposite to the occasion, are seldom so pro-

longed; or set forth in such detached form, as in the following instance, the first Stanza of the third Canto:

No pain is keener to the ardent mind,
 Filled with sublime and glorious intents,
 Than when stern judgment checks the impetuous blind;
 And bids to watch the pace of slow events,
 To time the action—*for it seems to bind*
 The *ethereal soul upon a fire intense;*
 Lit by herself within the kindling breast,
 Prompting to action while she chains to rest.

It must have required considerable courage in our Author to face the formidable array of names which he foresaw would demand to take position in his lines. At least our elegant verse-makers on this side the water would have been appalled at the sight and sound of a nomenclature of persons and places like this: *Massasoit, Apannow, Annawan, Wampanoag, Wanontom, Mattapoiset, Pokanoket, Pocasset, Namasket, Cowaset, Pawtuxet, Potowomet, Weybosset, Mooshausick, Seconnet, Wamponoand*; an euphony somewhat different, certainly, from that of a Homeric catalogue. We plead exception for some other of the personal denominations, especially those of our gallant friends *Waban* and *Miantonomi*; whom, besides, we know not why we should not like fully as well in capacity of heroes as *Ajax*, *Menelaus*, and a score of the rest. With valour at the least equal, they display much more sense, justice, and magnanimity. The poet has shown much dexterity in civilizing these savage sounds into the easy current of his lines. But indeed they are far less refractory to English metre and utterance than most of the terms and denominations which are attempting to make their way to us from the opposite side of the globe, with the prestige of oriental associations.

The poem is inscribed in some affectionate lines, to Professor *Elton*, of Rhode Island, by whom we have been favoured with a copy.

Art. III. *Sketches from Life, Lyrics from the Pentateuch, and other Poems.* By THOMAS RAGG, Author of 'The Deity,' 'The Martyr of Verulam,' &c., &c. 12mo. London: Longman & Co. 1837.

MR. RAGG'S master effort, upon the lofty and awful theme of 'The Deity,' is a very extraordinary poem, viewed irrespectively of its being the production of a self-educated mechanic, working for his subsistence fourteen hours a day in a twist machine. To have succeeded in reaping laurels in a field strewn with the broken weapons of preceding adventurers, in a species of religious poetry the most open to Johnson's rash objection, that 'Omnipotence cannot be exalted; infinity cannot be amplified;' and that poetry loses its lustre and its power when 'applied to the 'decoration of something more excellent than itself,'—this is, indeed, a high achievement. Few of our best poets have displayed equal skill in the difficult art of reasoning in verse; and the faults of the poem consist of daring metaphysical flights and feats of ingenuity, in the management of subjects better 'let alone;' which detract nothing from the literary merit of the execution. The poet's arguments and reasonings are confessedly borrowed; and his authorities are chiefly responsible for the improprieties to which we allude; but, in the use he has made of his materials, he displays an originality of mind which stamps a new mintage upon the bullion of thought. His command of language, and his perspicuity of style, are admirable. We are not surprised at meeting with indications of poetical feeling and sentiment, or of native genius, in persons born in humble life, and not having enjoyed the advantages of liberal education; but what especially distinguishes Mr. Ragg from many of the literary phenomena of this description which have excited astonishment for a time, is, that he combines with considerable poetic talent a vigour of understanding, a moral enthusiasm, and an earnestness of purpose, which give intrinsic value to his productions.

The present volume is of a more miscellaneous character; and it will hardly be expected that the author should be equally successful in every style. But there is some noble poetry in it; sufficient, had the author written nothing else, to procure for the 'Nottingham mechanic' the thanks and the praise of those whom he would wish most to please. The volume opens with *Night*, a poem in blank verse, in two Books.

'Dark theme, but spangled with ten thousand stars.'

Night,—the poet's day, when to him the flowers of fancy expand, and his free spirit expatiates in the heaven of invention, is apostrophized in a strain of natural and unaffected feeling, very dis-

ilar from the stilted ethics and epigrammatic rhetoric of Young, interesting at least the reader's sympathy, if not exciting his imitation, in a much higher degree. For instance :

' And I too hail thy coming ! though to me,
As yet thou bear'st not on thy starry wings,
Slumber, or other dreams than those which haunt
The poet's waking soul. Long hours must pass
Before my lips are privileged to press
Thy cup of quiet fill'd from Lethe's stream.
But thou hast brought me freedom, dearly bought,
It may be, purchased at a price which he
The leader of Britannia's living bards*
Hath warned me will prove high. But could the slave
Emancipate, whose manacles thine arm,
My country, reaching o'er th' Atlantic wave
Hath crush'd within its grasp, be purchas'd back
To bondage ? Would the long-imprison'd bird
'Scaped from the thralldom of its wiry cage,
Once having breasted the impending clouds,
And held communion with the free-born winds,
Return for lack of food ? Less wonderful
Were these than that the meditative man,
In whom exists the impetus of song,
Cooped up within the city's busy walls,
And chained to commerce through the lengthened day,
Should, for the purchase of a longer span,
Ignobly sell his life's most precious hours,—
Sleep all the night away, and give no vent
To that which wells within him, like a spring
That searches earth's dark bosom but to find
Some aperture at which to issue forth
And leap exulting toward the face of heaven ?

' They who can muse upon the flowery banks
Of Cam or Isis, favoured ones, to whom
Wisdom displays her stores, and every hour
Bids welcome to her feast,—may, when the shades
Of evening fall, devote its peaceful reign
To relaxation and voluptuous ease ;
But, while they thus luxuriate in sweets,
We, who inherit, in life's humbler walks,
A thirst of knowledge, and a strong desire
To give the warm impressions of our souls
A durable existence,—must endure
To drink the bitter dregs of poverty,

* 'Dr. Southey, whose kind advice I would here thankfully acknowledge, though I have not been able at all times to follow it.'

Or chain to business through the day those thoughts,
Which rather would upon themselves retire,
Dwell on th' entrancing beauties of the earth,
Or wing their upward flight to worlds unknown ;
And only, when the welcome night descends,
Loose their exulting wings, and let them go!—pp. 9, 10.

We must extract from the Second Part of the same poem, another passage, in which the poet-artizan gives vent to the feelings and sentiments naturally inspired by his own sad experience.

‘ Nor do all sleep.

* * * * *
And the hoarse clank
Of clamorous lace-machines, still urged along
By the pale artizan, whose rest is lost
To gorge a mart already overstock'd,
With the rich fabric that adorns the fair,
Disturbs the quiet hour. Alas ! that trade,
By thus invading nature's sacred hour,
Should of one comfort rob her hapless race,
To steal away yet more ! Alas ! that man,
Fond as the silk-worm weaving her own tomb,
Should lend himself to make encroachments thus
Upon the hours of rest, but to reduce
By over produce his scant earnings more.

‘ But commerce, while she yields advantages
To nations, of no trifling magnitude,
Is not without her evils. With high thoughts
Assaulting heaven, she sometimes seeks to build
Her palace mid the stars, and bid her sons
Fall down and worship : though with warning voice
Carthage, and Tyre, and Sidon, from beneath
Cry out from their eternal desolation,
‘ Come down and sit in dust, and learn from us
A lesson of abasement, lest again
Thy favoured ports and arsenals become
Forsaken : and the Fisherman should cast
His nets upon your shores.’ Profuse of smiles,
She finds employment for the needy poor ;
But maugre all her bounty, hath a scourge
With which to drive her votaries to their toil,
And not unoften doth she use it too.’—pp. 25—28.

‘ Oh ! deem it not preposterous, ye who tread
Its crowded streets, or build your factories
Wall above wall, high pointing to the skies ;
Who that had passed through Eden in its glory,

When Petra was the general rendezvous
Of Caravans, within whose gates were poured
The choicest treasures of the East and West
In untold riches;—would have deemed, that now
When scarce two thousand years have passed away;
It would be known but by its desolation
And stones of emptiness? Who, that had stood
Upon the coasts of Tyre, when the tall ships
Of Tarshish filled her ports with merchandise,
And made her merchants Lords—had thought the time
At hand when not a vestige should be left
Of all that busy scene? And what prevents
That she should be as these, that on our shores,
Some philosophic wanderer should alight
To gaze on devastation? And, if chance
Should lead his steps so far into the land,
May wonder what the stones upon yon hill,
Or strewn about these desert meadows were;
Or marvel much no records should be left,
From which to trace the name of this fair stream,
That rolls in majesty through mounds of ruins
Unnoticed and unknown. Thy bricks are not
More durable than rocks, and these have failed!
And Commerce that finds wings, wherewith to bear
Thy mixed commodities to distant lands,
Ere long upon those wings may flee away,
And all be lost to thee.

Not that the laws
Of uncontrolled necessity forbid
That nations long should flourish, dealing out
To every one a portion of success
For its due season, then withholding all
Their fair supplies, that they may sink to nought,
Whilst others build their palaces on high,
And send their name and glory through the world:
Nor that the exaltation of a state
Depends upon the wand'rings of a star,
Which man has dubbed its representative.
Tyre might have been the mart of nations still,
But Tyre despised its God. The tract of land,
As the earth's fatness, unto Esau given,
Might still have brought its old abundance forth,
And ne'er been buried by the drifting sands
Had Esau ne'er rebelled against the Lord.
For this Jehovah bade him build his nest
High as the eagle's, in the flinty rock,
But He would bring him down. For this the curse
Was poured abroad; and 'stones of emptiness'
Are Petra's everlasting feature now.
For this, the rending lightnings blasted first

The tower of pride, that rose on Shinar's plain.
 For this, have Nineveh and Babylon,
 Carthage and Tadmor, made their beds in dust.
 For this, was Greece dismember'd ; Egypt spoiled ;
 Rome torn by factions ; and the western world
 Released from thralldom, the foundation made
 Of numerous kingdoms, Japhet having gained
 The promised blessing. And shall these remain,
 When all their great progenitors have failed ?
 Their deeds must answer for them. ' Righteousness
 Exalts a nation.' Stedfastness and truth
 In their Creator's laws will gain for them
 A longer period of prosperity,
 Or sin will drag his vengeful thunders down.'

—pp. 30—32.

We have omitted some intervening lines upon the subject of immolating children in the factories, which do credit to the writer's feelings ; but questions of political economy cannot be discussed with advantage in poetry. Goldsmith's 'Deserted Village,' furnishes no better argument against Emigration, than the abuses of the factory system do against the employment of children under proper regulations.

We must now proceed to give a few specimens of the lyrical poems. The 'Sketches from Life' we must pass over, as for the most part more true to life than remarkable for their poetical merit. It seems to us that Mr. Ragg has not been able to bring himself to bestow 'poetic pains' upon these unstudied effusions, and has trusted to the interest which they will awaken as simple records of fact and feeling apart from the grace and polish of material language and the music of rhyme. The 'Page from the Author's History,' will not fail to interest the reader of sensibility in the character of the Author ; but as poetry, these Sketches would never have entitled Mr. Ragg to reputation. The 'Lyrics from the Pentateuch,' although of unequal merit, are of far superior execution. The third of the Series, 'Adam, where art Thou?' first published among some specimens of the Author's talent, is a very spirited and vigorous production. Nor is the following much less striking :

HAGAR IN THE DESERT.

GEN. xxi. 15, 16, 17.

" Why weepest thou, fond mother ?
 Thy child is blest of heaven ;
 Though to his younger brother
 The land of Canaan's given.

The Lord the God of Abraham,
 Who parcels out the earth,
 Will not forget thy little one,
 A prince of noble birth;
 And he hath promised that from him
 Shall rise a hardy race,
 Unconquer'd in the battle field,
 Unrivalled in the chase.'

'Vain dreams of greatness! mock not thus
 An anxious mother's sorrow;
 My child, the darling of my hopes,
 Will be a corpse to-morrow:
 The once great son of Abraham
 Now destitute is lying;
 Cold, clammy sweats are on his brow,
 My Ishmael is dying.
 His soul hung on the lips that press'd
 The empty pitcher's brink,
 And seemed as passing with the words
 'My mother! give me drink.'
 In vain I tore myself away
 To shun his closing eyes;
 Too well I know the imploring look,
 That fills them as he dies.
 Oh! might my tears but quench his thirst,
 Its rage should not last long,
 For I would weep my life away
 Upon his parched tongue.'

'Why weepest thou, fond mother?
 Can heaven afford no aid?
 Thy rising anguish smother,
 And let thy griefs be stayed:
 The God of peace, the God of love,
 Thus far hath led thee on,
 And will perform the promise, made
 To thine and Abraham's son.
 Behold a well of water nigh'
 (The angel stood confess'd)
 'Give drink unto thy little one,
 And calm thy troubled breast.'

'Oh God of heaven! and art thou still
 The banished Hagar's friend?
 And shall her tears then cease to flow,
 Her sorrow find an end?
 Blest messenger of heavenly love!
 How much I owe to thee,
 Who bringest me such kindly aid
 In life's extremity.

Drink ! drink, my child ! he lives ! he lives !
 My Ishmael lives anew ;
 The brilliant waters are returned
 To that dimmed eye of blue.
 This desert now shall be my home,
 A happy home for me,
 Since God still smiles, and I am blest,
 My lovely boy, with thee.
 Thy heritage the wilderness,
 Thy mother's heart thy throne,
 Thy kingdom is begun, my child,
 And here thou'rt lord alone.'—pp. 127—129.

These Lyrics are followed by 'A Dream,' in blank verse; Caradoc, a Narrative Poem, in Three Cantos; and Miscellaneous Poems selected from the Author's earlier productions. Considering the circumstances under which these poems have been composed, we cannot but concur in Dr. Southey's judgment passed upon one of the Author's former publications: 'What Mr. Ragg has accomplished is surprising; an age ago, it would have been thought wonderful.'

An intimation in the Preface leads us to blame ourselves for having delayed to recommend the present volume to the notice of our readers. 'Pecuniary straits, brought on by a long train of afflictions, have been one great inducement for issuing these smaller productions.' Nottingham surely will not suffer her noble mechanic to struggle unaided with the inevitable results of domestic calamity. We shall rejoice to find that this volume has obtained for Mr. Ragg the support and aid to which the use he has made of his talents so justly entitles him.

Art. IV. 1. *Ernest Maltravers.* By the Author of Pelham, &c. 3 vols. Saunders and Otley.

2. *Alice; or the Mysteries.* By the same Author. 3 vols. London: 1838.

OUR admiration of Mr. Bulwer, as a man of genius, is well known; but the reader may rest assured that it exists without any compromise, on our part, of those principles which have, as we believe, the Scriptures of truth for their foundation. We shall deal with the double novel before us, as those who must give an account: using our best endeavours to place the story in substance before us; and then offering some few remarks, with an eye both to the guidance of public opinion, and the private edification of the gifted author. Doctor Johnson describes the

criticism as the beauty of thought formed on the workings of the human heart ; a definition, which we always desire to bear in mind, throughout our lucubrations.

The work opens with a graphic representation of what may be witnessed near Bradford or Wolverhampton ;—a blasted common, upon which heaps of ashes and rubbish have extinguished every vestige of the picturesque. A cut-throat, hardened in villany, named Luke Darvil, is then introduced long after night-fall, as counting a handful of ill-gotten gains, and cursing his daughter, a beautiful girl of fifteen. This is Alice,—a character cast in the highest style of originality, although professed to be drawn from actual life ; about as much so perhaps as the *Bride of Lammermoor*, by Sir Walter Scott. A loud knock at the door of their rude hovel announces an applicant, who has lost his way :

The new comer was in the first bloom of youth, eighteen years of age ; and his air and appearance surprised both sire and daughter. Alone on foot, at such an hour, it was impossible for any one to mistake him for other than a gentleman ; yet his dress was plain, and somewhat soiled by dust, and he carried a small knapsack on his shoulder. As he entered, he lifted his hat with something of foreign urbanity, and a profusion of fair brown hair fell partially over a high and commanding forehead. His features were handsome, without being eminently so, and his aspect at once bold and prepossessing.

—Vol. I., pp. 9, 10.

This is Ernest Maltravers, the hero of six, or at least three volumes, himself full of sentiment and mysticism, on his return from the University of Gottingen to his friends in a Northern county. Favoured with the choicest gifts of fortune, he is drawn by our author with extraordinary care, as well as candour ; and, notwithstanding protestations to the contrary, we are persuaded that nine persons out of ten will persist in imagining, that whether conscious of doing so, or otherwise, Mr. Bulwer has blended not a little autobiography in the outlines of his composition. Be the fact as it may, the stranger offers half a guinea to be conducted to the nearest town ; but in ascertaining the hour, produces a gold watch, which excites the cupidity of Luke Darvil, by whom he is invited to stay under his roof, until day-break shall render the prosecution of a walk more tolerable. The personal charms of Alice, flashing upon the gaze of Maltravers, go far towards supporting such a proposal. Yet, if the bait seem attractive, the peril is imminent. Darvil plots with one John Walters the murder and robbery of his guest ; whose escape is like that of Musselmén over their causeway into Paradise,—not wider than the edge of a razor. Alice has conceived an affection for Maltravers, as disinterested as that of the virtuous portion of her sex always is ; and she resolves upon his enlargement. The

ferocious ruffian, before Ernest came, had been in the act of proposing to her a course of prostitution, in the wages of which he was largely to participate ; yet strange to say, an incrustation of ignorance, almost amounting to fatuity, had hitherto preserved her mind as well as person from defilement, as the rough and unsightly chrysalis protects the future butterfly. She goes to her parent, and appeals to his fears, on behalf of Maltravers ; and when satisfied that her appeal had failed, the poor girl, by filching the key of an outer door which Luke had locked, enables the captive to escape at the risk of her life, and the moral certainty of immediate ill usage. A blow from Darvil fells her to the ground ; but early next morning, her own flight ensues, and we find her accidentally overtaking Maltravers, without a plan, and apparently without an idea.

His conduct towards her, as his preserver, seems not unnatural. He appears before us as a wild, enthusiastic, odd being, just launched upon the world, with a full purse, rich expectations, and a poetical temperament. Strangeness and eccentricity are the most charming affairs to him imaginable. Without intending any harm, he thought that he would take this lovely girl to live with him as a pupil, not as a mistress. She possessed neither friends nor a home, which could be a real asylum. Her darkness of understanding is such, that she is unconscious of the existence of a God. Her simplicity is such, that the first proposal of waiting upon him comes from herself ;—and the very singularity of the arrangement enchants his fantastic philosophy. He would fain educate her therefore,—write fair and heavenly characters upon so blank a page,—and act the Saint Preux to another Julie of Nature ! A cottage is accordingly taken, with an old woman to wait upon them ; Alice is to be also a nominal servant : with the assistance of a schoolmaster, he teaches her to read, write, and say her prayers : Ernest conceals his real name, and adopts that of Butler : her mind rapidly develops, the faster perhaps from the frost of penury having kept it hitherto in torpor : she advances in her acquirements like a locomotive on a railroad, or a lark ascending in the sky : extraordinary musical powers are called forth through the skill of her instructor ;—but the catastrophe, though delayed, is exactly what might be expected. Passion laughs platonism to scorn ; and how should it be otherwise ? She learns to copy out the poetry of her patron ; and meanwhile they live in sin,—as the mass of gay society lives, in the very arms of the wicked one ; until a stray newspaper, having communicated to Ernest the dying circumstances of his father, dissolves the talisman of his guilty pleasure, and summons him to that grand test of its worthlessness—a death-bed !

During his absence, Alice, left through thoughtlessness without the means of direct communication with Maltravers, is carried off

atrocious parent, Luke Darvil ; who, having entered the world with intentions of robbery, thus discovers his child, and sends her away into Ireland. Alas, for poor Alice ! When she awakes, she discovers her senses, the dawn breaks slowly among desolate moor-covered hills. She has exchanged her bed of down for rough straw : the light tilted cart, containing her, jolts her over the ruts of a precipitous lonely road ; and by her side scowls the face of her dreadful keeper. A protracted journey to the east conveys her hopelessly from her paramour. Some readers are here adventured by the novelist on what is called moral morality. Alice, he thinks, might have been mouldered in criminal pursuits, at the suggestion of the monster who seduced her, before she knew Maltravers ; but from that hour, he says, 'her very error made her virtuous ;—she had comprehended, the moment she loved, what was meant by the honour of woman ; and by a sudden revelation, she had purchased morality ; delicacy of thought, and soul, by that sacrifice of herself.' This opinion is, that such a view of the case must ever be as dangerous, as it is altogether unfounded. *When lust hath conceived, it bringeth forth sin ; and sin, when it is finished, bringeth forth death.* It is a much more accurate observation, which also meets us in the second volume, that though man loves the sex, woman loves only the individual ; and the more she loves him, the more cold she is to the world : yet, even this is only true on the right side of virtue. A deception may possibly occur here or there ; but with a demonstration of the soundness of the inspired proposition, it would be amongst the last to utter a harsh word against the world ; yet indisputably the better portion of our race ; only sin ought not to be allowed to conceal its hideousness under a mistaken modesty of sentimentalism. Its form and language may be that of an angel : its righteous wages are the worm that never dies—the fire that never shall be quenched. Alice is to be saved as a brand from the burning,—and we rejoice at it : but with truth, and not error,—a return to the right way, and not a diversion from it,—which brings her in ultimate safety through the mysterious ordeal. On again escaping from paternal durandelle, she finds that she is about to become a mother. In a lowly shed, the pangs of child-birth present her with a girl, which with a weary step, and through hunger, thirst, and cold, she carries to the cottage, where she had sported her short sunshine with Maltravers. It has passed into the hands of strangers ; and she is driven from the door.

Alice, in the meantime loses her father ; and about three years after the night in which Darvil decamped with his daughter, Maltravers hastened in a post-chaise to the spot, he discovers his wife gone. He too begins now to reap the harvest of cor-

ruption; for she had completely captivated the flower of his affections; and these being trampled and crushed under foot, the world within him withers, like a garden blighted into a desert. No stone is left unturned to ascertain whither Alice may have flown. It is in vain that he lingers weeks and months in the neighbourhood. All that was evident every one could tell him;—that the house had been robbed,—that the old woman was fastened by her garters to the bed-post,—that a man of notorious character, named Luke Darvil had absconded, though he was declared to have known better days,—that some trace of cart-wheels from his hovel gave a faint clue to pursuit; and that after an interval of active search, persons answering to the description of the suspected burglars, with a young female in their company, were tracked to a small inn by the sea-side famous for smugglers. Time rolls on, and no further tidings can be obtained. He is forced to leave a vicinity at once so saddened and so endeared. His guardian, on whom the charge of his education and property devolves, has sent for him again and again. We might extract the portrait of this gentleman, the Honourable Frederick Cleveland, did space permit; but it is out of the question. At length the melancholy Maltravers feels compelled to obey; and presents himself at Temple Grove. Our Author here finely reminds us that,

‘Nine times out of ten, it is over the Bridge of Sighs we pass the narrow gulf from youth to manhood. That interval is usually occupied by an ill-placed or disappointed affection. We recover, and we find ourselves new beings. The intellect has become hardened by the fire through which it has passed. The mind profits by the wreck of every passion, and we may measure our road to wisdom by the sorrows we have undergone. Maltravers was yet on the Bridge; and for a time both mind and body were enfeebled. Cleveland had the sagacity to discern that the affections had their share in the change which he grieved to witness.’—*ib.*, p. 135.

The health of his ward, however, got more and more impaired; and Mr. Bulwer tells us that ‘out of the benign and simple elements of the Scripture, he conjured up for himself a fanaticism quite as gloomy and intense as that of illiterate enthusiasts.’ In order to cure him of methodism, his guardian sends for a companion,—Lumley Ferrers, a young gentleman of twenty-six, with a genteel independence of eight hundred a year, a powerful and most acute mind, great animation of manner, high physical spirits, a witty racy vein of conversation, determined assurance, and profound confidence in his own resources. At once sarcastic and argumentative, he usually obtained unbounded influence over those with whom he was brought into contact. His leading vices were a total absence of feeling, and an utter insensibility to

al principles. The object which Cleveland has in view is so attained, that Maltravers submits to argue about religion with a few comrades; and what is better still, 'he one night stole away to his own room and opened the New Testament, and read its heavenly moralities with purged eyes; and when he had done, he fell upon his knees, and prayed the Almighty to pardon his ungrateful heart, which worse than the Atheists, had denied his existence, but denied his goodness. And the sleep of Ernest Maltravers that night was deep and sweet, and his dreams were cheerful; and he woke the next morning reconciled to God and man.' Thus loose and preposterous are the notions which even wise men, and men of genius, entertain upon a subject beyond all others momentous and important. Our novelist, doubt, imagined that in the few pathetic lines just quoted, is contained a most attractive and correct delineation of real religion. Upon his own showing, however, the altered faith of his hero proves lighter than the dust of the balance, when weighed against the temptations of the world, the flesh, and the devil. Maltravers and Ferrers agree to travel together through Greece, Egypt, and the East; and upon setting their faces once more towards Europe, we encounter the former in the midst of a fashionable society, as an admirer of a certain Madame de St. Adour. All connected with this lady appears to us the worst part of the whole double work; nor do we perceive the least bearing which she has upon the *denouement* of the story. Men of fashion, even when rather sensible, can be spared from the business of human life, not less easily than their parrots, lap-dogs, cats, fans, and old china. Indirectly, it is true, she contrives to give Ernest Maltravers an impulse from what is wrong that is right. He has backslidden since he left England. The world, and its ways have indurated the surface of his inner man; although at bottom, its springs are described as still fresh and living, he drifts forward without useful or satisfactory purpose, and wastes the fair fund of his faculties and sentiments. He is elevated and more selfish; as must infallibly be the case, however that fear of the Lord, which is the sum of wisdom, fails to be the governing and pervading principle. From Naples we accompany him to Como, where, on the banks of its celebrated lake, M. and Mad. de Montaigne have a delightful villa; at which, *a la mode Italienne*, Ernest forms an intimacy, not only with its intelligent possessors, but with a brother of the lady, Count Castruccio Castrucini. This last individual is a second-rate character, devoured by his own vanity,—a perfect Heautontimoroumenos;—until he literally goes mad through a fruitless thirst after power; as cruel a syren as ever allured mortals to destruction. The history grows pregnant with solemn warnings, long before the catastrophe arrives; and throughout he moves to and fro, like a

condemned soul darkening into a demon, and wandering among dry places, seeking rest, but finding none. The illness of Cleveland calls Maltravers to England late in the autumn. He figures in London,—rusticates in his own country seat at Burleigh, of which there are several excellent descriptions,—turns author, and puts in successfully for literary immortality,—again falls in with Madame de St. Ventadour,—and is in the very act of kissing her hand passionately, at an inn where they had been driven for shelter by the rain, when Alice, arriving at the same house, and catching a glimpse of him, enters the apartment, fully persuaded that he was alone :

‘She had entered with her heart upon her lips ; love, sanguine, hopeful, love in every vein, and every thought :—she had entered, dreaming that across that threshold, life would dawn upon her afresh,—that all would be once more as it had been, when the common air was rapture. Thus she entered ; and now she stood spell-bound, terror-stricken, pale as death,—life turned to stone, youth, hope, bliss, were for ever over to her. Ernest kneeling to another, was all she saw ! For this had she been faithful and true, amidst storm and desolation ; for this, had she hoped—dreamed—lived. They did not note her ; she was unseen—unheard. And Ernest, who would after all have gone barefoot to the end of the earth to find her, was in the very room with her, and knew it not.’—Vol. II., pp. 196, 197.

The fact is, that Maltravers and the Frenchwoman were only vowing eternal friendship, *not love*, to each other, after the most approved fashion of romancers, fine gentlemen, and ladies. Alice knows nothing of these vain forms and empty sounds. She believes in her mind what she sees with her eyes, and hears with her ears : and so she turns noiselessly away ; for humble as her heart might be, there was no meanness in it. This moment proves the crisis of years, as will be seen in the sequel.

Her adventures have been hitherto not less wonderful than affecting. When driven from the door of that cottage, where she had lived in sinful pleasure, vagrancy without any other goal than death at the end of it, appears to be her appointed portion. But God tempers the wind to the shorn lamb. A Mrs. Leslie spreads over the wanderer, and her offspring, a wing of protection ; and getting gradually interested in their history, she sets up Alice as a teacher of singing and music, in a cathedral town, sufficiently far off to keep down the curtain of secrecy over her aberrations and misfortunes. It happens that the magnate of this place is a Mr. Templeton,—a retired banker, very opulent, and formerly its representative in parliament. He is a Dissenter ; and maternal uncle to Lumley Ferrers. His influence still remains paramount in the borough ; so that in the days of Gaitton and Old Sarum, he could always return one or even two mem-

1. He is portrayed as a sanctimonious, prudent, and ambitious man, with a most fair exterior, yet carrying the seeds of every vice within, unfolded exactly up to that point, where if matters should proceed further, the mask of hypocrisy must necessarily be thrust aside. His professions in religion and politics so nicely adjusted, that saint and sinner, charity and mammon, socialism and decorum, government and opposition, Tories, Whigs, and sectaries, have all sufficient pretences to claim him for their own. He longs to be a widower, that he may be rid of his present wife without a crime; and he sighs for a peerage, that the obscurity of his origin may be forgotten. There are hopes of ultimately wearing a coronet; for his stirring nephew, Lumley Rivers, has another set of relations, on the paternal side of his pedigree, one of them an Earl of Saxingham, father of the rich and beautiful heiress Florence Lascelles, and himself holding an office in the cabinet. Mr. Templeton is the idol of his neighbourhood, just at the very juncture of Mrs. Leslie's patronage being extended to Alice: and there is a curious interview between several parties, at which the benevolent lady endeavours to assist the banker on behalf of the pretty vagrant. Such a recommendation does something with Mr. Templeton; the blue eyes and lovely complexion of Alice do a great deal more; and a private affair of his own, the nature of which does not for a long time transpire, effects most. Templeton, in fact, takes up with her from motives more sensual than pure, yet, as it appears in the end, more secular than sensual. His partner, by her timely assistance, releases him from those matrimonial fetters of which he is weary. Alice about the same time is molested by an unexpected visit from Luke Darvil, whom Templeton gets rid of, by promising to transmit him an annuity from the earnings of his daughter; although no actual payment becomes necessary, since the plain officers of justice having fallen upon the highwayman as an old offender, he dies by a pistol-shot in his desperate efforts to escape their hands. Templeton, relieved by such an event, pays no attention to Alice; scoffs at the whispers of scandal already flying in his vicinity; and after encountering more than one mortifying refusal, succeeds in leading her to the altar, not long subsequently to that glimpse she had obtained of Ernest Maltravers through his heart, as she imagined, at the feet of Madame de St. Etienne. Thus raised in her circumstances far above depression and dependence, her beauty flourishes into its maturity. Mr. Templeton removes to a villa near London; where the exquisite attractiveness of a little girl, passing under the description of Alice's by a former marriage, extorts universal admiration. We must now glance at some of the other personages of the drama. Maltravers is rising in the firmament of literature; and acquiring an European reputation. Cæsarini has also published

a volume of poems, which fails ; yet he is in London himself, caressed by the great as a sort of literary lion, likely to last one season at least. His manners, costume, letters of introduction, and the disinterested kindness of Ernest, which the Italian repays with truly national ingratitude, open to him every saloon and assembly at the West End. Fine society completes the ruin of whatsoever might once have been sound and manly in his intellect. Envy, malice, pride, and wounded vanity, flock to his bosom, as vultures to a decomposing carcase. His fortune, originally more than sufficient for a foreigner in any land but Great Britain, or any city but its mammoth-metropolis, falls into a rapid decline ; which the poor fool accelerates by buying horses, presenting jewels, making love to marchionesses, and gambling at the club houses. Lumley Ferrers forms the closest intimacy with him, partly from the coolness in both towards Maltravers, produced by several causes ; and partly from superior discernment enabling him to foresee the consequences to Cæsarini of his present courses. These last, he thought, would soon render him a convenient instrument for promoting sundry purposes of his own, fraught with perfidy and wickedness. Primarily he is trying to worm himself into the good graces of his uncle Templeton, with a view to inherit his property ; whilst he also carefully cultivates his intercourse with Lord Saxingham, as well to maintain his individual importance, as to secure another string to his bow, for rising in the world. The lineaments of his entire character are traced with all the breadth and tone of Corregio, as they blacken into the depth of moral obliquity. We see how mere selfishness, apart from sensual vices, may conduct a man not only across the Acheron of ordinary iniquity, but into the lowest abysses of Tartarus. His eyes and avarice, as the story proceeds, are now gloating over the possibility of marrying the opulent daughter of his noble relative. Her attractions have reached their meridian. The beau-monde moves after the lady Florence Lascelles, whose beauty might serve painters as a model for Semiramis or Zenobia ; more majestic perhaps it may seem to some, than becomes her years ; and so classically faultless, as to have a touch of the statue in its composition. Yet, while flattering crowds murmur unbounded applauses, her own selection is fixed,—and that too upon Ernest Maltravers.

His fame seems first to have won her admiration, which frequent intercourse with him warmed into softer sentiments. She addresses to him a series of anonymous papers, replete with talent and pathos, urging him to spend and be spent in the service of his day and generation. Her delicacy of mind, however, appears unharmed amidst trials so fiery and searching ; except, that with thoroughly aristocratic cruelty, she suffers Cæsarini to fancy that he may presume to make her an offer ; nor does she quite turn a

ear to the coaxing attentions of her cousin Lumley Ferrers. al rectitude itself gets entangled and perplexed, amidst a leged circle, carved out of the universe of society, and con- ed by its exclusive inhabitants as the only known world. ence Lascelles finally receives a direct proposal from the ob- of her preference ; and he becomes her accepted suitor, with reluctant consent of Lord Saxingham. Just as so prosperous ttlement awaits him, Ferrers and Caesarini resolve, that gh they may neither of them gain the prize, no other shall ally enjoy it. The former of these infernals is the real fiend e tempter : the latter is little more than a tool. Ferrers has nto parliament : where, if he has done no public good, he assisted by venal votes to obtain for his uncle the coveted age, on condition that, if there should be no lineal heir, it ld devolve upon himself with a suitable estate. Succeeding far, with political prospects also opening before him, his p of desire waxes greater as he ascends. Finding how affairs n with regard to Florence, he remembers that Caesarini had received a letter from Ernest in relation to that lady, rein he was warned, although guardedly and respectfully, ast her culpable coquetry, in beguiling him into hopes which d never be realized. This friendly and admonitory epistle, en it should be stated in reply to an application for advice in matter on the part of Castruccio himself, Ferrers induces rini to alter, both as to date and a few very important mono- bles, so as that it is made to express an opinion of Maltravers oting Florence, which must wound her mind to the quick, lead her to pronounce him a traitor ! It is conveyed to her unparalleled subtlety and success. No abridgment can con- an idea of the skill and power with which the harrowing re is wrought up. The sorcery by which the proud Beauty een deceived ; her furious dismissal of her lover ; the tower- aughtiness with which he quits her presence ; the splendid e of happiness dashed into atoms ; the fruitless attempts at reconstruction, when the forgery is discovered, which of course is too late ; the broken heart of poor Florence, stricken to death with sorrow ; her last hours harassed between fears weakness, full of agitation, yet mingled with submission ;— his could have been painted by none with a more masterly l. The remorse also of Caesarini, as contrasted with the y callousness of his accomplice, relieves while it varies the p of pathetic circumstances gliding in upon the sensitive pathies, like spectre after spectre. Wrung with intense y, and yet feeling bound to respect that honour which is said rist amongst villains, he writes and confesses, not merely his share in the fatal treason, but assumes, with the romance of ndrelism, the entire forgery to himself ! He has indeed,

from the strange influence of Ferrers over him, sworn to do so; and he keeps his vow as long as he keeps his senses. Meanwhile death lingers not for the loveliest or the lowliest; although in virtuous minds, says Mr. Bulwer, 'the illness of the body usually brings out a latent power and philosophy of the soul, which health never knows: and God has mercifully ordained it, as the customary lot of nature, that in proportion as we decline into the grave the sloping path is made smooth and easy to our feet; and every day, as the films of clay are removed from our eyes, dissolution loses its false aspect, and we fall at last into its arms as a wearied child upon the bosom of its mother.' Vol. III. p. 244.

These are pretty sentiments for lack-a-daisical young ladies to read upon a sunny hill-side, upon a summer's day; but they are grievously calculated to mislead. We would fain hope however, from better things which occur afterwards, that they are the careless expressions of one whose eyes are indeed opening, but who as yet only perceives men like trees walking. Spiritual and vital religion will achieve a victory over the grave in the manner Bulwer has described; but as to the 'philosophy of the soul,' apart from conversion of heart, repentance towards God, and faith in the Redeemer, it is worse than trifling to imagine it worth the waving of a rush in the hour of death, or the day of judgment. And these things, be it remembered, are the momentous realities of the matter. *Man dieth, and wasteth away; he giveth up the ghost, and where is he?* Who can answer that question, but the gospel of Jesus? and who weigh the horror of it, if it be *not* answered? The mint of Gehenna issues millions upon millions of false coinage; and the term Philosophy passes but too well as a counterfeit for Religion. Our author elsewhere observes, that there are times, 'when the arrow quivers within us,—in which all space seems to be confined. Like the wounded hart, we could fly on for ever: there is a vague desire of escape, a yearning almost insane to get out from ourselves: the soul struggles to flee away, and take the wings of the morning?' It is indeed often so; but the felicity of the true state of the case is, that there is a city of refuge,—that there is a balm in Gilead; but the entrance to the one is through the Garden of Gethsemane; the tree that bears the other is the cross of Calvary!

But to return to our narrative. Templeton, Lord Vargrave, is surprised by an apoplexy into eternity; secrets curious and sombre are consigned to Lumley Ferrers, who becomes the new peer, with no more than fifteen hundred pounds per annum; though with the prospect of marrying, if the young lady on attaining her majority shall consent, the fair Evelyn Cameron,—the same who has passed under the description of Alice's daughter

by a former husband. The fortune bequeathed Evelyn is two hundred thousand pounds. Meanwhile the fondly-cherished and high-born Florence Lascelles has paid the debt of nature ; and Maltravers, challenged to revenge by the Italian, goes forth to seek it, attended by a Colonel Danvers as second, according to the laws of honour, and of him who was a murderer from the beginning ! They proceed to the lodgings of Cæsarini in a mean part of the town ; and what follows must be told by an abler pen than ours :

‘ Colonel Danvers came back to the door of the carriage in a few minutes. ‘ Let us go home, Maltravers,’ said he, ‘ this man is not in a state to meet you.’ ‘ Ha !’ cried Maltravers, frowning darkly, and all his long smothered indignation rushing like fire through every vein of his body, ‘ would he shrink from the atonement.’ He pushed Danvers impatiently aside, leapt from the carriage, and rushed up stairs. Danvers followed. Heated, wrought up, furious, Ernest Maltravers rushed into a small and squalid chamber ; from the closed doors of which, through many chinks, had gleamed the light that told him Cæsarini was within. And Cæsarini’s eyes, blazing with horrible fire, were the first objects that met his gaze. Maltravers stood still, as if frozen into stone.

‘ ‘ Ha ! ha !’ laughed a shrill and shrieking voice, which contrasted dreadfully with the accents of the soft Tuscan, in which the wild words were strung—‘ Who comes here with garments rolled in blood ? You cannot accuse me, for my blow drew no blood ; it went straight to the heart ; it tore no flesh by the way. We Italians poison our victims ! Where art thou, where art thou, Maltravers, I am ready ? Coward, you do not come ! Oh ! yes, yes, here you are ;—the pistols. I will not fight so. I am a wild beast. Let us rend each other with our teeth and talons.’

‘ Huddled up, like a heap of confused and jointless limbs, in the farthest corner of the room, lay the wretch, a raving maniac ;—two men keeping their firm gripe on him, which ever and anon, with the mighty strength of madness, he shook off, to fall back senseless and exhausted ; his strained and bloodshot eyes starting from their sockets, the slaver gathering round his lips, his raven hair standing on end, his delicate and symmetrical features distorted into a hideous and gorgon aspect. It was indeed an appalling and sublime spectacle, full of an awful moral, that meeting of the foes ! Here stood Maltravers, strong beyond the common strength of men, in health, power, conscious superiority, premeditated vengeance—wise, gifted ; all his faculties ripe, developed, at his command ; the complete and all armed man, prepared for offence and defence against every foe—a man who, once roused in a righteous quarrel, would not have quailed before an army ; and there and thus was his dark and fierce purpose dashed from his soul ! He felt the nothingness of man, and man’s wrath, in the presence of the madman on whose head the thunderbolts of a greater curse than human anger ever breathes, had fallen. In his horrible affliction, the criminal triumphed over the avenger ! . . . When, some minutes afterwards,

the doctor, who had been sent for, arrived, the head of the stricken patient lay on the lap of his adversary; and it was the hand of Maltravers that wiped the froth from his white lips, and the voice of Maltravers that strove to soothe, and the tears of Maltravers, that were falling on that fiery brow.' Vol. III. pp. 301—305.

Thus terminates the first portion of the works now before us, with what, as Mr. Bulwer says, though rare in novels is common in human life,—the affliction of the good, and the triumph of the wicked. Lumley Ferrers, having made his maiden speech in the House of Lords, is rewarded with a place under government. His plan of thwarting Maltravers, as to Florence Lascelles, has also produced results horribly delightful to revenge. Ernest withdraws from the kingdom, an exile in the zenith of his career.

Alice or the Mysteries, will furnish us with the sequel. It is addressed indeed to the many who complained of the incompleteness, as well as to the few who questioned the moral, of Ernest Maltravers. The first chapter presents us with the heroine, now widow of the late Lord Vargrave, settled with Evelyn Cameron in a delightful cottage on the Devonshire coast. Mrs. Leslie, a venerable septuagenarian, and not ashamed of her years, is on a visit to her former protégée. Their conversation turns, amongst other things, on the literary productions of Maltravers, as an author whom every one reads, and whom Alice herself never perused without being deeply affected; since there always seemed something in his pages reminding her of a voice in earlier days, the same which had first let in knowledge upon her mind, which had first taught her music, the voice of one whom she had herself preserved from being murdered, of one who had enchained and rivetted her fondest affections, of one for whom she had suffered so much, and respecting whom she still mysteriously felt as though they should yet meet again. The clergyman of the village where they reside, fulfils the duties of an affectionate tutor towards Evelyn. His name is Aubrey; and he will delight every right-minded reader. Dropt like a pure pearl into the lap of retirement, he may remind us, as to his conduct and demeanour, of the well known picture in poetry by Goldsmith. Yet there is no approach to servility in the imitation; for the mellow colouring thrown over the practical uprightness and pastoral character of this incomparable curate, is an autumnal sunshine, from the heart of an artist, shed upon a favourite study. Mrs. Leslie has a daughter married to Mr. Merton, a clerical magistrate, the rounded, respectable, and yet secular rector of an immense family benefice; and Mrs. Merton, calling with her daughter Caroline for her mother upon their road from Cornwall, carries Evelyn also away with her, that her first peep

human life may be taken under safe as well as favourable circumstances. It further falls out, that Burleigh, the country-seat of the Mertons, lies not far from the residence of the Mertons; and the owner is induced by accident to return thither from the continent, during the stay which Evelyn makes in the neighbourhood. The presence of a beautiful heiress, already given out as destined to a peer of the realm, produces an earthquake amongst the surrounding squirearchy; the effect of which is augmented by the sudden reappearance, in their midst, of so notable a person as Maltravers. The last, if he come back for any intelligible purpose at all, has serious thoughts of selling his fine estate, preparatory to an ultimate and total abandonment of his native land.

This was the state of Ernest Maltravers at the age of thirty-six; an age in which frame and mind are in the fullest perfection; an age at which men begin most keenly to feel that they are citizens. With his energies braced and strengthened, with his mind stored with the richest gifts, in the vigour of a constitution to which a hardy life imparted a second and fresher youth; so trained by stern experience as to redeem, with an easy effort, all the deficiencies and faults which had once resulted from too sensitive an imagination, and too high a standard for human actions; formed to render to his race the brilliant and durable services, and to secure to himself the happiness that results from sobered fancy, an upright heart, and an approving conscience;—here was Ernest Maltravers, backed too by the appliances and gifts of birth and fortune, perversely shutting up genius, and soul, in their own thorny leaves—soured by looking only on the dark side of nature, as once he had been blinded by looking only on the bright; and refusing to serve the fools and rascals that were bred from the same clay, and gifted by the same God. ‘Morbidity and æsthetic philosophy, begotten by a proud spirit upon a lonely heart.’

Alice. Vol. I. pp. 176, 177.

The hospitable and burly rector allures Ernest to house and table, believing that he would make a good match for his daughter Caroline; overlooking, as worldly-minded sages do, the greater probability in a lesser; and forgetting that it is much more likely Evelyn should attract him, unless he was informed that she was an affianced lady to Lord Vargrave. Information so necessary does not in fact reach him, although all know it, until his affections have got thoroughly entangled. Evelyn, before her arrival at Merton Rectory, possessed, however, other sentiments than those of repulsion towards Lord Vargrave, the individual marked out for her by the late peer; and not from perverseness on her part, but instinctive abhorrence of his hollowness and worthlessness of character. Hence Maltravers easily steps in, before he is aware of it, between herself and his old rival. His new feelings towards Evelyn, of whose

origin he could never dream, produce the wholesome effects of breaking down his self-insulation, and awakening his interest for his fellow-creatures. He improves his estate, becomes an active and benevolent neighbour, employs himself in mending the condition of his poorer tenantry and workmen; and when told of Lord Vargrave's presumed position with Evelyn, he abandons her at once to what he honourably considers a settled engagement. Yet Miss Cameron, on the other hand, feels that, notwithstanding the warmly expressed wishes of the uncle of Lumley Ferrers, she is at liberty to reject the latter, if she pleases, on coming of age, and forfeiting a moderate portion of her enormous fortune. She resolves to do this; especially after his lordship has unveiled himself during a recent visit paid at Merton Rectory, as a shrewd callous schemer, serpent-like in soul and spirit, and relying upon his craft and promptitude to make every spring conducive to the purposes of the machine SELF! Interminable plotting and counter-plotting now ensue, which it would be wearisome to unravel minutely. Suffice it to say, that Maltravers withdraws to Paris; that a certain Lord Doltimore, answering to his name, marries Caroline Merton, and goes thither also, together with Evelyn Cameron; that Lord Vargrave contrives to collect some particulars of his aunt in law's history; that after Evelyn had discarded him and accepted Ernest in his stead, the wily hypocrite comes down upon Maltravers with the thunder fraught assurance that Lady Vargrave is his long-lost Alice, and that he himself is therefore plighted to his own child; that the best plan of avoiding distressful explanations will be to accomplish the plan of old Templeton, and cover up the mystery under Vargrave's coronet; and that to all this Ernest as well as Evelyn at length yield their reluctant and melancholy consent.

Thus Vargrave seems to soar upon the pinions of his infamy, far above each successive difficulty. Politics sparkle before him with the prospect of office, emolument, and power: Hymen has his torch just lighted, with a cornucopia of matrimonial wealth ready to be showered upon the happy bridegroom. He plumes himself upon being the luckiest fellow alive, in despite of man, Satan, or the Almighty. In a single word, the prosperity of guilt has metamorphosed him into a worthy candidate for Tophet, exactly as the pit is ready to open its mouth upon him. For now starts up the miserable lunatic, whom Maltravers was to have destroyed in a duel. The friends of Cæsarini had placed him in an asylum near the French capital, where his hallucination had apparently lulled into mere wailings after personal liberty. Few pencils can paint madness; and we used to think that none could, beside those of Shakspeare and Crabbe; the latter in the single instance of Sir Eustace Grey: but justice to Mr. Bulwer compels us to enlarge the class of exceptions, so as at least to include

himself. We have afforded an illustration of this already, and know not how to withhold the following. De Montaigne, the brother in law to Castruccio, pays the unhappy patient a visit, with his medical attendant, at the asylum :

‘ Yet, when he rose to depart, Cæsarini started up, and fixing on him his large wistful eyes, exclaimed—‘ Ah ! do not leave me yet. It is so dreadful to be alone with the dead, and the worse than dead.’

‘ The Frenchman turned aside to wipe his eyes, and stifle the rising at his heart ; and again he sate, and again he sought to soothe. At length Cæsarini, seemingly more calm, gave him leave to depart. ‘ Go,’ said he, ‘ Go—tell my sister I am better, that I love her tenderly, that I shall live to tell her children not to be poets. Stay ; you asked if there was aught I wished changed—yes—this room ; it is too still : I hear my own pulse beat so loudly in the silence—it is horrible ! There is a room below, by the window of which there is a tree, and the winds rock its boughs to and fro, and it sighs and groans like a living thing : it will be pleasant to look at that tree, and see the birds come home to it,—yet that tree is wintry and blasted too !—it will be pleasant to hear it fret and chafe in the stormy nights ; it will be a friend to me, that old tree !—let me have that room. Nay, look not at each other—it is not so high as this—but the window is barred—I cannot escape !’ and Cæsarini smiled.’—Vol. III. pp. 47, 48.

But he does escape ; and roams for his prey like a tiger let loose from its lair ! Maltravers, in desperation at the downfall of one airy castle after another, buries himself in profound retirement at an inn sequestered from all other habitations, amidst the swamps and morasses that formerly surrounded the abode of Gil de Retz, the necromancer. It would be vain to describe his mental sufferings, in a seclusion at once so gloomy and so deep ; but taught by adversity a more excellent way than before, he daily, nightly, and hourly ‘ prays to the Great Comforter,’ to assist him in wrestling against a guilty passion. A letter from Lord Dolimore now inquires whether he is still disposed to part with Burleigh ? He determines forthwith to do so ; and to transmit to his agents in England the necessary instructions : but, in his sleep, that night, a dream appears to Maltravers :

‘ He thought he was alone in the old library at Burleigh, and gazing on the portrait of his mother ; as he so gazed, he fancied that a cold and awful tremor seized upon him—that he in vain endeavoured to withdraw his eyes from the canvass—his sight was chained there by an irresistible spell. Then it seemed to him that the portrait gradually changed ; the features the same, but the bloom vanished into a white and ghastly hue ; the colours of the dress faded, their fashion grew more large and flowing, but heavy and rigid, as if cut in stone—the robes of the grave. But on the face there was a soft and melancholy smile, that took from its livid aspect the natural horror : the

lips moved, and it seemed as if, without a sound, the released soul spoke to that which the earth yet owned.

'Return,' it said, 'to thy native land, and thine own home. Leave not the last relic of her who bore and yet watches over thee, to stranger hands. Thy good angel shall meet thee at thy hearth.'

The voice ceased. With a violent effort Maltravers broke the spell that had forbidden his utterance. He called aloud, and the dream vanished: he was broad awake—his hair erect—the cold dew on his brow. The pallet, rather than bed on which he lay, was opposite to the window, and the wintry moonlight streamed wan, and pale, and spectral, into the cheerless room. But between himself and the light there seemed to stand a shape—a shadow; that into which the portrait had changed in his dream; that which had accosted, and chilled his soul. He sprang forward—'My mother! even in the grave canst thou bless thy wretched son. Oh! leave me not; say that thou—' the delusion vanished, and Maltravers fell back insensible.

Vol. III. pp. 169, 170.

This incident, easy to be accounted for by ordinary agencies, induces him so far to change his purpose, that he comes back to Burleigh in person, and proceeds in the arrangement of his plans.

An under-plot is now developed,—the wheel within the wheel, of all that may have been puzzling in the story. Aubrey, the good clergyman, met in early life with the common lot of a disappointment in love. Eleanor Westbrook, a pretty woman in humble circumstances, won his heart, and then showed herself unworthy of it by jilting him for some golden calf, whose smart coat would wear, better she thought, than the threadbare gravity of a poor curate. The monied idler left her, after fifteen years, a widow with a small annuity and one child, named Mary. They happened to settle near Mr. Templeton, who in an evil hour betrayed the latter, and had by her a little girl, beyond comparison lovely; yet the source of anguish and alarm to its parents Sarah Miles, a confidential maid servant, witnessed a secret marriage between Templeton and his mistress, very soon, indeed, after the decease of his first wife. Mary, his second, also soon died; so that the fortunate banker found himself the second time a widower, and the father of an enchanting offset; the cloud over whose birth it became a grand object with him to conceal. He had writhed so deeply from the torture of an illicit connexion, that he determined to look out for a widow, to whom he might be lawfully married, and through whom he might, with no great difficulty, pass off his fair offspring, as her daughter by a former marriage. Alice Darvil crosses his path at a very critical juncture. He never loses sight of her; more, especially, when in the course of a few years she is called to bury her own child by Maltravers, in that church-yard of the village in Devonshire, where Aubrey offi-

ciated ; and to which Templeton had been at the expense of sending her, for the health of the young invalid, and the private purposes of himself. The grave, however, closing over the one, advanced the projects of the other. In his character of charitable patron and protector he now persuades Alice to change her name into that of Cameron,—to adopt his girl Evelyn by Mary Westbrook as her own,—and finally, to marry its father ! Sufficient care is taken all along by making proper removals, and selecting suitable localities, that no trace of the actual truth shall be left visible to vulgar curiosity. Hence, the reader must perceive, as we should judge to his unspeakable relief, that Evelyn Cameron is the daughter of Templeton, and not of Maltravers ; of Mary Westbrook and not of Alice Darvil. The secret remains for years buried in the breasts of the parties interested ; with the exception of one other person, Sarah Miles the maid servant. To remove her, the banker, now elevated into a peer, had united her with a handsome dowry to one William Elton, an adventurer setting out for America. On his dying there, Sarah returns to England, and is run over by Lumley Ferrers, whilst on a visit, as the selfish Lord Vargrave, at Merton Rectory. Maltravers had taken care of the poor woman ; who, having seen Evelyn Cameron in the neighbourhood, recognised her as the daughter of her former mistress,—and on her death-bed confesses, or rather confides the whole affair to Ernest just when he has arrived the third time at Burleigh, in consequence of the dream which we have extracted. It is also necessary to mention that Alice never consents to be called the wife of Templeton, until she has seen Maltravers, as she supposes, at the feet of another ; and that before she does so consent, she extorts an oath from the proud banker, that their nuptials shall be merely nominal. In one word, through fire and water, storm and sunshine, prosperity and adversity, she remains faithful,—strictly faithful, to her first love, Ernest Maltravers !

And now having made this felicitous discovery, he flies to her side for a brief moment : for circumstances immediately summon Ernest and Aubrey to the French capital. Vargrave, having added crime to crime, and succeeded in stratagem after stratagem, calculates that his marriage with Evelyn, besides disappointing his rival, will establish his triumph for life. Her fortune has become essential to him, since he has squandered his own ; and the prosperity of a certain political intrigue will be effected by his accession to that kind of opulence which adds importance to rank and talents. For this, therefore, he has ensnared the heiress of Templeton,—overreached Maltravers,—and heaped hypocrisy without shame upon wickedness without parallel. Ernest, however, meets the traitor on the very threshold of his success, with Aubrey, at Lady Doltimore's, in the presence of Evelyn.

'The sight of them explained all at once to Vargrave. He saw that the mask was torn from his face—the prize snatched from his grasp—his falsehood known—his plot counterworked—his villainy baffled! He struggled in vain for self-possession and composure, all his resources of courage and craft seemed drained and exhausted. Livid, speechless, almost trembling, he cowered beneath the eyes of Maltravers.'—vol. iii. p. 257, 258.

A messenger interrupts the interview, with letters to his lordship, announcing the total failure of a bank, whereby the hoarded and coveted thousands of old Templeton are swallowed up. The news affords a ray of relief to the crest-fallen nobleman, whilst it just conducts us to the lowest lines of perfidy and meanness in his character. He bows to Miss Cameron—breaks the intelligence to her with the polished heartlessness of his order—and informs her, that her wealth having disappeared, he abandons the field to his antagonist! Previous, however, to any hostile rencontre with the latter, he drives to his hotel; and there opens with ravished eyes a flattering invitation from the premier to accept a seat in the cabinet. It has, moreover, attached to it a prospect of the governor-generalship of India within twelve-months; upon the simple condition of his taking such steps as involve the betrayal of his whole party, and branding himself for ever as a mercenary apostate. Objection, scruple, hesitation, vanish before temptations so utterly irresistible to a man like Lord Vargrave. He again swells into the braggart, and hastens to dare Maltravers face to face. The full extent of his obliquity, even as to Florence Lascelles, has now been revealed by Cesarini in an interval of reason, to the astonished Ernest Maltravers; who has learnt, nevertheless, more wisdom than to imbrue his hands in the blood of vengeance. They come together for the last time, and separate in safety; although not without mutual reproaches. That night, the Italian, after delivering himself of the fearful secret which had greatly aggravated his malady, watches an opportunity, and gets access to the bed-chamber of his former accomplice. Vargrave is found dead, under his pillows, the next morning, with a face, locked, rigid, convulsed—and a discolouration on one side of his throat. The madman has destroyed him in the night, without a doubt,—throttling him in silence and darkness. He then closes the tragedy by throwing himself into the Seine. Evelyn, at last, is united to a Colonel Legard, whom amongst many others, she had seen and noticed at Merton rectory. Maltravers, of course, marries Alice; and *sic exeunt omnes*!

We cannot but think that these volumes will add greatly to the fame of their author. There is, indeed, as he intimates in the preface, an absence of those exciting scenes, which form the staple of modern romances: yet, for that very reason, his own

owers are more fully displayed. Without witches, spirits, ns, conflagrations, and battles, attention is kept up in the rom the commencement to the termination. The inci- the story are, in fact, within the circle of possibility to ense proportion of his readers. If the interest ever flags it is from long conversations, which, however they may explain the views of a writer on particular topics, are apt e third persons yawn ; for since they are obliged to listen eir eyes, instead of their ears, the agreeableness of oral ication necessarily merges in something like a sermon or 7. The *contour* of *Maltravers* and the *Mysteries* is that el blended with memoirs. There is more of that repose ng to the latter, than the fiery and exaggerated features, eak, which are generally found in the former. Yet the eem with events, personages, and descriptions. Some of e are brief ; and not the less excellent. They are like etchings : a few strokes perform wonders. Lumley Fer- the most elaborate amongst the characters ; promising r a volume or two : but gradually condensing into the hel of the canvass ; a figure full of talent, and rendering about him, as we proceed, almost painful. Ernest, we fancy, aristocratic an air to please altogether : but the way in is career ascends from selfishness to usefulness, thrown as to deep relief by the individualism of his rival, cannot fail e its impression upon even an ordinary observer. The art ast, indeed, is well understood by Mr. Bulwer ; as may be . Florence Lascelles and Evelyn Cameron, Merton and ; Templeton and Cleveland. If the conception of *Cæsa- struccio* be not quite original, its execution is most mas- roughout : and the richly stored mind of De Montaigne, e elegant and practical, reflecting vivid images from , politics, and ethics, flows ever and anon like the reach of rge river in a prospect, associated with utility and lux- , as well as beauty, clearness, and extension. No doubt, erous books and chapters might be abridged or curtailed, w instances, with considerable advantage ; and, perhaps, ould have been so, were more time allowed by the omni- public to our men of genius, for meditating, as well as in- heir productions. It is, however, curious to observe, how n minute circumstance is ultimately brought to bear upon icipal design ; several points of which are so skilfully con- until the proper moment for their revelation, that the of criticism is surprised as it were by an ambushade, in er we believe unparalleled, except in the great master- f Fielking. Down to the middle of the sixth volume, who ot suppose that Evelyn Cameron is the real daughter of

Maltravers, and have the heart-ache accordingly ; if he be warmed with a spark of sympathy or imagination ?

There are also snatches of dialogue between certain confidential parties which strike upon the senses, as felicitously true to nature ; and at the same time, flavoured with the most Attic salt of wit. We have an illustration, in the sebaceous colloquy of the Rector of Merton and his lady ; as the former extinguishes his candle ; and having pillowed her worldliness and self-complacency upon a conjugal compliment, plunges into a deep slumber, fully satisfied that he has the wisest wife, and she, the happiest husband in the whole country. It fully comes up to a somewhat similar scene between Cuddie and his hen-pecking partner in ' Old Mortality.' Moreover, it is no more than bare justice to the ingenious author to remark, that his appreciation of the female sex must ensure the approval of posterity, and command the applause of his contemporaries. Here we think he nearly stands alone. The generous yet just sentiment of Simonides he has made his own ;

Γυναίκος ουδε χρημ' ανηρ ληζεται
Εσθλης αμεινον !

Sir Walter Scott favours us once with a Jeannie Deans, and utters fine things occasionally about women : whilst we cannot help seeing that old ballads, ancient armour, sporting-dogs, and heraldic honours, held at least as high a rank in his code of chivalry. Bulwer, on the other hand, is loyal to the ladies, whether gentle or simple, from the core of his heart. The homage he pays them overflows from a sense honourably cherished of their worth and virtue. He estimates, with the liberality of an obliged party, the beneficial superiority of their invisible influence. He admires, like one who has experienced them, their fidelity through all changes ; their patience in all adversities ; their meekness, tact, courage, disinterestedness ; and, in one word, their power ; not of force, but of affection, which purifies while it persuades ; which elevates the mind, while it subdues the passions. We no longer wonder at his transatlantic popularity, in a country where whatever may be the disadvantages, artificiality is not one of them.

The most interesting circumstance, in these volumes, remains to be noticed. We are not able to get rid of an impression, in perusing them, that some change is going forward in the breast of their author, upon the momentous subject of religion. There is a perceptible improvement, as we advance, in his mode of expressing himself : the moral of Ernest Maltravers, taken by itself, is bad, but it is mended in Alice : and even with regard to the mottoes (which by the way rather encumber than adorn the

), we greet with much pleasure, in the latter division of it, extracts from such writers as Young, Pascal, Cowper, and Mont-ry. After all, however, he must not feel offended, when we say that religion is a matter, upon which he has as yet almost nothing to learn. That the Holy Spirit may teach him, and lead him into all truth, is our sincere and earnest wish.

The fact is, and we do not blush to own it, that it is an object near our heart to see this gifted person on the road to real wisdom here and hereafter. But the commencement in that way must first be made ; and then we may hope for progress. Not only has he much to learn, but nearly every thing to learn. To illustrate what his religious views were during the position of Ernest Maltravers, we will extract a passage or two with no other object, he may be assured, than to point out errors in a friendly spirit. 'Depend upon it,' he makes De laighe say, 'that the Almighty, who sums up all the good and the evil done by his creatures in a just balance, will not forget the august benefactors of the world' (philosophers for example), 'with the same severity, as those drones of society, who do no great services to show in the eternal ledger, as a set off for the indulgence of their small vices.'—vol. i. p. 305. In the third volume, again, he describes the 'only true philosophy,' meaning that which enables a man 'from the height of a tranquil serene self-esteem,' to feel the sunshine above him, when dark clouds roll sullenly below. Affairs are not quite so bad, as we have already intimated in the second part : yet, still if our good author will but listen an instant, these citations just rise the sum and substance of that hallucination, which fills the eyes of an individual approaching the precipice, until it is on air, and he gets wise a moment too late ! The 'eternal law' is a volume of unfathomable awfulness ; and its Almighty declares, amidst the thunders of Mount Sinai, 'Whosoever sinned against me, him will I blot out of my book !' Exod. xxxiii. 33. Now *all have sinned* ; there is none righteous ; no, not one ; he that breaketh the least of the commandments is *guilty* : compare Romans iii. 10—23 : James ii. 10 : and authority might be multiplied to almost any extent. The fall of Adam has tainted his whole race, as the Bible, confirmed by the daily evidence both of antiquity and daily matter of fact, declares unanswerable plainness :—as see the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans, *passim* :

Thus death by sin was born, while mercy gave
Her last assurance, that she longed to save ;
And as from earth each angel form declined,
The light of promise lingered still behind :

Just as a sun-set in the western skies
 Less fiercely glows, when day descending dies,
 And o'er some wreck the milder radiance falls
 Gilding the flowery but deserted walls,
 Till lovely though in ruin, seems the pile,
 The roofless nave—the arch—and silent aisle!

No mere debtor or creditor account can stand therefore between God and man: for, though we hear of our being judged according to our works, that judgment must, in all cases, be *condemnation*, except, where the blood of atonement has washed out the handwriting against us, it being nailed to the cross of Christ. We appeal to the Old and New Testaments for the accuracy of our views on this subject: and from their pages Mr. Bulwer will perceive, that 'the height of a serene and tranquil self-esteem,' is exactly one of those *high things* that must be *cast down*, as the apostle says, before the soul can be so properly humbled, as to feel its necessity, and fly to the proper quarter for a remedy. 2 Corinth. x. 5.

Prayerful investigation into the same inspired authorities will moreover bring before us another point equally opposed to anything like *self-esteem*; which is, that the unassisted intellect never will, whilst in a natural state, comprehend divine truth, or advance a single step from the prison-house wherein the soul is born, without the constant and preceding grace of the Holy Spirit of Jehovah. To adduce any fair amount of the scriptures supporting this statement, would protract our review into a homily. We must, therefore, once and again entreat all our readers, with the popular novelist amongst their number, to open and search the word of God, with the ancient injunction,

Nocturnâ versate manu, versate diurnâ.

We are ready to stand or fall by the testimony of revelation; but by that alone. Yet should our author marvel at a conclusion so prostrating to every idea of human pride, we may refer to the thirty-third chapter or section of the Phædon in his favourite Plato, where confessions occur of an analogous nature, except, that the pagan, as might be expected, has ascribed to his vain philosophy, an influence which can alone belong to the Paraclete of man, the ever-living Spirit of the most High!

The more the matter is sifted, the more plainly will it appear, that to become truly wise, so as to 'survive the sun,' as Milton has it, in sempiternal blessedness, we must be converted, and made as little children. To operate this change, the omnipotent artificer is ever at hand, waiting to be gracious. There is the pathetic entreaty too of our Saviour himself: '*Come unto me, all ye that are weary and heavy laden, and I will give you rest;*' as to which

Augustine and Archbishop Leighton have both justly said, that there is nothing nearly so sublime, or simple, or beautiful, in the whole range of the Greek and Latin classics. Clearing away then our vain imaginations, and bringing into captivity every thought unto the obedience of Christ, the heart will undergo a new creation; it will be transformed into a miniature of the vast ocean of truth, a reflection of the love of the Almighty! Mysteries, into which angels have desired to gaze, will throw their solemn shadows upon the understanding, in proportion to the calmness of the surface, produced by the depth of its humility. Uproar and storm, agitation and anxiety, will be hushed within the inner man, because peace has been proclaimed by the Son of God, purchased through his sacrifice and passion. The light of redemption will illuminate the profoundest waters, and shed a lustre even over the dark mountains of death, from the ineffable glory beyond them. But all this must be apprehended by that faith, which purifies the soul, and overcomes the world. The grand doctrine of substitution; the being accounted righteous through the righteousness of another; involving as it does entire and absolute self-renunciation; and conducting, as it must do, to the exhibition of practical holiness in thought, word, and deed; in other terms, a reception of the atonement, as a vital spiritual principle, in the fulness of its length, breadth, majesty, and power, must be to Mr. Bulwer, as well as to others, a savour of life unto life, or, *quod Deus avertat*, an aggravation of that doom which is reserved for the careless and the ungodly.

Art. V. *Historical Memoirs of the Queens of England, from the Commencement of the Twelfth Century.* By HANNAH LAWRENCE. London: Moxon. 1838.

AMIDST the deluge of inanities which is daily poured forth by Honourable Mistresses and Lady Charlottes'—consisting chiefly of scenes of vice and folly, with something called by courtesy a *moral*, in the distance;—it is gratifying to find a work like that before us, from the perusal of which we can arise with the conviction, that our reason does not shame us for the satisfaction we have felt. Miss Lawrence appears by her taste and turn of mind to be well qualified for the task which she has undertaken. Her former work* is proof enough of the enthusiasm with which she enters on the study of the antiquities of her country.

* London in the Olden Time.

Her mind is cast
In antique mould of ages past ;

and had we been forewarned of her intention to appear again before the public, we think we could have prophesied of her *whereabout*.

We are glad that she has chosen for her subject the memoirs of our *female* sovereigns, who have hitherto been merged, or only mentioned incidentally, in the history of their lords;—many of them were extraordinary persons, who possessed great influence for good or evil over the hearts and heads of those around them; and a true and judicious history of their characters, dispositions, joys, and sufferings, may throw a collateral and subsidiary light on the characters of many of our kings, and the events of their respective reigns; which, coming from a new and unexpected quarter, might show them in a different—perhaps a truer—point of view, than any in which we have been accustomed to observe them.

History—authentic history—would be valuable indeed, if men would condescend to profit by the experience of others, instead of waiting for the bitter teaching of their own. That anxiety for the future which haunts the mind of man, and probably of man only of all the intelligent creation, has led him to attempt to satisfy his longings, by any means which his own hopes, or the cupidity of others, had taught him to rely on. Hence witchcraft, hence demonology, hence astrology,—a holier science, but as vain—have been called to his assistance. We have learned at length, that, since the voice of prophecy is dumb, the only way of judging of the future is, to study and apply the past. While the mind of man is constituted as it is, what has been will be, and there have been instances of statesmen wise and great, who by observing present times, and comparing them with the past, have predicted, almost to particulars, what has afterwards occurred. If no practical use is made of history, it is nothing to us,—a legend or romance, provided we believed it, would serve us just as well.

Of this the Author (we dislike the term *Authoress*) appears to be fully aware: and accordingly the scope of her work embraces not only the *biography* of the queens of England, but an account of the manners, laws, and literature of the country, with reflections and conclusions in general well digested, and correctly carried out, and with most of which we perfectly agree—though not with all.

Our limits will not allow of description; it is but fair, however, to give one instance in proof of our dissent. Speaking, in her introduction, of the view that is generally taken of the Norman Conquest, Miss Lantane proceeds

'Now, in this view it is forgotten, that Duke William received the crown by actual bequest of the weak and superstitious Confessor; and, though the *immediate* heir was set aside, yet William, in point of *hereditary* right, had a secondary claim, while Harold had none whatever. The first Stuart held the crown by precisely the same right, the gift of his dying cousin; and the third William ascended the throne, by the express recognition of the principle, that the nearest heir might be set aside, should the exigencies of the state require it.'

"This right of the conqueror's we conceive to be no right at all. In setting aside of the immediate heir, and the hereditary right of William, such as it was, have nothing to do with the case;—the Saxon monarchy was *elective*, and there was neither heir nor right till sanctioned by the people. The cases of James the first, and of William the Third, are not in point; in their days the monarchy was *hereditary*, and James was next of kin of the blood royal, and the greater number of the high nobility, and of the people, were in favour of his accession: and in the case of William the Third, it was not the king, but the people, who set aside the heir, and welcomed the Prince of Orange to the throne. The Confessor, a weak-minded man, was *said* by William himself, to have promised the crown to him; but the Saxon monarch, on his death-bed, and in his last moments, amid speeches full of error and superstition, and which seemed darkly prophetic of the series which were approaching, declared that the man most worthy to succeed to the vacant throne, was Harold, the son of Godwin;* and the answer of the noble son of Godwin himself, to the messenger sent by William to claim the crown, was, according to the historians of the time, as follows: Harold admitted his engagement, (to procure the accession of William) it pleaded, that it had been extorted from him under bodily fear; and added, that he had been compelled to renounce that royal dignity which was not then his own to bestow, *but belonged to the people of England*. The people bestowed it upon Harold, and *his* therefore we conceive the right to have been.

The Norman Conquest, like all great convulsions, overthrew much, and unsettled more; its ultimate influence, however, on the institutions and happiness of the country, was certainly very *beneficial*; and the period chosen for the commencement of these memoirs, is precisely that, at which its *good* effects began to be developed.

Eight English queens, of more or less celebrity, are noticed in the work. To a brief account of four of these we must restrict our present observations, with a word or two in addition on

* Roger de Hoveden, p. 256.

the mother of the first—Margaret, the mother of the ‘Good Queen Maude.’

After the battle of Hastings, Edgar, ‘the noble child,’ as he is called in the Saxon Chronicle, too weak to enforce his claim to the crown, ‘departed with his mother Agatha, and his two sisters, ‘Margaret and Christina, and many good men with them, and ‘came to Scotland under the protection of Malcolm, who entertained them all. Then began Malcolm to yearn after the child’s ‘sister Margaret to wife; but he and all his men long refused, and ‘she also herself was averse, and said she would neither have him ‘nor any one else, if the Supreme Power would grant that she in ‘her maidenhood might please the mighty Lord in this short life ‘in pure continence. The king, however, earnestly urged her ‘brother till he answered, ‘Yea;’ and, indeed, he durst not ‘otherwise, for they were come into his kingdom.’ ‘And great ‘and important benefits did the Saxon princess confer alike on her ‘husband and her kingdom. She afforded a secure asylum for ‘those of her countrymen who fled the rigour of the Norman ‘yoke; she welcomed with magnificent presents learned men ‘from all parts of the continent; she introduced the Saxon tongue ‘into her dominions, and both by precept and example, promoted ‘the spread of religion; nor did she consider the civilization of ‘the people as beneath her care.’

At her decease she was canonized. On the death of Malcolm Canmore, Maude and her sister were sent to England, to be educated by their aunt Christina, superior of the Abbey of Romsey; and the education which the good queen received is supposed to have been such as rendered her no unworthy representative of her sainted mother. Henry Beaulerc appears to have selected this amiable princess for his wife, for the sole purpose of attaching his Saxon subjects to his government and person; and in this he seems to have succeeded. His heart had nothing to do with the arrangement; but he treated his consort with all respect and munificence, though he admitted her neither to his affection nor his confidence.

Her liberal patronage of literature and of the clergy, her active charity, her winning sweetness of disposition, her great attention to religious duties, which rendered her even in those days exemplary, and her long and patient exercise of all the passive virtues, procured for her the enviable appellation by which she is known to posterity, of the ‘Good Queen Maude.’

As there is nothing striking or prominent in her history, we quote for the information of the reader, a passage descriptive of the appearance of London in her time.

‘Nor did London herself present much to attract or delight the eye. The conventual establishments were few, the churches scanty, as com-

pared with later times ; nor did the tall spire, the traceried window, or the richly carved doorway, contrast in picturesque variety with the rude low houses around. The materials of the churches were mean, and perishable ; timber, or rubble, formed the walls, glass windows were but scantily seen ; and but one parochial church boasted the unusual splendour of *stone arches*. This was in St. Mary's in West Cheap, called from that circumstance, ' *de arcubus*,' a name retained to the present day, in its Norman designation ' *Le Bow*.'

' Nor did the noble river, at this period spanned only by one fragile wooden bridge, display that forest of masts, which have given to London her appropriate designation of the 'modern Tyre.' Beside the Tower, at the Vintry, and at Edreds'-hithe, a few small vessels might be anchored ; and from time to time some tall Norman galley, or some light osier-bound shallop, might glide by ; but the broad and spacious quays, with the palace-dwellings of their merchants, the stirring life, the busy crowds, the sounds of never-ceasing activity, as yet were not. At either end of the city, and close to the water's edge, arose those equally impregnable fortresses, the Tower and Castle Baynard ; on the other side of the river, the rude collection of huts marked the site of that general receptacle of thieves and outlaws, the Borough ; close beside them rose the house of nuns and the lonely church, dedicated to the Virgin by the grateful maiden of the ferry Marie ; and far beyond, rising conspicuous from among the green marshes, were the towers of the palace of Lambeth.'

10

'Of Maude of Boulogne, the queen of Stephen, we shall only say, that she had a woman's heart ; but, in saying this, we pay her, as we think, the highest compliment that can be offered to her sex. Her career is identified with the known events of her time ; but is distinguished by that devoted attachment to her husband, and by those ceaseless exertions for his welfare, which were at last triumphant ; and which, more than literature, or wit, or beauty, have shed a glory round her memory.

In strong contrast to hers, stands out the history of Elinor of Aquitaine, wife of 'the first Plantagenet, and mother of Cœur de Lion.' If this princess has been wronged by other writers, we think that by Miss Lawrance she is more than righted. Grant, (and we grant it) that Henry married her for her dower ; her fair province of Aquitaine ; for what but this could he have married her, within *six weeks* of her divorce from her former husband ? Not for affection surely ! that is of slower growth, and she must have known it. Grant that he imprisoned her ; had she not fled from him, and joined with his rebellious sons ? He was false to her, and harsh and unjust to them ; but could this, could any thing, excuse a mother for stimulating her sons to that crime of double rebellion against their father and their king, which embittered his remaining days, and brought him with sorrow to the grave ? Whatever is unnatural is bad ! we do not,

therefore, excuse Henry, but we cannot justify Elinor. We will do her, however, all the justice in our power by quoting the concluding summary of her character :

‘ Her general talents are proved by her assumption of the office of Regent, both under Plantagenet and Richard, for Plantagenet would not confide authority to one whom he deemed incompetent; nor would the English barons have so quietly awaited the arrival of Cœur de Lion, had not the supreme power been placed at this important crisis in hands well qualified to wield it. As the conductress of important missions, the talents of Elinor seem to have been acknowledged by universal consent. To her was committed the charge of selecting a bride for Cœur de Lion; to her was entrusted the mission to the pope on behalf of Geoffrey; to her was consigned the ransom of her captive son, and the difficult charge of negotiating with the Emperor; even when bowed down by the weight of almost four-score years, to her, alone, was the embassy assigned, that was to arrange the marriage of Blanche of Castile with the heir of the French crown. As a mother, the respectful and devoted attachment of her children is sufficient eulogy; while the complete silence of every monkish historian to the contrary, proves that among her servants and dependants her conduct must have been exemplary. As the patroness of literature, the name of Elinor of Aquitaine deserves a high station; in her court the poets of the *lanque d’oc* and of the *lanque d’aïl*, sung in friendly rivalry together; and beneath the sunshine of her smile, chivalric romance burst forth. Nor should the philosopher refuse his praise to that important act of her English Regency, which, reversing the sanguinary provisions of the forest laws, summoned every outlaw from the Trent to the Severn, to repossess his forfeited rights on the easy terms of taking the oath of allegiance to the new king.’

We turn with pleasure to the Memoir of Elinor of Castile, consort of Edward the First, whose fame, however, has come down to us, as coupled with an action which never was performed; at least, there is no authority for the story of her having saved her husband’s life by sucking the poison from his wound.

Hemingford, who is most minute in his account, describes ‘ the Master of the Temple as superintending the surgeons who dressed the wound, and as directing Elinor, who refused to quit her husband, to be forced out of the room, when the excision of the blackened flesh became necessary.’ He (Hemingford) says, ‘ that Elinor was told it was better that *she* should weep for the pain that Edward would suffer, than that the whole nation should mourn for his death.’ The common story is first to be found in a Spanish Historian, Roderic Stantius, who did not write until two hundred years after. Still, although this pleasing story is without foundation, the excellence of a whole life, and the conjugal devotion of thirty-six years, afford a better claim to that respect in which the memory of Elinor of Castile, during more

ian five centuries, has been held, than a single act of transient though devoted affection.

Loving and beloved, exerting her influence for the benefit of all around, this excellent queen and woman appears to have passed her life in almost uninterrupted felicity. The companion of her husband in all his wanderings, she accompanied him to the Holy Land, to France, and was preparing to join him on his intended journey to Scotland, when she was seized with the fever which terminated her days, and expired at a village called Herdley, about twenty miles from the palace of King's Clipstone, in Nottinghamshire, 'at the house of one William Weston, according to Sandford, on the 29th of November, 1290.' 'The grief of the king, of her family, and of her dependants, at this great, and not improbably unexpected loss, was unbounded; while by the whole people the death of Elinor of Castile was viewed as a national calamity;—for,' says Walsingham, and he echoes the testimony of every contemporary historian, 'she was pious, virtuous, merciful, a friend to all the English, and as a pillar of the realm. In her day no foreigner dared to oppress England; neither was any native ever injured through legal exactions, if to her ears the slightest complaint of wrong ever came.'

Sixteen beautiful crosses were erected by King Edward in the places where the body of his beloved consort had rested in its progress from Herdley to Westminster, of which number three only remain—at Geddington, Northampton, and Waltham.

We prize the history of the heart, and have quoted chiefly to illustrate it. There are, however, three interesting chapters on 'The Learning of the Cloister,' 'The Poet-Fathers of England,' and 'The Arts in the 13th Century,' respectively; on which at present we cannot comment as they deserve. Some of the most curious parts are those which relate to the state and treatment of the Jews.

'To refer the introduction of all science that deserved the name to the settlement of the Jews in England, would appear to the reader who is acquainted with that singular people only in their present state, not strange and improbable. Yet, such was the fact; and the first schools which taught experimental philosophy in England were those of the Jews at Oxford. Ere one Christian University had raised her head, in the Moorish schools of Cordova and Toledo, the highest chairs of philosophy were filled by Jewish Rabins, and a succession of Hebrew Scholars shed lustre on the literary history of Spain.' 'In the reign of Beauclerc they occupied three hostels at Oxford, called after the respective names of their owners, Lombard-Hall, Moses-Hall, and Jacob-Hall. That Christian students should resort to these halls in great numbers, merely to attain, according to Anthony à

Wood, a knowledge of Hebrew, is most improbable: surely it was rather to learn the wonders of Astrology, the singular powers of that newly discovered Arabian science of numbers, the profound mysteries of the Cabala, that Christian youths flocked to these Hebrew schools, and meekly sat down at the feet of their Jewish Professors.'

Even so; the schools of the Arabian Mahomedans in Spain were the only places at which for a long period the abstract or practical sciences could be learned, and thither the youth of Europe flocked. The famous tables of Alphonso the Wise, were constructed by Mahomedans and Jews, and the Arabian numerals were used on that occasion, for the first time on a scale of such importance. We will briefly contrast the treatment of the Jews with their deserts. Henry the Third 'directed writs to the sheriffs of each county, directing them to return before him at Worcester, upon Quinquagesima Sunday, six of the richest Jews from every larger town, and two from each smaller, 'to treat with him, as well concerning their own as his benefit.' He informed them that they must raise him 20,000 marks (about £200,000 according to the present value of money) and when they expressed their astonishment, they were only commanded 'to go home again, and get one half of it ready by Midsummer, and the remainder by Michaelmas.*' 'On two occasions during his reign (Henry's) the malignant charge of crucifying a child was brought against them; and on the one occasion many of the richest Jews fled away, and the king seized all their property; while on the other, eighty of the wealthiest Jews of Lincoln were hanged, and sixty-three conveyed to the Tower, to undergo a similar fate. Besides these general persecutions, some of their number seem to have been marked out for most extensive spoliation. Aaron of York, declared to Matthew Paris, that no less a sum than 30,000 marks (£300,000) besides 200 gold marks for the queen, had been extorted from him in seven years; and others were heavily mulcted.'

The plunder of these unfortunate people was systematic, and the wanton waste of life is perfectly appalling. And wanton in the worst degree it was, as Dr. Toney has pertinently remarked, that the charge of crucifying children was never brought against them, but at times when it can be proved, that the king was greatly in want of money. The slaughter of the Jews at the coronation of Richard the First, however, greatly exceeds in horror all that is above related, especially the massacre at York; where 500 of them perished by their own hands, to escape the fury of the populace and the priests: an instance of stern enthu-

* Dr. Toney's *Judaica Anglia*.

and heroic self-devotion, which cannot be exceeded in the history of their history—the sacrifice of Massada not excepted.* In Lawrance's opinion of the condition of the lower orders of the people is rather (we suspect) *too* good; though we believe it to have been better than is usually admitted; and perhaps we may work the more, as it is certainly in favour of a somewhat gloomy story of our own; that the men of the *dark* ages, as we are apt to term them, were generally equal, and often superior to the Romans. The circumstances of their times were more favourable to strong development, and individuality of character—to freedom of mind—than our own conventional and prosaic days: more in many instances was achieved by them with weaker means, than has since been compassed, with all the appliances of modern means to boot, that learning, art, and science have supplied: with respect even to *these*, we have but followed out what originated.

We think this volume very creditable to the research and industry of the writer; we cordially recommend it to our readers; we trust that Miss Lawrance will redeem her pledge, and that we are long to recommend another.†

We cannot lay down our pen without observing, that the time has been chosen for the publication of this work is singularly propitious. We have just seen a young and beloved queen seated on the regal seat of her ancestors. A queen who will occupy a higher station than any of the illustrious females at whose memoirs we have briefly glanced; who will stand forth in history in a more imposing attitude than they; who will fill the eyes of herself; who will shine by her own light; who will wield the destiny of nations; and whose reign, we hope and pray, may be long, illustrious, and happy.

For a brief, but highly interesting account of the massacre at York, see *Curiosities of Literature*; for that of Massada, see Milman's *History of the Jews*; the similarity of their circumstances and behaviour is striking and extraordinary.

We think Miss Lawrance's adverbs have great reason to complain of their cruciating positions into which they are forced. We should recommend her to abolish the torture, and to restore them to their comforts and freedom: 'to which he has assigned an *even earlier* period,' is bad; but, as bound *to only receive* the challenge of monarchs,' is barbarous.

Art. VI. *The Life of William Wilberforce.* By his Sons, ROBERT ISAAC WILBERFORCE, M.A., Vicar of East Farleigh, and SAMUEL WILBERFORCE, M.A., Rector of Brightstone. In 5 vols. Murray: London, 1838.

HAVING attempted the defence of Mr. Clarkson from the aspersions thrown on him in these volumes, we now recur to the narrative of Mr. Wilberforce's life. To have pursued the thread of his history, without vindicating the reputation of his early associate and friend, would have been, in our judgment, an insult to his memory, and a serious dereliction of our duty as journalists. The claims of the Abolition cause were well suited to engage Mr. Wilberforce's warmest support, while his talents and station were eminently fitted to commend them to the confidence and good feeling of the nation. Nor does it admit of doubt, that the religious change he had recently experienced, by deepening his conscientiousness, and giving force and a practical bent to his benevolence, prepared him for the noble achievement of his life.

To this service he devoted himself, body, soul, and strength. Cheerfully responding to the call of duty, he purged his heart from all selfishness, ambition and vanity, and stepped forth the consecrated champion of human rights. The spirit in which he entered on the great struggle of his life, was a good omen of its successful issue. 'God Almighty,' he says, 'has set before me two great objects, the suppression of the slave trade and the reformation of manners. . . . It was the condition of the West Indian slaves which first drew my attention, and it was in the course of my inquiry that I was led to Africa and the abolition.' He immediately sought to obtain the co-operation of his ministerial friends, particularly Lord Grenville and Mr. Pitt; and it was after a conversation with the latter 'in the open air at the root of an old tree at Holwood just above the steep descent into the Vale at Keston,' he resolved to bring the question before parliament.

Notice of his intention was given in the spring of 1788, but a serious illness preventing his attendance, Mr. Pitt moved a resolution on the 9th of May, binding the House to a consideration of the question early in the next Session. In pursuance of this vote, Mr. Wilberforce, on the 19th of March, 1789, moved that the House resolve itself into a Committee on the 23rd of April, which was subsequently altered to the 12th of May. The forces of his opponents were now thoroughly roused. A loud clamor was raised about vested rights and the commercial interests of the nation; and no means were left untried which promised to prolong discussion. Several members of the administration were

unfriendly to his views;—the king was known to be hostile, and more than one of the royal dukes was active in opposition. Rank and wealth were united in the inglorious strife, and laboured with an assiduity and zeal worthy of a better cause. In the meantime, evidence was demanded, and witnesses were called to the bar of the House. The same delusive policy was adopted as in the recent case of the Apprenticeship, and Session after Session was consumed in hearing evidence on a case which admitted of easy and instantaneous solution. It is not our purpose to follow with any minuteness the details of these parliamentary discussions. We could supply little more than dates, and are invited to a richer and more grateful field. Suffice it to say, that every artifice was adopted which could stave off inquiry, or prevent legislative enactments. Witnesses were first called, and when these failed to answer the purpose of their employers, and the public mind grew increasingly settled in its convictions and firm in its resolves; an attempt was made to defeat the Abolitionists by pretending to adopt their principles, but to apply them with sounder discretion, and a more enlightened regard to the welfare of the Africans. Satan put on the garb of an Angel of Light, and uttered the language of truth, while the practice of iniquity was in his heart. Mr. Dundas, of inglorious memory, deeply steeped in official corruption, a man of whom one of Mr. Wilberforce's correspondents remarks, 'nobody thinks well of him—duplicity and artifice are esteemed parts of his character;' was a fit agent for the execution of such a scheme. On any other subject he would not have dared to thwart the views of the premier; but, being backed by the court, he openly opposed, in 1792, the *immediate* abolition of the trade, and induced the House to resolve on its *gradual* extinction. Mr. Wilberforce was mortified at this result of his motion, and refused to bring in a 'Bill to license robbery and murder.' Still he did not lose heart, but renewed his efforts, though unsuccessfully, from 1794 to 1799. He retained a growing conviction that the cause he advocated must eventually triumph,—that it could not fail to work itself into the confidence and sympathies of the nation, and thus overbear and shame opposition. This strong faith was sometimes bitterly assailed, but he retained 'his confidence firm unto the end.' A very inadequate conception is generally entertained of the amount of labour he incurred. What appeared to the public eye is the least item in the account. His time was occupied, his strength exhausted, his rest was broken by incessant efforts to master all the complicated bearings of the question.

'Mr. Wilberforce and Mr. Babington,' writes a friend from Yoxall Lodge, 'have never appeared down-stairs since we came, except to take a hasty dinner, and for half an hour after we have supped: the

Slave Trade now occupies them nine hours daily. Mr. Babington told me last night, that he had 1400 folio pages to read, to detect the contradictions, and to collect the answers which corroborate Mr. Wilberforce's assertions in his speeches: these, with more than 2000 papers to be abridged, must be done within a fortnight. They talk of sitting up one night in each week to accomplish it. The two friends begin to look very ill, but they are in excellent spirits, and at this moment I hear them laughing at some absurd questions in the examination, proposed by a friend of Mr. Wilberforce's. You would think Mr. Wilberforce much altered since we were at Rayrigg. He is now never riotous or noisy, but very cheerful, sometimes lively, but talks a good deal more on serious subjects than he used to do. Food, beyond what is absolutely necessary for his existence, seems quite given up. He has a very slight breakfast, a plain and sparing dinner, and no more that day except some bread about ten o'clock. I have given you this history, as you say every thing about him must be interesting to you, and this is all I at present see of him.'

'Such were his occupations until his return to London in November. Throughout this time, with the exception of two days each of which yielded him eight hours of labour, he devoted daily nine hours and a half to his main employment.'—Vol. I., pp. 282, 283.

The following letter from John Wesley, probably the last he wrote, served, with many others, to confirm his resolution by rivetting his attention on the great secret of his strength. It was a solemn charge from a dying man to be faithful in his vocation.

'Feb. 24, 1791.

'My dear Sir,

'Unless the Divine power has raised you up to be as *Athanasius contra mundum*, I see not how you can go through your glorious enterprise, in opposing that execrable villany which is the scandal of religion, of England, and of human nature. Unless God has raised you up for this very thing, you will be worn out by the opposition of men and devils; but if God be for you who can be against you? Are all of them together stronger than God? Oh be not weary of well-doing. Go on in the name of God, and in the power of His might, till even American slavery, the vilest that ever saw the sun, shall vanish away before it. That He who has guided you from your youth up may continue to strengthen you in this and all things, is the prayer of,

'Dear Sir,

'Your affectionate servant,

'JOHN WESLEY.'

—ib., p. 297.

The progress of the French revolution, strange as it may now appear, operated seriously against the Abolition. The nation was frenzied, and amid the clamour of parties, the claims of humanity were forgotten. It would have been wise, at such a time, to have averted the just displeasure of God by renouncing

all unrighteousness. The prompt abandonment of such a sin, would have been a shield thrown before the nation, assuring it of Divine protection,—giving promise of the stability of the throne and the security of the domestic hearth. But our legislators were otherwise affected. The fearful convulsions of the continent,—the uprooting of ancient dynasties,—the maddened passions which shook Europe to its centre, and ushered in amidst thunderings and lightnings, a new and better order of things, were represented as unfriendly to the work of mercy,—as rendering the pretences of abolition but the fomentors of strife and the watch-words of sedition. The West Indians readily availed themselves of the delusion of the moment, and parliament gave way to their plea. And here we cannot abstain from doing justice to Mr. Clarkson in the matter of his political sentiments. It is more than insinuated in these volumes that he damaged the abolition cause by an injudicious expression of his views on the passing occurrences of the day. Criminatory expressions are culled from the voluminous correspondence of Mr. Wilberforce's friends, and these expressions are left without comment or explanation, to make their impression on the readers of his biography. It was perfectly natural that the advocates of Mr. Pitt's reckless crusade against the French people, which led to a European war, and drove the revolutionists to fury, should deprecate the more liberal views and nobler sympathies of Mr. Clarkson; but that their communications should find place in such a work as the present, is both uncandid and cruel. There must have been a predisposition to wound the feelings and reputation of this most estimable man—now advanced in years and afflicted sorely—or such expressions would have been thrown by, to be forgotten with the passions which gave them birth. We know Mr. Clarkson only from his public labours, yet we confess our feelings have been strongly moved by this injustice. We hope the Messrs. Wilberforce, should they live to advanced years, and be then sorrowing under accumulated trials like those which press heavily on the heart of Mr. Clarkson, will be exempted from such attacks as they have made on him. May the sons of their friends never dishonour their father's memory by aspersing the character of his early associate and fellow-labourer! The insinuation is as unfounded as it was uncalled for. We speak on the authority of some, yet happily lingering among us, when we affirm that Mr. Clarkson was scrupulously cautious not to injure the sacred cause of humanity, by an injudicious and ill-timed expression of his political sentiments. He had his own views,—and in these days they will be esteemed no dishonour—but those views were kept in abeyance, when the claims of a higher interest required. His politics were more liberal than those of Mr. Wilberforce, but those politics ranked infinitely lower in his esteem,

than the charge he had so solemnly committed to his soul. He might refuse to submit to a political test-act,—and he was right in doing so,—but he was the last man in England to damage the cause of Africa by merging the philanthropist in the politician, the herald of mercy in the partizan of faction. But enough of this, we return to the narrative.

From 1799 to 1804 little was done in the Abolition cause. Parliament had grown weary of the discussion, and lent itself to the base policy of Mr. Dundas. Most men would have surrendered themselves to the despondency of the moment, and have retired in despair. Proposition after proposition had been rejected. The House had falsified its own resolutions, had refused to abolish that part of the traffic which was carried on by British merchants for foreigners, or even to exempt a limited portion of the coast of Africa from the fearful scourge. It was therefore deemed advisable by Mr. Wilberforce and his friends to suspend their labours. They had done their utmost and had failed. Oppression triumphed, and the nation was listless and indifferent. This was the great trial of Mr. Wilberforce's character, and we rejoice to say he came out of it unscathed. The mere political advocate would have abandoned a cause with which the nation ceased to sympathize, and have reverted to other topics, promising a speedier and more abundant harvest. But not so Mr. Wilberforce. He had embarked in the enterprise at the dictate of conscience, and was faithful in the hour of need. Through good report and through evil report, in the sunny hour of joyous hope and amid the dark clouds which now gathered around him, he persevered,—the untiring and indomitable champion of social virtue and religious truth.

At length the clouds which encompassed him began to break. Streaks of light pervaded the horizon, and hope for Africa, and confidence in the future safety of his country, rose joyous in his heart. Singular as it may be deemed by those who have paid little attention to the state of parties at this period, his reviving confidence arose from the changes consequent on the death of Mr. Pitt. Mr. Wilberforce retained to the last his confidence in the integrity of that minister's attachment to the Abolition cause. Some of his associates, however, thought otherwise, and we think there was good ground for their scepticism. There was more of the politician than the philanthropist in Mr. Pitt's course on this question. He was kept right only by the vigilance and remonstrances of his friend, and was too much the slave of ambition to hazard the fidelity of his associates, and the favour of the king, by insisting on justice being done to Africa. 'My charity,' says Mr. Stephen referring to Mr. Pitt's conduct respecting the removal of the Carib tribes, 'does not go so far as to believe it possible he can be innocent of indirect selfish views on this occasion.'

His interference, adds this zealous and able Abolitionist, 'was prompted by you; by his fear of losing your very powerful support; a fear which, had it not been relieved by a knowledge of the strong hold he had on you, would long since, I verily believe, have produced the Abolition of the slave trade. It is the judgment perhaps of a biassed man; but of one who has heard your defence for him, powerful in my feelings for the advocate, and of one who is not his enemy, and would have been warmly his friend, but for this very opinion.' Mr. Stephen's mistrust prevailed extensively, and was frequently reported to Mr. Wilberforce. 'From London to Inverness,' says Dr. Dickson, a Scotch correspondent 'Mr. Pitt's sincerity is questioned, and unless he can convince the nation of his cordiality in our cause, his popularity must suffer greatly.' The truth seems to be, that whatever love Pitt had for justice and mercy, his love of office was far greater, and he was willing, therefore, to compromise the matter by allowing his inferiors, whose ready compliance he commanded on other occasions, to outvote him on this. George the Third has obtained a reputation which his obstinate hostility to the Abolition of the slave trade combines with a thousand other circumstances, to prove him underserving of. His intellect was stunted, as his heart was unsusceptible of the higher and more generous impulses of our nature.

Mr. Pitt's death occurred in the early part of 1806, and was followed by the accession of Mr. Fox and Lord Grenville to office. Some members of the new cabinet were hostile to the Abolition, but the determination of the chiefs was unequivocal. Measures were immediately adopted, and two Bills were introduced and speedily carried, one of which abolished the foreign slave trade, and the other prohibited the employment of fresh ships. Nor was this all. Mr. Fox introduced, and carried through the Commons by a majority of 114 to 15, a resolution declaring the slave trade to be 'contrary to the principles of justice, humanity, and policy;' and pledging the House 'with all practicable expedition, to take effectual measures for the Abolition of the said trade.' An Address to the king was also voted, praying his majesty to negotiate with foreign powers for their co-operation. Both these resolutions were subsequently adopted by the Upper House.

'How wonderful,' remarks Mr. Wilberforce when contemplating the cheering prospect before him, 'are the ways of God, and how are we taught to trust not in man but in Him! Though intimate with Pitt for all my life since earliest manhood, and he most warm for Abolition, and really honest; yet now my whole human dependence is placed on Fox, to whom this life opposed, and on Grenville, to whom always rather hostile till of late years, when I heard he was more religious. O Lord, thou hast all hearts in Thy disposal: oh that it may be Thy will to put an end to this abhorred system.'

'I quite love Fox,' he subsequently remarks in his journal, 'for his generous and warm fidelity to the slave trade cause. Even very lately, when conscious that he would be forced to give up parliament for the session at least, he said 'he wished to go down to the House once more to say something on the slave trade.''

—Vol. III., pp. 261, 268.

The death of Mr. Fox in October alarmed without intimidating the friends of humanity. His colleagues adhered faithfully to his policy, and the good cause triumphed. The royal princes canvassed against it, and two of their number, 'speaking, as was 'understood, the sentiments of all the reigning family,' openly opposed it in the Lords. The Bill was threatened even in its last stage, and considerable alarm was felt. The king was known to have broken with his ministers on the ground of their liberal policy; and it was feared they would resign before their Abolition Bill was completed. Happily, however, it received the royal assent by commission on the 25th of March, 1807; and the Grenville administration, crowned by this act with imperishable honour, instantly resigned the seals of office.

Mr. Wilberforce's feelings on this occasion were of no mean and selfish order. He devoutly recognized the hand of God, and in the fervid expressions of an enlightened gratitude, acknowledged the divine interposition.

'I have indeed,' he notes in his journal, 'inexpressible reasons for thankfulness on the glorious result of that struggle which, with so many eminent fellow-labourers, I have so long maintained. I really cannot account for the fervour which happily has taken the place of that fastidious, well-bred lukewarmness which used to display itself on this subject, except by supposing it to be produced by that Almighty power which can influence at will the judgment and affections of men.'

'How wonderfully the providence of God has been manifested in the Abolition Bill! I will hereafter note down all the particulars. The present ministry no sooner have got it through than they are going out. Again, had we not altered the preamble, by leaving out the words 'justice and humanity,' preserving the full force, there might have been a plea, since the news of an insurrection, for the Lords reconsidering; they might have found means of putting it off for another year, and our hopes might have been defeated. Again, Lord Grenville and Lord Howick were earnest for two Bills; one the general principle, and the other the penalties and regulations. I most strongly against this, even when every one else gave way; which not usual with me. If divided, the second Bill would probably have been lost. Then the moment the ministry began to venture the country's happiness on a popish foundation, they find their ground cut from under them.'

'Oh what thanks do I owe the Giver of all good, for bringing me in His gracious providence to this great cause, which at length, after almost nineteen years' labour, is successful!'—ib., 304, 306.

Of Mr. Wilberforce's political course we shall say nothing. We are indisposed to censure, and we cannot altogether praise. His disinterestedness and integrity admit of no question, but many of his views were false; his personal attachment to the ministry frequently blinded his judgment; and the frenzy of the moment, the passions which sprung from the French revolution, induced his concurrence in those efforts of an incipient despotism by which Pitt sought to establish his iron rule. Nor did Mr. Wilberforce realize his own views; yet his failure is to be attributed to other causes than such as generally operate on statesmen. But we are forgetting our purpose. The following extract from a letter to Mr. William Smith, the member for Norwich, presents the writer in a pleasing and attractive light. It is dated April 23, 1798:

‘It is occasionally part of my Sunday’s occupation to look into the state of my heart in this relation, and to discipline it in a way which might seem almost too mechanical to any one who had not considered sufficiently the structure and workings of the human mind. I impress on myself the uncertainty of all political opinions, and how often different practical judgments in persons who agree in abstract principles arise from differences as to matters of fact, and as to the credit they give respectively to different sources of intelligence. Then I put myself in the situation of an opposition man, and call up the ideas, with their proper apparel and in their several bearings, which present themselves to *his* mental eye. Then I consider how naturally the opposition men are irritated by constant failure, and by their feeling that they and theirs are suffering, and likely to suffer, from what they conceive to be incapacity or wicked intentions, which they have in vain been striving to counteract. Above all, I view the several leading men in connexion with religious topics. I consider their sad state, till I truly feel for them; and this it is impossible to do without emotions of cordial good-will rising up into action. I trust I can sincerely declare, that I sometimes look at them thus (and something of these sensations I experience at this very moment) with emotions of enlarged and unmixed affection. Now this process tends to leave my mind softened and warmed towards them. But it does not alter my views of the consequences of their measures, or of the necessity of warning the public of what appears to me (speaking in the presence of God) the urgent duty of counteracting their hostile attempts against the present government.

‘I wish I had plenty of time, that I might let you still more into my sentiments. I believe I did once hint to you (what I cannot express in writing) whence I dreaded the storm breaking forth. But it appears to me to be my duty while I fill the forward political situation I now enjoy, (let me retract that term for possess, it is no enjoyment; how often do Mrs. W. and I wish for private life! as often as we dare indulge such an idea,) to use my utmost endeavours for repressing this approaching mischief. To be honest with you, I must confess that I

feel more real spleen against administration than against opposition, and that for many reasons; some I fear too personal, for self, alas, will creep in and taint the purity of our motives; but still more, I hope, on good and substantial grounds. It seems to me that they have had (and even still have) it in their power, I will not say to dispel the cloud which hangs over this country, but to brighten our prospects materially, and that, by means the most virtuous, the most praiseworthy, the most honourable to themselves. I have submitted to that most painful duty of remonstrating against what I thought wrong, of urging what I feel right; and perhaps with a heart galled and wounded and saddened by neglect, and frustration, and anticipation of evil, I have had to fulfil the duty (for such on the whole it has appeared to me) of defending them and rebutting their opponents.'—Vol. II., pp. 267—269.

In following the history of the Abolition struggle, we have passed over many interesting incidents in Mr. Wilberforce's life, to some of which we now advert.

In April, 1797, he published his *Practical View*, a work so well known to the readers of the *Eclectic*, that we need not occupy a single line in describing it. Religious publications were then but little in demand, and the expectations of Mr. Cadell were consequently very limited. 'You mean,' said that gentleman, 'to put your name to the work? Then I think we may venture upon 500 copies.' This edition was expended in a few days, and within six months 7500 copies were sold. It is extremely difficult in the altered circumstances of the present day duly to estimate the impression made by the work on its first appearance. The evangelical party were then a feeble minority in the church. The whole weight of ecclesiastical authority was against them, and the patronage of the crown was given to their opponents. Their views were grossly misunderstood, and their attachment to the hierarchy was openly impugned. It is, therefore, no wonder that they exulted in the appearance of such an advocate, and anticipated from his labours the most important results.

I send you herewith Mr. Henry Thornton writes to Mr. Macaulay, 'the book on religion lately published by Mr. Wilberforce; it excites even more attention than you would have supposed, amongst all the grave and better disposed people. The bishops in general would approve of it though some were warmly, some more coolly. Many of his party and political friends admire and approve of it; though some do but dispute it. Some have recognised the likeness of themselves. The book goes in the religious world, and more especially the circle of English divines, as most highly, and consider it as particularly useful in the last century's struggle. The Dissenters, many of them, are also warmly attached to it. Gilbert Wakefield has already written a commendatory notice. I myself am amongst those who sympathise with the author's views and work.'

'This was the universal feeling amongst those who looked seriously upon them on the face of things. 'I am truly thankful to Providence,' wrote Bishop Porteus, 'that a work of this nature has made appearance at this tremendous moment. I shall offer up my fervent prayers to God, that it may have a powerful and extensive influence on the hearts of men, and in the first place on my own, which is ready humbled, and will I trust in time be sufficiently awakened by it.' 'I deem it,' Mr. Newton told him, 'the most valuable and important publication of the present age, especially as it is yours:' and Mr. Grant he wrote, 'What a phenomenon has Mr. Wilberforce sent abroad! Such a book by such a man, and at such a time! A book which must and will be read by persons in the higher circles, who are quite inaccessible to us little folk, who will neither hear what we can say, nor read what we may write. I am filled with wonder and with hope. I accept it as a token for good: yea, as the brightest token I can discern in this dark and perilous day. Yes, I trust that the Lord, by raising up such an incontestable witness to the truth and power of the gospel, has a gracious purpose to honour him as an instrument of reviving and strengthening the sense of real religion where already is, and of communicating it where it is not.'

—ib., pp. 200, 201.

The circulation of the work was unprecedented. In 1826 sixteen editions had issued from the English press, and twenty-five from that of America. It has been translated into the French, Italian, Spanish, Dutch, and German languages, and its influence has been proportioned to its diffusion.

There is one anecdote of the work too interesting to be omitted. At the time of its publication Burke was drawing towards the close of his brilliant but erratic career. He was an invalid at Bath, and some of his latest hours were employed in perusal.

'Have you been told,' Mr. Henry Thornton asks Mrs. Hannah More, 'that Burke spent much of the two last days of his life in reading Wilberforce's book, and said that he derived much comfort from it, and that if he lived he should thank Wilberforce for having put such a book into the world? so says Mrs. Crewe, who was with Burke at the time.' Before his death Mr. Burke summoned Dr. Aylmer to his side, and committed specially to him the expression of his thanks.—ib., p. 208.

On the occasion of Mr. Pitt's duel with Mr. Tierney, May 27, 1798, Mr. Wilberforce gave notice of an intention to bring the subject of duelling before the House, which was prevented by the following letter from the premier:

'My dear Wilberforce,
'I am not the person to argue with you on a subject in which I am good deal concerned. I hope too that I am incapable of doubting

your kindness to me (however mistaken I may think it) if you let any sentiment of that sort actuate you on the present occasion. I must suppose that some such feeling has inadvertently operated upon you, because whatever may be your *general* sentiments on subjects of this nature, they can have acquired no new tone or additional argument from any thing that has passed in this transaction. You must be supposed to bring this forward in reference to the individual case.

‘ In doing so, you will be accessary in loading one of the parties with unfair and unmerited obloquy. With respect to the other party, myself, I feel it a real duty to say to you frankly that your motion is one for my removal. If any step on the subject is proposed in parliament and agreed to, I shall feel from that moment that I can be of more use out of office than in it; for in it, according to the feelings I entertain, I could be of none. I state to you, as I think I ought, distinctly and explicitly what I feel. I hope I need not repeat what I always feel personally to yourself.

‘ Yours ever,

‘ WILLIAM PITT.’

—ib., pp. 281, 282.

This communication staggered Mr. Wilberforce's resolution, and induced him to pause. The following entry occurs in his diary:

‘ June 1st. To town to-day and yesterday, and back in the evening. Much discussion about duel motion. Saw Pitt and others—all pressed me to give it up. Consulted Grant and Henry Thornton, and at length resolved to give it up, as not more than five or six would support me, and not more than one or two speak, and I could only have carried it so far, as for preventing *ministers* fighting duels. June 2d. Being resolved, I wrote to Pitt to give it up.’—ib., 282.

The conduct of the minister, we are subsequently informed, was approved of by the king,—so lax was the morality even of George the Third, of whose piety so much has been absurdly said.

The extracts given from Mr. Wilberforce's private papers, supply many sketches of his leading contemporaries; some of these we will quote. The following will be read with interest by all who are conversant with the history or the writings of Mr. Bentham, and will go far to account for the embittered disgust at public men which he was at no pains to conceal.

‘ ‘Odd enough were the parties I then met once or twice every winter at Bentham's house, at which his brother General Bentham, Lord St. Helen's, Abbot, Romilly, old Professor Christian, and myself, were the ordinary guests.’

‘ This intimacy had grown out of his attempts to assist Mr. Bentham when the failure of his ‘panopticon’ had involved him in pecuniary losses. The plan of this penitentiary greatly pleased Mr. Dundas,

and he obtained Mr. Pitt's sanction for the experiment. Thus encouraged, Mr. Bentham had entered into contracts for the erection of the building, when Lord Spencer complained loudly, and successfully, of its vicinity to his estate. It proved no easy matter to find another site, whilst the delay involved Mr. Bentham in serious responsibilities. Mr. Wilberforce took up his cause with zeal; and applied, amongst others, to the Chapter of St. Peter's Westminster, in furtherance of his design. 'I shall never forget Horsley's keen glance, when in the course of our discussion he asked me, 'Mr. Wilberforce, do you think that Mr. Pitt is in earnest in the business?' Never was any one worse used than Bentham. I have seen the tears run down the cheeks of that strong-minded man through vexation at the pressing importunity of creditors and the insolence of official underlings, when day after day he was begging at the Treasury for what was indeed a mere matter of right. How indignant did I often feel, when I saw him thus treated by men infinitely his inferiors! I could have extinguished them. He was quite soured by it, and I have no doubt that many of his harsh opinions afterwards were the fruit of his ill treatment.' 'A fit site,' at last wrote the weary man, 'obtainable for my purpose, without a single dissentient voice, is that of the golden tree, and the singing water, and after a three years' consideration I beg to be excused searching for it.'—'Bentham's hard measure'—'Bentham cruelly used'—'Jeremy Bentham, suo more'—are Mr. Wilberforce's docketings upon the letters which at this time passed frequently between them. Some of them are not a little singular.—'Kind sir,' he writes in one, 'the next time you happen on Mr. Attorney-General in the House or elsewhere, be pleased to take a spike, the longer and sharper the better, and apply it to him by way of memento that the Penitentiary-Contract Bill has, for I know not what length of time, been sticking in his hands; and you will much oblige,

'Your humble servant to command,

'JEREMY BENTHAM.

'N.B. A corking pin was yesterday applied by Mr. Abbot.'

—ib., pp. 170—172.

Numerous notices of Mr. Canning are interspersed throughout these volumes, from which we gather—and we are not surprised at the fact—that he was no great favourite with Mr. Wilberforce. The following are a sample:

'C. knew Canning well at Eton; he never played at any games with the other boys; quite a man, fond of acting, decent, and moral.' . . . 'Poor fellow, he had neither father nor mother to bring him up. He was brought up, partly I believe, with Sheridan. I always wondered he was so pure.' . . . 'Canning, clever . . . genius . . . but too often speaking, and too flippant and ambitious.' . . . Canning's drollery of voice and manners were inimitable; there is a lighting up of his features, and a comic play about the mouth, when the full fun of the approaching witticisms strikes his own mind, which prepares you for the burst which is to follow.' . . . 'How striking,' it is remarked in

1812, 'is Canning's example! Had he fairly joined Percival on the Duke of Portland's death, as Percival offered, he would now have been the acknowledged head, and supported as such. But his ambitious policy threw him out, and he sunk infinitely in public estimation, and has since with difficulty kept buoyant.'

These sentences culled from different parts of the work furnish a graphic sketch which the following passage will complete.

'Whitbread was a rough speaker; he spoke as if he had a pot of porter at his lips and all his words came through it. I remember his drawing tears from me upon the lottery question. After Canning's speech on Lord Bexley's Resolution about a pound note and a shilling being of equal value with a guinea, he said to me, 'Well, I do envy him the power of making that speech.' This was very curious to me, because, I never could have guessed that it was at all the model to which he aspired. Poor Canning! I knew him well, and he knew that I knew him. He felt that I knew him before he became well acquainted with Pitt. He had a mind susceptible of the forms of great ideas; as for these men, they have not minds up to any thing of the sort; their minds would burst with the attempt. I have often talked openly with Canning, and I cannot but hope that some good may have come from it. When I was with him once, he was in bed, on a sort of sofa-bed, at Gloucester Lodge, and Southey was mentioned. 'I did not know that he was in town.' 'Yes, he is, and dines with me to-morrow; but I am afraid you will not come because it is Sunday.' Canning was not a first-rate speaker! Oh he was as different as possible from Pitt, and from old Fox too, though he was so rough; he had not that art, 'celare artem.' If effect is the criterion of good speaking, Canning was nothing to them, for he never drew you to him in spite of yourself. You never lost sight of Canning; even in that admirable speech of his about Sir John C. Hippisley, when your muscles were so exercised by laughing, it was the same thing; yet he was a more finished orator than Pitt.'—vol. v. 339, 340.

The following are among the notices of Sheridan.

'Sheridan infinitely witty, having been drinking.'—'Sheridan fights lustily for Addington. He proposed a sufficiently absurd vote of thanks last night (August 10th 1803) to the volunteers who had so gallantly offered their services; but you see clearly that the affectionate regard of government to him knows no bounds in this honeymoon of their union. Lord St. Vincent lately offered Tom Sheridan a most lucrative place, which Sheridan refused; very wisely, I think.'—'Sheridan would (June 1808) against the advice of all the opposition friends, electrify the country on the Spanish business. He came down to the house, but the opportunity being delayed, he going up stairs got so drunk, as to make him manifestly and disgracefully besotted. Yet he seemed to remember a fair speech, for the topics were good; only he

was like a man catching, through a thick medium at the objects before him. Alas, a most humiliating spectacle ; yet the papers state him to have made a brilliant speech, &c. So true is what Cobbett said of his friendship to the editors and reporters.'

An anecdote is told in perfect keeping with the traditionary accounts of this depraved but extraordinary man.

'One day while Hastings' trial was proceeding, an important point came on when only Burke and two or three more were present—little Michael Angelo among them, very pompous. Ned Law, who was to argue the case as Hastings' counsel, began, 'It is a pity, sir, to raise a discussion on this matter. This is no doubtful question of political expedience, it is a mere point of law, and my honourable friend there, pointing to little Michael, 'from his accurate knowledge of the law, which he has practised with so much success, can confirm fully what I say.' Michael puffed and swelled, and almost assented. Burke was quite furious, and ran to him and shook him, saying, 'You little rogue, what do you mean by assenting to this?' Michael is talked of for a peer. It is not unlikely ; he has no son. He was left a good fortune by his father, who was a builder, and he got on by keeping a good cook and giving excellent dinners. I remember Sheridan playing off on him one of his amusing tricks. He did not know where to go for a dinner, so sitting down by Michael Angelo, he said, 'There is a question likely to rise presently on which from your legal knowledge you will be wanted to reply to Pitt, so I hope you will not think of leaving the House.' Michael sat still with no little pleasure, while Sheridan slipped out, walked over to Michael's house, and ordered up dinner, saying to the servants, 'Your master is not coming home this evening.' He made an excellent dinner, came back to the house, and seeing Michael looking expectant, went to release him, saying, 'I am sorry to have kept you, for after all I believe this matter will not now come on to-night.' Michael immediately walked home, and heard to his no little consternation, when he rang for dinner, 'Mr. Sheridan had it, sir, about two hours ago.'—ib. 337.—339.

Of Lord Castlereagh, whose administration he nevertheless supported, he says, 'What a cold blooded creature !' and refers in the following terms to his suicide.

'S. brought a report from Croydon that poor Londonderry had destroyed himself. I could not believe it. The 'Courier,' however, and several letters too clearly confirmed it. He was certainly deranged—the effect, probably, of continued wear and tear of mind. But the strong impression of my mind is, that it is the effect of the non-observance of the Sunday, both as abstracting from politics, from the constant recurrence of the same reflections, and as correcting the false views of worldly things, and bringing them down to their true diminutiveness.' 'All the time that I have been writing,' he concludes a letter this day to Mr. Stephen, 'poor Castlereagh has been in my mind.'

I never was so shocked by any incident. He really was the last man in the world who appeared likely to be carried away into the commission of such an act! So cool, so self-possessed. It is very curious to hear the newspapers speaking of incessant application to business, forgetting that by the weekly admission of a day of rest, which our Maker has graciously enjoined, our faculties would be preserved from the effects of this constant strain. I am strongly impressed by the recollection of your endeavour to prevail on the lawyers to give up Sunday consultations, in which poor Romilly would not concur. If he had suffered his mind to enjoy such occasional remission, it is highly probable the strings would never have snapped as they did, from over-tension. Alas! Alas! poor fellow! I did not think I should feel for him so very deeply.'—ib. 134, 135.

This extract reminds us of another illustrative of the distinguished man referred to.

'One of the most remarkable things about Romilly was, that though he had such an immense quantity of business, he always seemed an idle man. If you had not known who and what he was, you would have said—'he is a remarkably gentleman-like, pleasant man; I suppose, poor fellow, he has no business'—for he would stand at the bar of the house, and chat with you, and talk over the last novel, with which he was as well acquainted as if he had nothing else to think about. Once, indeed, I remember coming to speak to him in court, and seeing him look fagged and with an immense pile of papers by him. This was at a time when Lord Eldon had been reproached for having left business undischarged, and had declared, that he would get through all arrears by sitting on until the business was done. As I went up to Romilly, old Eldon saw me, and beckoned to me with as much cheerfulness and gaiety as possible. When I was alone with Romilly and asked him, 'how he was,' he answered, 'I am worn to death; here have we been sitting on in the vacation, from nine in the morning until four; and when we leave this place, I have to read through all my papers, to be ready for to-morrow morning; but the most extraordinary part of all is, that Eldon, who has not only mine, but all the other business to go through, is just as cheerful and untired as ever.'—ib. 341, 342.

We close our political sketches with the following group.

'When Lord Londonderry was in his ordinary mood, he was very tiresome, so slow and heavy, his sentences only half formed, his manner so confined, like what is said of the French army, in the Moscow retreat, when horse, foot, and carriages of all sorts were huddled together, helter-skelter; yet when he was thoroughly warmed and excited, he was often very fine, very statesmanlike, and seemed to rise quite into another man.'

'Our general impression of Sheridan was, that he came to the house with his flashes prepared and ready to let off. He avoided encountering

Pitt in unforeseen debating, but when forced to it usually came off well.'

'Fox was often truly wonderful. He would begin at full tear, and roll on for hours together without tiring either himself or us.'

'Pitt talked a great deal among his friends. Fox, in general society, was quiet and unassuming. Sheridan was a jolly companion, and told good stories, but has been overrated as a wit by Moore.'

'Fox was truly amiable in private life, and great allowance ought to be made for him: his father was a profligate politician, and allowed him as much money to gamble with as ever he wished.'

'I asked him,' says Mr. Harford, 'if he remembered the miser Elwes in the House of Commons? Perfectly; and that question reminds me of a curious incident which one day befell that strange being. In my younger days, we often went to the house in full dress, on nights, for example, when we were any of us going to the opera. Bankes, on an occasion of this kind, was seated next to Elwes, who was leaning his head forward just at the moment when Bankes rose hastily to leave his seat, and the hilt of his sword happening to come in contact with the miser's wig, which he had probably picked off some scare-crow, it was unconsciously borne away by Bankes, who walked in his stately way down the house, followed by Elwes full of anxiety to regain his treasure. The house was in a roar of merriment, and, for a moment, Bankes looked about him wondering exceedingly what had happened. The explanation was truly amusing, when he became conscious of the swordhilt which he had acquired.'—ib. 259, 260.

One of the most honourable labours of Mr. Wilberforce, respected the extension of Christianity in our eastern provinces. He felt deeply on this subject, and frequently pressed it on the attention of parliament. On one of these occasions an amusing accident occurred, the humour of which can be fully appreciated, only by those who knew the Secretary of the Baptist Mission. Poor Andrew Fuller little thought of the danger which threatened him. The anecdote is thus related.

'One great argument of his opponents was grounded on the enthusiastic character which they imputed to the missionary body. India, hitherto, had seen no missionary who was a member of the English church, and imputations could be cast more readily on 'Anabaptists and fanatics.' These attacks Mr. Wilberforce indignantly refuted, and well had the noble conduct of the band at Serampore deserved this vindication. 'I do not know,' he often said, 'a finer instance of the moral sublime, than that a poor cobbler working in his stall should conceive the idea of converting the Hindoos to Christianity; yet such was Dr. Carey. Why, Milton's planning his 'Paradise Lost' in his old age and blindness was nothing to it. And then when he had gone to India, and was appointed by Lord Wellesley to a lucrative and honourable station in the college of Fort William, with equal nobleness of mind he made over all his salary (between £1000 and £1500 per annum) to the general objects of the mission. By the way, nothing ever

gave me a more lively sense of the low and mercenary standard of your men of honour, than the manifest effect produced upon the House of Commons by my stating this last circumstance. It seemed to be the only thing which moved them.' Dr. Carey had been especially attacked, and 'a few days afterwards the member who had made this charge came to me, and asked me in a manner which in a noted duellist could not be mistaken, 'Pray, Mr. Wilberforce, do you know a Mr. Andrew Fuller, who has written to me to retract the statement which I made with reference to Dr. Carey?'

'Yes; I answered with a smile, 'I know him perfectly, but depend upon it you will make nothing of him in your way; he is a respectable Baptist minister at Kettering.' In due time, there came from India an authoritative contradiction of the slander. It was sent to me, and for two whole years did I take it in my pocket to the House of Commons to read it to the house whenever the author of the accusation should be present; but during that whole time he never once dared show himself in the house.'—vol. iv. 123, 124.

Before closing our extracts, we must recur briefly to two topics on which Mr. Wilberforce's opinions are strongly expressed. They are both of present importance, and his judgment is entitled to weight.

We have recently heard much of the probability of a coalition between the pure Whigs and moderate conservatives. Some movements have been made towards it, and the short-sighted and *prudent* are in favour of it. For ourselves, we hold it in contempt, and point to the history of the past in proof of its mischievous tendency. If there is one historical fact more indisputable than another it is this, that such confederations have uniformly failed to accomplish their proposed object, and have terminated in the disgrace of the parties concerned. But Mr. Wilberforce's judgment will have more weight than any thing we can say, and we gladly lay it before our readers. It is expressed on three different occasions; and the following is the language employed.

'Coalition is a word of bad omen.' 'I cannot wonder at Lords Grenville's and Grey's refusing to enter the present cabinet; nor, to say the truth, do I regret it. Anything almost is better than a coalition: nothing is so likely to multiply expeditions, or to produce impunity for the worst.' . . . Coalitions are odious things, and lead to the dissolution of all principle, and the loss of all credit, in public men; and surely it is a shame that it should be necessary to bribe men by the offer of good places to wave their party altercation.'—vol. iii. pp. 154. 428. 433.

We commend these sentences to the deliberate attention of Lord John Russell and Sir Robert Peel before they act another piece of political coquetry.

The other subject to which we refer is the deference due to the

wishes and interests of the ministry from the friends of Abolition. The ill-fated and criminal policy of Lord Melbourne's cabinet on the slavery question has compelled all true Abolitionists to assume a tone, and to prosecute a course of opposition, foreign from their predilections and party sympathies. The cold-hearted and timorous,—the men distinguished for moderation, rather than for justice,—all in a word who prefer a Whig ministry, to the interests of righteousness and the claims of humanity, have impugned this procedure, as tending to lower the reputation and endanger the stability of the administration. The plea of justice has been urged in vain, against the party attachments and political sympathies of such men. For ourselves we are satisfied to rest our defence of the Delegates on the simple ground of principle: but for the information of others we adduce the solemn declaration of Mr. Wilberforce, made in 1793, when his college associate and intimate friend, Mr. Pitt, was premier. Having been informed by Dr. Currie of a report that, at length, he fainted in his course; 'that tired of the obstacles which presented themselves, and *fearful of embarrassing the minister in his difficulties*;' he was about to defer the Abolition question till a quieter season; he hastened to vindicate himself from the misrepresentation.

“ ‘ Though I cannot,’ he replies, ‘ enter upon the topics contained in your letter, I must notice one of them; that, I mean, of being supposed to be, as you delicately express it, fainting in my course. Nothing I assure you is further from the truth: it is one of those calumnies, for such I account it, to which every public man is exposed, and of which, though I have had a tolerable proportion, I cannot complain of having had more than my share. In the case of every question of political expediency, there appears to me room for the consideration of times and seasons. At one period, under one set of circumstances, it may be proper to push, at another, and in other circumstances, to withhold our efforts; but in the present instance, where the actual commission of guilt is in question, a man who *fears God* is not in liberty. Be persuaded then that I shall never make this grand cause the sport of caprice, or sacrifice it to motives of political convenience or personal feeling.’ ”—Vol. II., p. 22.

“ This vindication is as complete at the present day, as in the time and under the circumstances of Mr. Wilberforce. Nay, it is more conclusive now, since the administration of Lord Melbourne might, with the utmost facility, and without the slightest damage to themselves cede the prayer of the Abolitionists, while the power of Mr. Pitt to do so, is matter of doubt. It has been the fatuity of our Ministers to reject the prayer of united millions, without gaining the slightest party advantage by the misdeed. Should the coalition so much talked of be effected,

the mystery which at present enwraps their policy will be cleared up.

Judging from the present volumes it would appear, that Mr. Wilberforce's feelings towards our section of the religious community, were far from being so liberal as was generally supposed. We always knew him to be a thorough churchman, and were never disposed to quarrel with him on this account. We love a man whose convictions are deep and his attachments strong, and never think better of our neighbours who profess to hold their principles,—whether religious or political,—with a light and careless hand. There is no greater mistake than to suppose that a strong attachment to our own principles, is incompatible with a due appreciation of the virtues and religious services of others. Such a judgment involves the worst spirit of sectarianism, from which we have been in the habit of regarding Mr. Wilberforce as exempted. This opinion, however, must be relinquished if the representations of his biographers be received, for though the references to us scattered throughout these volumes are few and hurried, they betray the distorted and jaundiced view of a party man. He voted in 1790 against the repeal of the Test Act; and what is stranger still, he dissuaded a relative, who complained that the Gospel was not preached in her parish church, from attending the meeting-house. 'Its individual benefits,' he wrote, 'are no compensation for the general evils of dissent. The increase of Dissenters, which always follows from the institution of unsteeped places of worship, is highly injurious to the interests of religion in the long run.' This it must be confessed is sufficiently sectarian; but what will our readers think of the following, when told that the village referred to, was in the rich diocese of Bath and Wells, and had its non-resident vicar, whose curate 'visited the parish on Sundays only.' 'The moral desolation,' remark his sons, 'which he found at Cheddar was a striking illustration of his common maxim, that 'the Dissenters could do nothing if it were not for the Established Church;' for the absence of a resident clergyman had brought the village into a 'state of universal ignorance.' Such miserable twaddle,—we must call things by their right names,—if it mean anything, must mean this, that because a clergyman had grossly neglected his duty, and the Establishment had suffered a village to sink into 'universal ignorance,' therefore dissent was incapable of doing anything. That the fact goes to prove the inefficiency of a State Church is obvious, but how it accomplishes the purpose for which it is adduced does not appear.

But enough of this. We believe that Mr. Wilberforce's mind expanded and became more liberal as he advanced in years. In early life he knew little of Dissenters, and his antipathy was aroused by their Anti-Pittite politics. Subsequently, however,

w them more closely, and though still a churchman, his
rs towards them became more respectful and kind.*

was our design to attempt an analysis of Mr. Wilber-
character, with a view of pointing out the secret of his
usefulness, but the extent to which we have already en-
ed on our limits compels us to refrain.

ore closing our remarks, we must, however, say a word on
anner in which the biographers have accomplished their
The staple of the work has been drawn from Mr. W.'s own
; and much skill is eviuced in the arrangement and combi-
of the materials. A large mass of interesting information
plied, and full justice is done to his religious character.
ould have wished, and we believe the feeling is general,
more sparing use had been made of Mr. Wilberforce's

Religious biographies generally fail in this respect, and
usefulness is thereby greatly limited. The same sentiments
eated without end, and many readers are in consequence
ted from prosecuting the narrative from which, they might
ise have derived much benefit. The present volumes are
d with extracts of this kind, and we fear that few of
ilberforce's political associates will have sufficient perse-
e to read them through. This is to be regretted, and might
have been avoided. No biography would have done jus-
such a man which did not exhibit his religious principles
ninent relief; but it was not necessary to this end, that
holesale use should be made of private memoranda, noted
spur of the moment, and designed only for the writer's own
. The perpetual recurrence of these extracts gives a
ss and want of continuous interest to the work. The
flags and grows weary, and is in danger of throwing the
s aside altogether. We strongly recommend, in the event
cond edition, that the pruning knife be unsparingly used.
nay thus be lost in bulk, will be more than gained in
f interest and usefulness.

impossible otherwise, to account for the impression he made on some
servers. 'To the prevalence of charity and humility in his mind,'

Joseph John Gurney, of Norwich, 'we may ascribe the absence
ry, and his remarkable liberality towards Christians, whose views in
pects differed from his own.'—*Familiar Sketch of the late William*
orce, p. 11.

ART. VII. *The Doctrine of Election, and its connexion with the general tenor of Christianity, illustrated from many parts of Scripture, and especially from the Epistle to the Romans.* By THOMAS ERSKINE, Esq., Advocate; author of 'Remarks on the Internal Evidence for the Truth of Revealed Religion.' London. James Duncan.

THE very interesting volume by which, on his present reappearance, Mr. Erskine recalls himself to our recollection, obtained for him a large share of confidence and regard. And, although that confidence has not been very strongly confirmed by any one of his subsequent communications, he has nevertheless retained a character throughout, which entitles all his sentiments to a respectful consideration. Most happy shall we be, if he shall be found to have shed any valuable light on the momentous but difficult subject he has now undertaken.

He commences his work with great frankness. 'My object in 'this treatise,' he says, 'is to set forth, as distinctly and simply as I can, the grounds on which I have come to the conclusion, that the doctrine of God's election, as taught in the Bible, is altogether different from, and opposed to, that which has passed under the name of the Doctrine of Election, and been received as such, by a great part of the professing church, through many ages.' p. 1. In such an attempt, it became him, of course, to set out with an exhibition of the doctrine, as he conceives it to be generally held; and accordingly, in the next page, he gives the following statement.

'The doctrine of election generally held, is, that God, according to His own inscrutable purpose, has from all eternity chosen in Christ, and predestinated unto salvation, a certain number of individuals out of the fallen race of Adam; and that, in pursuance of this purpose, as these individuals come into the world, He in due season visits them by a peculiar operation of His Spirit, thereby justifying, and sanctifying and saving them; whilst He passes by the rest of the race, unvisited by that peculiar operation of the Spirit, and so abandoned to their sins and their punishment. It is also an essential part of the doctrine, that the peculiar operation of the Spirit, by which God draws the elect unto Himself, is held to be alike irresistible and indispensable in the work of salvation, so that those to whom it is applied, cannot be lost, and those to whom it is not applied, cannot be saved; whilst all the outward calls of the gospel, and what are named common operations of the Spirit, which are granted to the reprobate as well as to the elect, are, when unaccompanied by that peculiar operation, ineffectual to salvation, and do only aggravate the condemnation of the reprobate.'

On this statement we shall make no remarks at present, nor say whether or not this is exactly 'The Doctrine of Election,' as

held by ourselves. We shall rather permit our author to describe the workings of his mind in relation to a system, which, it appears, he 'held for many years.'

'I held this doctrine for many years, modified, however inconsistently, by the belief of God's love to all, and of Christ having died for all—and yet, when I look back on the state of my mind during that period, I feel that it would be truer to say, I submitted to it, than that I believed it. I submitted to it, because I did not see how the language of the 9th chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, and of a few similar passages, could bear any other interpretation; and yet I could not help feeling, that, on account of what appeared to be the meaning of these few difficult passages, I was giving up the plain and obvious meaning of all the rest of the Bible, which seems continually, in the most unequivocal language and in every page, to say to every man, 'See I have set before thee this day, life and good, death and evil, therefore choose life that thou mayest live.' I could not help feeling, that if the above representation were true, then that on which a real and righteous responsibility in man can alone be founded, was wanting; and the slothful servant had reason, when, in vindication of his unprofitableness, he said, 'I knew thee, that Thou art an hard man, reaping where thou hast not sown, and gathering where thou hast not strawed.' Above all, I could not help feeling that if God were such as that doctrine described Him, then the Creator of every man was not the friend of every man, nor the righteous object of confidence to every man; and that when Christ was preached to sinners, the whole truth of God was not preached to them, for that there was something behind Christ in the mind of God, giving Him to one, and withholding Him from another, so that the ministry of reconciliation was only an appendix to a deeper and more dominant ministry, in which God appeared simply as a Sovereign without any moral attribute, and man was dealt with as a mere creature of necessity, without any real responsibility.'—pp. 3—5.

In default of any satisfaction from the ordinary ways of rebuking these unquiet thoughts, our author has been driven to the necessity of devising an entirely new scheme; not denying or deprecating the doctrine of election, as some have done, but giving it another form,—and a form of which, to the best of our recollection, we have not spoken untruly in calling it 'entirely new.' But let our readers judge. After expounding Jeremiah's parable of the potter, and several other passages, he writes as follows.

'I now saw the doctrine of election clearly; for I saw that the vessel unto dishonour was the reprobate vessel, and that the vessel unto honour was the elect vessel, and that under these figures, the first Adam and the second Adam, the flesh and the spirit are set forth.

'The first Adam was created for glory, honour, and immortality, as God's vicergerent upon the earth; but by following his own will, sepa-

rate from and independent of God's will, he was rejected and fell under the sentence of degradation and death, and thus became a vessel unto dishonour. And the second Adam, by following not his own will, but the will of the Father, and accepting the punishment of death, as the Father's righteous judgment on the flesh, was raised from the dead to a glorious immortality, as the Father's vicegerent, instead of the first Adam, and thus became a vessel unto honour. This is the Reprobation and the Election.

'We are not, then, to think of God as looking upon two men and choosing righteousness for the one and unrighteousness for the other. The desire of God is always for righteousness. And so the election in Christ is indeed the coming forth of God's desire that all should be righteous, as we shall see more fully afterwards.

'The first Adam, who is the antitype of Saul, is rejected like him from the favour of God, and from being king; but still he is not taken out of the way, he is still permitted to retain his power: the flesh still reigns. The Second Adam, who is the true David, is elected into his place, and honoured with the favour of God, and with the kingly office; but his power is not yet manifested; He is still, like David, seeking where to lay his head. Both these kings are in the world, under the character of the flesh and the spirit—the one, the reprobate head; the other, the elect head; and they are *so* in the world, that every individual may join himself to, and identify himself with, the one or the other, according to his own choice. And those who follow the flesh partake in its reprobation, and those who follow the spirit partake of its election. The sentence of dishonour and death passed on the first Adam is the decree of reprobation, by which flesh, with the blood thereof, which is the life thereof, is for ever excluded from the favour and kingdom of God; as it is written, 'Flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God, neither doth corruption inherit incorruption.' 1 Cor. xv. 50. And whoever would escape from the reprobation, must escape from that on which the reprobation lies, even flesh with the life thereof. And the promise of an eternal kingdom to the Messiah, is the decree of election, 'I will be his Father, and he shall be my Son; and I will not take away my mercy from him, as I took it from him that was before thee, but I will settle him in my house and in my kingdom for ever, and his throne shall be established for evermore.' 1 Chron. xvii. 13. And whoever would partake in the election, must abide in Him on whom the election lies, according to that word, 'There is no condemnation to them who are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after the flesh but after the Spirit.' Rom. viii. 1. And all the benedictions in the Bible are addressed to Christ's Spirit, and to the partakers in it; for example, 'Blessed are the poor in spirit.' 'Blessed are they that mourn.' &c. And these benedictions are nothing else than declarations of that decree of election which limits the favour of God to the righteous spirit of the Righteous Head. The election is on the righteous One, and as a man becomes righteous through Christ the righteous head dwelling in him by faith, so also does he become elect.—pp. 34—38.

That Mr. Erskine's view of God's election is diametrically opposed to the common doctrine is thus, at a glance, sufficiently obvious. It is to the illustration and support of this view, and especially to the somewhat difficult business of interpreting the Bible to the Romans in harmony with it, that his labours are devoted, more or less directly, throughout the volume before us. It would be preposterous for us to affirm, that such a man as Mr. Erskine had written nearly six hundred pages (for such is the bulk of the book, in 12mo), and not said many things true and excellent. But, in our judgment, he is far from having accomplished his purpose, either by general argument, or by scriptural criticism. Some of his 'translations,' as he calls them—(he admits that they are *rather* 'free')—are absolutely astounding. We take only a sample at random, when we cite Romans viii. 28. 'For we know that all things work together for good, to them that love God, to them who are the called according to his purpose:' the latter part of which he thus renders—'to them who love God, to them who obey the call to enter into his purpose.' 394. The following extract will show that some of his arguments are no better.

But some one will say—this is true, but we must go farther back, see what is the cause of this difference among men. What makes one man follow the reprobate head, and another follow the elect head? We may seek to go farther back, but God does not go farther back; He has provided man with ability, and He lays the use of that ability upon man's own door. Thus in accounting for a wicked man's turning away from his wickedness, He merely says, '*Because he considereth, he turneth away from all his transgressions, he shall surely live.*' *Isa.* lviii. 29. And in like manner, in accounting for a wicked man continuing in his wickedness, He merely says, '*Because I have refused, and ye refused, I have stretched out my hand, and no man regarded,*' &c. *Prov.* i. 24.

The difficulty that men feel in this matter, is nothing else than the inability which they have in believing that God really has made a reasonable creature with the power of choice between flesh and spirit, whom he can truly and reasonably say, 'I have set before thee, this life and death, blessing and cursing, therefore choose life.' p. 39.

We have not quoted this passage, to express our dissent from that it contains. On the contrary, it has an obvious mixture of important truth. But its weakness lies here, that the author tries 'to go farther back' than the *actions* of men, and to inquire into the *cause* of existing differences. He tells us that God does not go farther back.' But, however true this may be in the case of the wicked, it is far from being so, we conceive, in the case of the righteous. We cannot relinquish our belief in the gracious *originating* influence, by which the Lord 'opened

'the heart' of Lydia, and performs, as we hold to be declared in sacred writ, the same needful and most merciful office, for all who manifest a love to his name. To maintain that a choice in all cases absolutely independent of divine influence is indispensable to responsibility, is, we think, philosophically taking untenable ground; while, to maintain a choice of *holiness*, apart from divine influence, is giving a glory to the sinner, which, notwithstanding all that Mr. Erskine has written, we must yet give to the Saviour.

We shall not go further into what we deem the very unsatisfactory interpretations and reasonings of Mr. Erskine; nor attempt to disport ourselves among the speculations, on almost all points of theology, which meet us at every turn in his very desultory and tiresome book. We wish rather to devote the brief space we may yet occupy to a few remarks on the general topic which he has, in our judgment, so unsuccessfully handled.

We beg to recall the attention of our readers, then, to our author's statement of the doctrine of election, as he conceives it to be 'generally held.' It involves, according to him, such a 'peculiar operation of the Spirit,' that those who are 'unvisited' with it are 'abandoned to their sins and their punishment,' and 'cannot be saved.' p. 3. Now we are bound to receive Mr. Erskine's testimony that *he* 'held this doctrine for many years;' and we will admit further, that it has been held by many besides himself: but we must say, likewise, that a more extensive knowledge of the religious world, and of the progress of theological discussion, would have informed this estimable writer, that, by a very considerable portion of the church of Christ, the doctrine of election, though held firmly, is not so held as he states it. There are many who believe, and we confess ourselves of the number, that, while the salvation of some is secured by electing love and a 'peculiar operation of the Spirit,' there are none who are 'abandoned to their sins and their punishment,' or who cannot be saved.' In this respect, we feel with our author, that the sacred scriptures present insurmountable obstacles to the holding of such an opinion; nor could we maintain the doctrine of election in any sense which could be shown to involve it. We are quite at a loss to understand, however, why the doctrine of election should be supposed to involve any such consequence. There are only two points upon which this question turns, and we will take the liberty of saying a few words upon each of them.

The first of these relates to the extent and influence of the death of Christ. Doubtless he died for the elect, with a peculiarity of design corresponding to the peculiarity of that dispensation of the Spirit, which was to be founded upon it. But the scriptures not less explicitly declare, that he 'gave himself a

ransom for *all*,' and that his Father 'gave' him for '*the world*.' Nor do they leave us at any loss concerning the design with which he died 'for all;' both clearly defining it in itself, and distinguishing it from that which relates to the church. We beg the reader to mark this in the following passages. 'Christ loved *the church*, and gave himself *for it*, that he might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water by the word; that he might present it to himself a glorious church, not having spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing, but that it should be holy, and without blemish.' Eph. v. 25—27. Let the design here specified concerning '*the church*,' be compared with that stated in John iii. 16, in relation to '*the world*.' 'God so loved *the world*, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life.' The latter portions of these two passages, (and they are samples of *classes* of passages), are far from being of similar import. The former announces a design *to save*; the latter a design *to give an opportunity of salvation*. The former foreshows a *work to be accomplished*; the latter, a *condition to be instituted*. The former indicates a *result secured*; the latter, a *probationary hope*. High calvinistic writers have insisted on it, that, in John iii. 16, '*the world*' means '*the church*.' We have always thought this a matter of infatuation; since the design there expressed cannot, by any possibility, be taken as the design of God *towards the church*. Let it only be thus read, 'God so loved *the church* as to give his only begotten Son, that whosoever (of the church, namely,) believeth on him, should not perish, but have everlasting life.' Not to insist on the obvious implication here, that there would, or might be, some of *the church* who would not believe, and who would therefore perish (a result of his eagerness in which the high calvinist can find but little gratification), it is enough to say, that this language does not convey the scriptural idea of God's purpose towards the church. He means that *they* shall be saved in the Lord, with an everlasting salvation, his own Spirit being engaged in covenant, to fulfil in them all the good pleasure of his goodness, and the work of faith with power. The design which the passage announces, therefore, fixes its application, not to the church, but to the world. It is in exact conformity with the position of the world. Christ 'gave himself a ransom for all,' to this end and effect, 'that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life.'

If there is then nothing in the doctrine of election incompatible with a provision being made for the salvation of all men, so neither is there any thing in it inconsistent with their ability to embrace this provision. It is true, that the people of God are made '*willing in the day of his power*,' and that the Lord '*opens their hearts*,' as he did Lydia's, to attend to the things which

belong to their peace. But it does not therefore follow, that those who have not this special visitation are unable to lay hold on the hope set before them. In this respect Mr. Erskine announces an important truth, when he says, in a passage already quoted, that God 'has provided man with ability;' although we cannot agree with him in his view of the ability provided. Whether man's ability consists, according to the Armenians, in a portion of the Spirit's influence given to every man 'to profit 'withal,' or, according to our author, in 'Christ's being in every 'man, as the light and the life,' or in any other particular elements, may be fair matter of discussion. For our parts, we do not see why the possession of rational powers should not be held to qualify a man for doing the whole of his duty, and amidst the ample provisions of divine mercy, for securing the whole of his welfare. That this is the case with respect to temporal things, is undeniable; nor can it be questioned that eternal things make a direct and most powerful appeal to our rational faculties, as well as things temporal. If we were to employ these powers on divine subjects, and with a view to the production of religious effects, why should we not succeed? Is there any reason why such an effort should fail of a proportionate sequel? The machinery with which God has endowed us, for the control of our passions, and the moulding of our character, is the power of voluntary thought, and we are continually using it for the purpose for which it was given. Let it be supposed, then, that a person is employing his power of voluntary thought, in contemplating such objects as are fitted to awaken sorrow for sin, love to God, renunciation of the world, and dedication to Christ. Why should he not succeed? Can any one affirm that he would not? Has the method ever been tried, and come short of its effect?

We are not at all afraid, by this line of observation, of any inconsistency with the scriptural doctrine of divine influence, or of dishonouring the blessed agent by whom it is applied. Were the question asked, if the use of the rational powers be sufficient to lead men to God, why is the Spirit given to the elect? we should reply, because they *will not* use their rational powers without it. It is the same with the rest of the world. They will not use their rational powers for the production of religion, and hence their continued impenitence. But no one surely will affirm that men *cannot* use their rational powers; nor, therefore, that they cannot do whatever the use of their rational powers would accomplish. In truth, according to the scriptures, to engage men to the use of their rational powers is the very office of the Spirit; for we are told that the Lord opened Lydia's heart, 'that she attended to the things spoken' by Paul. Acts xvi. 14.

It is in the use of their rational powers, therefore, that men are

to flee from the wrath to come; and it is by the possession of special powers that they become capable of doing so. The ability, consequently, is universal; and as there is salvation provided for all, so are all able to embrace it. And all this is in perfect consistency with the doctrine of election, which may thus be held, as we do not doubt it is held, by a number already great, and continually increasing; without holding the incredible and unscriptural notions that any part of the world 'cannot be saved,' or are 'abandoned to their sins and their punishment.' We have rather made these remarks, although the importance of the subject itself would have precluded the necessity of any apology, because we are very desirous that the doctrine of election should be no less firmly maintained than it has ever been. Should it, for a time, be held somewhat loosely by a few, it would only be another instance of that pendulum-like movement of the human mind, which has been so often observed, and by which opinions vibrate from one extreme to another, instead of finding repose at the centre. Sometimes we have been fearful of this, and we may, perhaps, be permitted to give utterance to a serious caution upon the subject. The broad truths which lie at the foundation of God's universal government are of infinite moment; but of no less moment and excellency are those truths also, which relate to his sovereign and gracious dealings with his people, his chosen.'

rt. VIII. 1. *Post Office Reform; its Importance and Practicality.* By ROWLAND HILL. C. Knight, Ludgate-street. Third Edition.

. *Facts and Reasons in support of Mr. Rowland Hill's Plan for a Universal Penny Postage.* By W. H. ASHURST. Hooper, Pall Mall, East.

. *The Post Circular.* Published in Weekly Numbers. By HOOPER, Pall Mall East.

. *First Report from the Select Committee on Postage; together with the Minutes of Evidence and Appendix.* Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed. April 4th, 1838.

THE first of these interesting pamphlets discloses, and the second ably supports, a plan which has excited much attention, not only in high quarters, among the members of the government and of the houses of Parliament, but throughout the whole empire. It proposes such a decided improvement both in regard to speed and cost, and is founded on calculations so novel and unsuspected, in the systematic communication by letter amongst the people, that it has naturally excited their curiosity,

and created an earnest anxiety to see it, if possible, carried into effect. We confess, we feel deeply indebted to Mr. Hill for his exertions, and confidently hope that the members of the government will be induced to listen to the petitions of the people presented from all quarters of the realm, praying for its adoption. We attribute great value to all improvements which facilitate communication whether of persons or of ideas, physical or intellectual; as we are satisfied, that the most important religious and moral results have been and will be deduced from an increased intercourse between the different provinces of our country, as well as between that and the various continental states. The rail-road is only second to the printing-press in the utility of its powers; and the post-office, such as Mr. Hill demonstrates it might be made, would become their great and valuable ally.

A systematic regulated communication by *post*, or by fixed stations and arranged conveyances, for the constant, secure, and rapid transmission of intelligence, appears, at its first introduction among the nations of antiquity and of modern Europe, to have been used for the dispatch of news to and from the seat of government, and only for the *purposes* of government. Mr. Macculloch, in his useful and laborious 'Dictionary of Commerce,' refers to Herodotus, as showing the existence of such a system among the ancient Persians, and to various authorities stating its establishment among the Romans by Augustus and his successors. He then observes, that 'Posts appear to have been established, for the first time, in modern Europe, in 1477, by Louis XI. They were originally intended to serve merely, as the ancient posts, for the conveyance of public despatches, and of persons travelling by authority of government. Subsequently, however, private individuals were allowed to avail themselves of this institution. The post office was not established in England till the seventeenth century. Post-masters, indeed, existed in more ancient times; but their business was confined to the furnishing of post-horses to persons who were desirous of travelling expeditiously, and to the despatching of extraordinary packets upon special occasions. In 1633, Charles I. erected a letter-office for England and Scotland; but this extended only to a few principal roads. This establishment did not succeed: and at the breaking out of the civil war, great difficulty was experienced in the forwarding of letters. At length a post-office or establishment for the weekly conveyance of letters to all parts of the kingdom, was instituted in 1649, by Mr. Edward Puckar, attorney-general for the commonwealth. In 1657, the post-office was established nearly on its present footing, and the rates of postage that were then fixed were continued till the reign of Queen Anne.

From the establishment of the post-office by Cromwell, down to

‘1784, mails were conveyed either on horseback, or in carts made for the purpose, and, instead, of being the most expeditious and safest conveyance, the post had become, at the latter period, one of the slowest and most easily robbed of any in the country. Under these circumstances, it occurred to Mr. John Palmer, of Bath, comptroller general of the post-office, that a very great improvement might be made in the conveyance of letters, in respect of economy, as well as of speed and safety, by contracting with the proprietors of the coaches for the carriage of the mail; the latter being bound to perform the journey in a specified time, and to take a guard with the mail for its protection. The consequences have proved most beneficial. The use of mail-coaches has extended to every part of the empire; and while the mail is conveyed in less than half the time that was required by the old system, the coaches by which it is conveyed afford by their regularity and speed, a most desirable mode of travelling.’ The history of this valuable suggestion affords a useful hint with reference to the mode in which Mr. Hill’s plan has been met in certain quarters, and demonstrates the species of authority that is due to merely *practical* men. It vividly shows how completely similar are the views entertained by official minds of all descriptions, and in all times, and how extremely dangerous is any reliance upon them, with reference to any matters out of their beaten track.

‘The government,’ says a writer in the ‘*Encyclopædia Britannica*,’ heartily approved the plan, and the public at large were satisfied of its utility, *yet like all new schemes, however beneficial, it met with a strong opposition: it was represented by a number of the oldest and ablest officers in the post-office, not only as impracticable, but dangerous to commerce and the revenue.** Notwithstanding this opposition, however, it was, at last established and gradually extended to many different parts of the kingdom; and upon a fair comparison, it appeared, that the revenue was improved, and the plan itself executed for £20,000 *per annum less* than the sum first intimated by Mr. Palmer.’

A review of the history of the post-office establishment from its invention by Cyrus† to the present time, will show that it has gradually advanced in the extent of its application and mode of its management with the increased urgency of the demands of commerce and intelligence among the people. Confined at its introduction to the use of the ruling powers, it was by degrees applied to national purposes as the wants of commerce and the progress of

* Precisely the same objection has been made from, a similar quarter, to Mr. Hill’s plan; and, we doubt not, experience will prove with exactly the same justice.

† Xenoph. Cyrop. lib. 8.

knowledge required its aid. The present era of society, peculiarly, and honourably, and happily distinguished as it is, for very wide and increasing diffusion of the arts of reading and writing among the mass of the population, no less, than for the vast commercial undertakings, which are the result of great united capital, skill and enterprise, demands an instrument for the swift and cheap conveyance of intelligence more efficient than is possessed at present; admirable and useful, in many respects, as that unquestionably is. The mighty, nay, the marvellous, improvements which have been made during the present century, in what may be termed *physical* communication, presenting facilities for the transport of persons and goods as wonderful as they are beneficial, naturally direct the public attention to the system employed for *moral* communication, which realizes the noble vision of the great poet, and, now, may be justly said to

‘Speed the soft intercourse from soul to soul,
And waft a sigh from Indus to the Pole.’

In this public anxiety, we cordially concur; as we feel that considerations of much deeper, importance than any merely fiscal advantages or commercial arrangements, are involved in any plan calculated materially to facilitate correspondence. The mere difference in the amount of the tax, *if its consequences terminated in the payment*, would hardly induce us to devote our pages to an inquiry upon the subject; but if the results of the excessive postage charge be injurious to the best interests of society, the question of its reduction assumes a character which takes it out of the peculiar province of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and requires that the voice of all that portion of the public who feel strongly concerned for the religious and moral, no less than the temporal, benefit of their fellow-creatures, should be lifted up against it.

The chief moral evils of the present enormously high rate of postage appear to us to be;

1st. The check thereby presented to correspondence in general, but, especially among the *poor*.

2nd. The impediment thrown in the way of religious societies, and literary and scientific bodies, and of institutions calculated to induce valuable moral habits, such as assurance and benefit associations.

3rd. The injury to literature, by the increased cost and difficulty of correcting proofs, the expense of advertising, &c.

4th. The bad consequences which arise from an habitual violation of the law by all ranks of society.

We shall submit a few remarks upon each of these heads; and then describe Mr. Hill's plan, which professes to remedy these evils among others.

1st. The power of communicating his thoughts, is one of the

valuable privileges which the Creator has bestowed on man. By intellectual co-operation that the gradual subjugation of material elements of nature has been effected; and every day that is afforded for such intellectual co-operation, tends to increase his physical power. But the power of mind and mind is productive of even more important results in the *moral* advantages which flow from it. The ignorant are instructed, and the degraded are elevated, by being subjected to the influence of the wise and good; and men learn to know what is mutually excellent in each other, upon being brought into ear contact. The despotic rulers, and priestly deceivers, of the world have been 'wise in their generation,' when throwing every possible difficulty in the way of mental and moral communication. The clouds of prejudice are dispersed before the warmth of rational knowledge, and the natural sympathies of humanity are freed from the merely artificial effects of mistaught bigotry. But the affections are only an enlargement of the *domestic*. It is in the family circle, around the hearth of *home*, that we learn our duties to our kind, by the sweet instincts implanted in us by that great Maker of our nature who has linked by so indissoluble a bond our interests and our obligations, our virtue and our happiness. The offering influence, the deeply implanted lessons of maternal and sisterly fondness, retain their power through life, and even the abandoned reprobate on the scaffold to evince it, all his agony and shame are concentrated on the reflected glory of his 'poor Mother!' What a powerful instrument for education and the *support* of virtue and happiness, is impeded by regulations which obstruct the continued operation of parental instructions and family endearments, after the duties of life have scattered the former inmates from their homes in the various avocations of the world! In an excellent paper by a 'country clergyman,' published in the 'Post Circular,'* the author touchingly says:—

One of the moral advantages of frequent communication by letter, I rate highly; as one of the best securities for good conduct, where people have been well brought up, is the preservation of home ties in all their freshness, and the nurturing and cherishing of all pure and wholesome influences that belong to the family relations. I knew a girl who left the parent's roof pure, and as long as she remained freely to her mother, I shall scarcely fear for her virtue. Give a youth who finds pleasure in devoting a spare half-hour in the evening to the sister whom he has left behind him, and though he be a hundred miles off, there is a chain upon him which, if it does not hold him back from evil, will check him in the pursuit of it. Now, when

* No. VI. May 4, 1838.

one considers the field to which these observations refer, the immense scale upon which the enormous tax upon letters is working mischief, in separating the nearest friends, and insulating, during the most critical period of life, those who want every help to strengthen them against temptation, *I really feel that the economical part of the question is quite suspended by the moral part*; and, even, if the million and a half were sacrificed, the gain would be immense.'

And a gentleman well known for his sincere attachment to the cause of religious truth, and the dissemination of knowledge, makes the following valuable remarks through the medium of the same publication :—

'You, my dear friend, who know Mr. ——— are aware, that his family have been trained up from their childhood to give instruction to the children of the poor wherein they are placed; and, in all places, where they are located they are cheerfully and intelligently employed in giving Sunday School and religious instruction to the children of the poor families in their several neighbourhoods. Suppose these children had a power to communicate a slight thought, originating in the changed aspect, or some other circumstances of some one who had hitherto been wayward, whose habits had been changed, who had turned from sullenness to cheerfulness, and fierce defiance to placid obedience. These are scenes which I can assure you frequently come under our observation in these towns arising, we hope and believe, from the example and precepts of those young people who undertake the gratuitous task of instructing them. You must try and imagine what that result would be if this family of children were thus to communicate, no one can do it so well as yourself. You know that a simple and humble thought has often led to the most powerful results. The post-office tax entirely shuts out the communication of mind between this amiable and affectionate family, and whenever they do write to their parents or to one another, they sit down under the idea, that they must write a letter, that their father may think *worth the postage*. The short line expressed from the heart, at the moment, would be worth twenty such letters! *The government by such a course is taking the most effectual step to estranging from each other the very best members that constitute any community.*'

And Mr. Brankston, a gentleman of long experience in the conduct of an important department of one of the largest houses of its kind in England (Leaf, Coles, and Co., Old Change), and having one hundred and forty young persons constantly under his observation, gave with much earnestness and feeling the following evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons, which has been inquiring some months upon this subject, and has collected and published most valuable various information. Mr. Brankston says :—

'I would not consider the reduction of postage, simply as a commercial

transaction, *but I would take it morally, and religiously, and socially*; and I will venture to say, that the revenue of the post-office will be higher and greater than it is now, when it is considered what will be the enormous increase from those at present incapable of sending letters through the post-office, in consequence of their poverty. Out of one hundred and forty young persons in our house, there are not more, on an average, than two in a day receive a post letter; but they receive their letters in other ways. Looking abroad in the world, looking at Northumberland, considering their pastoral habits, living in comfort and decency, their sons and daughters come to us very young, they cannot afford to pay this rate of postage, they are sent abroad, some from the humblest, and some from the most respectable classes, and from those, if the rate was low, the increase would be enormous, *and of a highly moral and highly social tendency*. We have many young people here who have not any salaries for three or four years, officers' sons and others who come to us for five years, for nothing, and wherever our young men have any connexions, they are obtaining franks, which are always in request. There are thousands and tens of thousands living separate from their children, who have no means of communicating with them in consequence of the high rate of postage; every feeling of philanthropy as well as commerce requires there should be a reduction of postage. *I have seen much of the evils resulting from that in the young persons in our establishment. I fear that the want of communication with their parents has led, in some instances, to vice and profligacy, which might have been prevented.*

But, perhaps, it may be thought, that the poor would not take advantage of the privilege proposed to be conferred upon them; and are not duly sensible of its inestimable value. All the evidence which has been adduced before the Committee, tends to show how bitterly the privation is felt, and with what grateful promptitude its destruction would be welcomed and met. Thus in the case of soldiers, who are allowed the privilege of sending letters for a penny, which Mr. Hill desires to extend to all classes of the community,—Captain Bentham said, that

'Soldiers most highly appreciated the privilege, and that many of them learnt to write expressly for the purpose of writing their own letters. That it made them much more valuable members of a regiment, and that he knew they generally corresponded with their relations. That if they had to pay the present high rate of postage, he thought it would almost entirely destroy their correspondence. That he did not think one letter in thirty would be written, certainly not one in twenty. That the men who had most correspondence, were well behaved men, in a military point of view.'

Another gentleman who was examined before the Committee, said,

'I had a conversation the other day, with our postman; my wife was paying for a letter, and she made a remark as to the cost; his reply was, 'yes, it is a good thing you can afford to pay for it; for I assure

'you my heart bleeds when I take letters to the poor. I have known them go and pawn their goods to pay for the postage of a letter, when they have wished to have it; that is a matter that has frequently occurred.'

And a clergyman in Yorkshire stated,

'By the present heavy rates of postage, the poor are virtually debarred from all knowledge of, or intercourse with, their distant friends and relatives. Any parochial clergyman who mixes at all with his people will readily recollect, how frequently he has been called by a poor parishioner to write or direct a letter to some absent son, some sick parent; and the request has been followed up by an entreaty for a 'little help towards the postage' which is so heavy, and which 'they cannot raise.'

The advantages would be especially felt, now that *emigration* is increasing so much among the people. All the arguments founded on the above statements are strengthened ten-fold. The postage becomes under these circumstances, at present, quite suppressive of correspondence, and, yet, the necessity for it also becomes greater than ever. The instances, to which we have referred (and which might be multiplied, if our pages permitted) must convince the most sceptical, and touch the most indifferent to the importance of diminishing the rates on postage as far as regards its dreadfully injurious operation on the poor.

2nd. With regard to the serious difficulties thrown in the way of religious, moral, and scientific associations, the effects thus produced are very ably summed up by Mr. Ashurst in the pamphlet of which the title is given at the head of this article. That gentleman justly observes, that

'It would often be highly important with reference to religious and educational purposes, to address the dissenting ministers of the country as well as the clergy; but, although, there is a dissenting minister in nearly every parish in the kingdom, there are no means of knowing his name so as to address him, although it would often be highly important. The clergyman and overseer of the establishment can be addressed officially, but letters cannot now be addressed to the dissenting ministers in each parish or place where there is a chapel, and under present arrangements, it is perhaps as well for him that he is thus protected from the infliction of postage, but let it be supposed, that a penny postage, and the just protection of prepayment are obtained, and lists prepared, periodically, of the names of the various dissenting ministers in England, what immense advantages would result. A mode of cheap organization would be presented to the dissenting interest in England, and to the ministers and members of every religious body. The facility with which they might be appealed to in aid of any good work, and with which they might direct their efforts simultaneously, will be obvious; they will be protected by prepayment of letters against involuntary expense, and their periodical reports to a

common centre, of the religious progress of their several circles or circuits will be most advantageous and useful ; how readily this will enable them to promote Sunday-schools, and their other educational and interesting social objects ; and wherever the good and the careful might see the bad and improvident working moral injury, they could consult those to whom they look for counsel and aid, and bring their united judgment and efforts to bear against the mischief. They could have readily, easily, and cheaply, and to men with their limited incomes and deep obligation to train their families intellectually and with habits of respectability, this last is an important consideration, they could have readily and cheaply the knowledge of the movements in their own religious circle ; and the great advantage to every one in connexion, of having with certainty and ease, recent and cheap news upon those subjects in which he takes a deep interest, and of which he may himself be said to form a part, need only be brought into view to be admitted.'—p. 54.

He then refers to evidence adduced by the officers of the Religious Tract Society, and of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. The former showed, that the

'Correspondence of his institution extends to every part of the world, and they have been particularly inconvenienced by the charge on the printed reports of their foreign auxiliaries, which are, with the letters, placed in the post-office bag, and are charged from six or seven shillings up to eight or nine pounds for the inland postage of parcels whose intrinsic value does not exceed one or two shillings ; the consequence is the packet is refused, and the waste paper is all the government obtain, and thus the intercourse between kindred societies is paralyzed.'

And Mr. Saintsbury says,

'The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, has attempted the plan of issuing a quarterly report, a brief statement of the operations of the society and extracts from its correspondence. They would, probably, do that monthly, if they could do it without any great expense, the principal cost being the cost of transmission ; such brief statements, in the majority of instances, we should send by post ; at present, we send the major part by coach parcels. I have no hesitation in saying, we should employ the post-office, except about ten or twelve parcels.

Mr. Ashurst has, also, well summed up the injury inflicted on scientific institutions. He says,

'There are various societies existing, whose objects can only be effectually promoted by eliciting from the operatives in the various branches of science and the arts the knowledge which hourly familiarity with practical subjects has supplied to their minds. The operatives are engaged in working out the principles of science ; and, though they may not always connect the theory or principles with the practice, still they are constantly marking coincidences by which they learn what *is* and frequently are enabled of themselves to trace causation, and

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where they cannot they can supply the facts by which other minds may be enabled to trace the cause, and thus enlarge the field of science, and open new fields of activity. But their knowledge in multitudes of cases dies with them, because their education does not enable them to convey their knowledge to educated men of science, who could use their facts, and carry forward the results of the great teacher, experience.' —p. 48.

Mr. Ashurst refers to the institution of civil engineers as a striking example in support of this view. After clearly pointing out several most important desiderata in mechanical science which this society is admirably and easily adapted to investigate, but which it is prevented from doing, by the expense of transmitting inquiries and replies, he concludes with the following testimony of Mr. Webster, the secretary.

'The great difficulty and great impediment now is to concentrate the knowledge of facts possessed in various parts of the kingdom; the mass of knowledge possessed by the manufacturers of the north is quite inconceivable; they possess immense masses of facts which if they could be concentrated, would tend rapidly to the settlement of points about which little is now known. It is from workmen or persons a little above them, that we mostly want practical information. There are no facilities for the communication of knowledge; and the result is, that there is no attempt made to collect and concentrate the knowledge distributed in different manufactories. I believe, that after a few years, the mass of matter collected is inconceivable; the sending notes of this kind, and queries, and getting answers to them, would lead to the accumulation of facts in every department of science.'

To these powerful statements we will add, that it is of great importance, that the directors of benefit associations should be able to communicate often with the members; but such associations are now seriously crippled, and sometimes completely destroyed, from not being able to enjoy this advantage through the high rate of postage. How desirable too would it be, if Literary institutions could easily and cheaply communicate! By this means, great economy might be introduced into their operations, as the best lecturers would be soon discovered, and arrangements might be made for the same course of lectures being delivered to three or four institutions, at the same time. Every facility should be afforded, indeed, to the free and uninterrupted intercourse between literary and scientific bodies. By this means, the active intelligence of the empire will be working harmoniously; similar societies will not be engaged in the same inquiries unknown to each other, facts ascertained by one will not remain a secret to another, but which, if known, would have materially assisted the investigations of that other; and, in short, there will be no longer any serious *waste* of time, knowledge, and money.

3rd. But the interests of literature and science are injured, to an extent little suspected by those not personally acquainted with the fact, in other ways than those just stated by the want of a cheap postage. The united testimony of such publishers as Mr. Richard Taylor, Mr. Parker, Mr. Charles Knight, and Mr. Whittaker, with others, shows the effect of postage upon scientific and literary works. The first named gentleman (the printer and conductor of the 'Philosophical Magazine') says, 'that the present rates are a serious impediment to the interchange of thought among scientific men, many of whom are in very humble circumstances. With cheap postage, they would communicate by post as freely as they converse when they have the means of meeting. The contributions to the scientific journals are short but numerous, transmitted from all parts of the kingdom, and every one of these pays a large postage for the correspondence previous to it, for itself and its enclosures, *sometimes subjecting it to treble and quadruple rates for discussions with the editor and for the transmissions of proof sheets and revises.*' This last item of expense is, also, shown by Mr. Parker, to be very serious, who says, 'that he was printing two works, of which the postage would amount to twelve per cent. on the composition.' The consequence which often follows, is that accuracy is sacrificed to expense. A correspondent to the Mercantile Committee says, 'that the bookseller is induced not to send a revise and trusts to a reader on the spot, whereby errors are made which could have been avoided had not the weight of postage been a barrier. If a cheap rate were established, English books now admitted to be the most beautiful, would be also the most accurate.' Nor is this all. If circulars could be transmitted for one penny to every quarter of the kingdom, the means of rendering valuable works known to the public would be increased to an extent equally great and beneficial. At present, the serious expense of advertising or posting very much diminishes this opportunity of publication. Mr. Charles Knight after stating, 'that if a cheap postage were adopted, he should send out monthly 1860 circulars to respectable booksellers,' says, 'we publish a work that is having a very large circulation, the 'Pictorial Bible;' it is a Bible with notes which, not being doctrinal, suit every class of the religious community: patronized equally by the members of the Church of England, by Wesleyans, Independents, &c. There is no difficulty in obtaining a list of all the clergymen in England; there is no great difficulty in obtaining a very complete list of all the Dissenting Ministers, to all those I should send a circular, that, alone, would dispose of twenty thousand. Seeing that one hundred thousand might be sent for four hundred pounds, I should think that by far the most efficient mode of advertising that could be adopted. I consider, that availing myself of the advantage of the post to distribute such circulars,

'I should send out, at least, one hundred thousand annually.' Similar testimony was given by other eminent publishers. The cause of literature would, therefore, be deeply indebted to any plan for cheapening the postage, and its own stores would, probably, be enriched by the increase of letters thereby induced. In an interesting article in a recent number* of the 'Edinburgh Review,' it is well observed, that 'every improvement in the post-office will augment indefinitely the supply, out of which this delightful supplement of modern literature [familiar letters] must be derived. Our present state of society wants its realities to be confirmed, its individualities to be manifested, its domestic affections to be cherished. Towards all this, good letters in their several ways powerfully contribute.'

4th. But the evil does not rest here. A habit is produced of constant evasion, nay, defiance of the law through all classes of society, which is no less injurious in its effects, than utterly incapable of being repressed. When the premium on smuggling is so great, and when the general feeling of society is arrayed in such strong opposition to a tax, as in this case, a wise legislature knows that the time is come for its instant repeal. We hold it of the deepest importance, equally in a religious, moral, and social point of view, that the people should be habituated to a reverence for the law, as, though there may be (as we readily allow there are) many provisions of it which are inconsistent with enlightened views of the genuine objects and duties of government, yet these provisions must gradually give way before the advancing intelligence of the people, and the diffusion of sound religious knowledge amongst them. But the habit of obedience gives the enlightened legislator a sanction for his regulations, to which he will look in vain for any adequate substitute. Except, therefore, on points of deep import, where conscience speaks strongly in opposition to the law, and the laws of God and of man are at complete variance, we are urgent advocates for strict obedience of the law. And, yet, we feel that it is impossible to attempt with any hope of success to put a stop to the evasion of the postage regulations. The exigencies of commerce, the irrepressible sympathies of the human heart, which spite of all the foolish and wicked obstacles of governments, will, to some degree, find way for expression, are against us; and we yield the struggle with a full consciousness of the hopelessness of any efforts to oppose them. *The only remedy is repeal of the law.* The evil of this one breach as leading to others, and as depriving the advocate for universal submission, of the charm and unity of his argument, is well put in the letter by a 'country clergyman,' to which we have before referred. He says, 'if

* October 1837. On Serjeant Talfourd's Edition of 'Lamb's Letters.'

ns are tempted to *one* such breach of the law, though it be smallest and most venial of all (which all things considered seem this to be), in some cases, the way may be paved for it; and when this evil does not result, *the man who allows himself in this, can less easily protest in society against others.* We had my mouth stopped, when I have been protesting against more serious evasions of the revenue laws as dis-ful to those who practise them by the question;—‘Pray do never send letters otherwise than through the post office?’ *which is the charm is broken*—the virtue of perfect obedience destroyed—and the depth of the wisdom of the instruction ‘not to do in *one* thing, or thereby we offend in all,’ is displayed and lost. That this evasion is practised to a very considerable extent, must be well known to all our readers; but the *real* extent seems only the more apparent as the matter is more thoroughly

Mr. Ashurst observes, that ‘it will astonish the public to find that *five times* the quantity of letters sent by the post office than by other modes; the greatest portion in defiance of the law and to avoid the infliction of the tax.’ We cannot go into the details of the statement by which it is verified; but refer those of our readers who may wish to satisfy themselves on this head, to the pamphlet of Mr. Ashurst.

Being thus shown, as we think conclusively, the very serious evils which result from the present excessive rate of postage, we are bound to hail any plan which promises to remedy them, and such a plan, Mr. Hill’s seems to us to be. He proposes, that all letters not weighing more than $\frac{1}{2}$ an ounce going from one post town in Great Britain or Ireland to any other post town, shall be charged *one penny*, and heavier packets one penny for each additional $\frac{1}{2}$ ounce to be paid in advance; and that newspapers and covers shall be supplied from the stamp office, and sold at a price as to include the postage. This is the main feature of the plan; and we have not room to enter into any details. A uniform rate of one penny for every letter is certainly a boon, which very strong evidence indeed of its impracticability is required to deter the public of. Mr. Hill’s proposal, is grounded on a statement which has not been successfully controverted, that the *cost of transmission of a chargeable letter from London to Edinburgh is the thirtieth part of a penny!** And, consequently, that all cost of the postage, after payment of the necessary expenses of establishment, is *so much tax*. The government, at present, derives a revenue of a million and a half from the post office; and, therefore, the Chancellor of the Exchequer was very naturally

When it is remembered that the ‘Penny and Saturday Magazine,’ are sent to any town of the empire for *one penny*, which includes the cost of transmission with all other charges, and a profit besides, this statement will be believed and understood.

indisposed to run the hazard of adopting a plan which requires an increase of six times as many chargeable post letters as are sent at present, to prevent a deficiency in the revenue. But we contend that the evidence adduced completely establishes that there will be no falling off in the revenue. In the first place, the great extent to which evasion prevails, now deprives the revenue of five-sixths of the letters which are sent through the country, and it will require little evidence, we are sure, to convince our readers, that if the opportunity were presented to the *poor* of writing, the increase of letters amongst them would be very great. A strong body of evidence* is adduced to show, that in many ways, commercial men would take advantage of the post for transmitting circulars, &c., as in the instance we have before referred to, from the evidence of Mr. Charles Knight. The increased consumption of paper too would thus indirectly add to the revenue. Experience in various departments of the post office where reduction has been tried, justifies our confident expectations. Thus *ship letters* were reduced in 1835, and the returns from Liverpool and Hull show an increase in four years of more than two hundred and fifty per cent in the number of letters! So the enlargement of the twopenny post has been attended with a great and gradual increase. But we take higher ground, and we contend that the postage is not a *legitimate tax*. The people have a right to the transmission of the letters at as low a cost as the government can afford to convey them. Deep moral interests are at stake. The spread of genuine religion, the diffusion of sound learning, the encouragement of the social sympathies; the indulgence and cherishing of the domestic affections; all demand that immediate attention should be paid to this obstructing, nay, oppressive and vexatious tax. We hail the interest which the public is every day more and more feeling on this subject with great satisfaction. We are glad to find that a body of intelligent and enterprising gentlemen engaged in commerce and science have united themselves into a mercantile committee, for the purpose of advancing Mr. Hill's plan.† We trust that the Committee of the House of Commons, now sitting, will present a favourable report; and, we feel sure, the government will not be deaf to the suggestions of that intelligent Committee, supported by the petitions of the people.

* See Mr. Ashurst's pamphlet.

† The 'Post Circular' is published under the superintendence of these gentlemen.

Brief Notices.

Views in India; chiefly among the Himalaya Mountains. By LIEUT. GEORGE FRANCIS WHITE, of the 31st. Regiment. Edited by EMMA ROBERTS. London: Fisher and Co.

We owe the best apology in our power to the enterprising publishers of this volume, for having permitted it to remain so long on our table unnoticed. By what fatality it has escaped our eye we cannot divine. However, we will do our best, in a few words, to commend it to our readers. It is beyond all comparison the most splendid volume of last season. The engravings alone were got up at an expense of £2,400, and the gorgeousness and beauty, the mingled sublimity and richness of the scenery they depict, while affording ample scope for the skill of the artist, perfectly enchant the eye. As a production of art, the work needs fear no comparison or rivalry. The literary portion of the volume is in happy keeping with the style of the illustrations, and furnishes some very interesting and valuable information. The Himalaya Mountains are the highest and most gigantic known to exist;—stretching from the Indus on the north-west to the Bramaputra on the south-east, they divide the plains of Hindostan from the wilds of Thibet and Tartary. Little was known of this stupendous range till recently; but the eye of European science is now directed thither, and the foot of the adventurous explorer is on the advance. A volume on such a subject, illustrated in the first style, and edited with a skill worthy of the reputation of Miss Roberts, is a gem of the first order, and as such we commend it to our readers.

Wanderings and Excursions in South Wales; including the Scenery of the River Wye. By THOMAS ROSCOE, Esq. Forty-eight Engravings by Radclyffe, from Drawings by Cox, Harding, Fielding, Crewick, &c. London: C. Tilt. Birmingham: Wrightson & Webb.

This is one of those volumes which combine all the attractions of an annual, with the better qualities and more permanent interest of a higher class of publications. The softened and richly tinted scenery of South Wales, united with the local traditions and historical associations of the country are depicted by the engraver and the tourist with a felicity which must charm every tasteful mind. The eye gives vividness and reality to the text, while the latter invests the productions of the artist with a depth of interest of which no fancy picture can be possessed. The engravings embrace all the chief points of the scenery of the country, and are executed with skill and effect. The editor has accomplished his task with corresponding success, and the publication proves, in consequence, a highly attractive volume. Wales is rich in the associations of the past. Scarcely can the eye turn in any direction, without meeting some memorial of by-gone years—some ruin which speaks of the chivalry or superstition that once ruled the land. Into these associations, Mr. Roscoe has entered with all commendable zeal; and his readers will find he has furnished them an entertaining and rich repast.

The Christian Fathers of the First and Second Centuries; their Principal Remains at Large: with Selections from their other Writings. Partly in Original, and partly in Approved Translations. By the Rev. E. Bickersteth. (Christian's Family Library.) London: Seeley and Burnside. 1838.

We are no idolaters of the Fathers, yet we are glad to perceive an increasing disposition to study and impartially estimate their writings. Their rejection as guides having been followed by entire neglect, the grossest ignorance respecting them prevails. One good result of the controversies elicited by the Oxford Tracts, will be a closer examination of those relics of antiquity from which we anticipate many benefits. The volume before us, containing the most valuable productions of the first two centuries, has evidently originated in this source, and is introduced by some judicious and well-timed prefatory remarks of the Editor. We wish it may obtain an extensive circulation.

Sketches in London. By the author of 'Random Recollections,' the 'Great Metropolis,' &c. Nos. 1—7. London: W. S. Orr, and Co.

The indefatigable author of the 'Great Metropolis,' is again catering for the amusement and information of the public. His present work is issued in monthly numbers, of which seven are now before us, and we shall be surprised if it do not prove one of the most popular productions of his pen. Each number contains two humorous illustrations, and the whole are put out of hand in a creditable and handsome style. A large mass of very curious and interesting information, collected by the diligence of the author, is served up for the entertainment of his readers, and the various emotions of pity and anger, indignation and sympathy are alternately excited. The following list of the topics embraced in his work will sufficiently disclose its character: Begging impostors, debtors—prisons, the Queen's Bench, the lumber troop, the Victoria parliament, penny theatres, the police offices, and the workhouses.

Scandinavia, Ancient and Modern; being a History of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway: comprising a Description of these Countries; an Account of the Mythology, Government, Laws, &c. &c. With Illustrations of their Natural History. By Andrew Crichton, LL.D., and Henry Wheaton, LL.D. With a Map and Twelve Engravings by Jackson. Two volumes. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd. 1838.

These volumes belong to the Edinburgh Cabinet Library, and will well sustain the reputation of that work. Their design is to furnish a succinct history of the Scandinavian kingdoms, and in this they are happily successful. Patient and extensive investigation, combined with the advantages of a personal residence at Copenhagen for some years, have rendered the work a sterling addition to our historical literature. If the state of our pages permitted, we should gladly enter at some length into an examination of these volumes, but must reluctantly content ourselves with this brief expression of our favourable judgment.

The Preacher's Manual: Lectures on Preaching; furnishing Rules and Examples for every kind of Pulpit Address. By S. T. Sturtevant. 3rd Edition, revised and greatly enlarged. 8vo. London: Ward and Co. 1838.

A new and improved edition of a judicious and useful work, the extensive circulation of which proves the need that existed for it. The art of sermonizing cannot be too thoroughly studied by the preacher, but great care is necessary lest an attention to rules should be made to supersede the vigorous and independent action of the intellect. Let the machinery be carried to as great a perfection as possible, but let not the living agent by whom the machinery is to be worked, be encouraged in slothfulness or dishonesty.

A History of British Birds. By William Yarrell, F.L.S., V.P.Z.S. Illustrated by a Wood-cut of each Species, and numerous Vignettes. No. VI. London: John Voorst. 1838.

This beautiful work has reached the sixth number, and fully sustains its early reputation. We only wait for the completion of the volume to attempt to do something like justice to its merits. The British public, and every lover of Natural History especially, are greatly indebted to Mr. Yarrell and his able coadjutor, Professor Bell.

Memoirs of the Life of Mrs. Hannah More. By William Roberts, Esq. A new edition abridged (Christian's Family Library). London: Seeley and Burnside. 1838.

An abridged edition of a life already well known to the public. With all her prejudices and sectarianism—for sectarian she was to a lamentable degree—Hannah More was an extraordinary woman. We regret her foibles, forgive her antipathies, and commend her virtues to the imitation of her sex. The present neat edition of her life will prove an acceptable present to a large class of readers.

Temper. A Treatise on its use and abuse. Setting forth Temper as we find it; Temper as it should be; and how to Improve the Temper. By a Staffordshire Curate. London: Seeley & Burnside, 1837.

This volume will be a faithful assistant in the work of self-examination. It presents illustrations of the varied forms in which bad temper appears, and points out the circumstances in which it frequently unveils its deformity. The treatise is divided into three parts, viz. 'Temper as we find it; Temper as it should be; and how to Improve the Temper.' In the first part, the reverend author displays a very extensive acquaintance with human nature. As a member of society he has keenly observed character in all the relations of life; and as a Christian, he has closely studied the workings of the human heart. In the second part, the standard of what temper should be is presented in the example of Christ, and in the amiable and lovely dispositions of some of his disciples. In the last part, which is divided into fourteen chapters, the directions to improve the temper contain some of the best maxims which experience can teach, or the word of God supply.

Literary Intelligence.

Just Published.

Southey's Poetical Works. Vol. VIII., containing the *Curse of Kehama*. Memoir of the Rev. W. Steadman, D.D. By his Son, Thomas Steadman. Further Considerations for the Ministers of Scotland; occasioned by the Rev. Mr. Menzies' Apology for Dr. Tholuck's Perversions of the Word of God, and his Attack on some of the most important Scriptural doctrines. By Robert Haldane, Esq.

Woman's Wit; or, Love's Disguises. A Play, in Five Acts. By James Sheridan Knowles.

Italy: a Poem, in Six Parts, with Historical and Classical Notes. By John Edmund Reade.

Parochial Sermons. By the Rev. William Harness, A.M. Second Edition.

The Revelation of St. John Explained. By Henry William Lovett. Second Edition, corrected, with additions.

A History of Greece. By the Rev. Connop Thirlwall. Vol. V. (*Lardner's Cyclopædia*, Vol. CIII.)

Random Recollections of the Lords and Commons. By the Author of "The Great Metropolis," &c. Second Series. Two volumes.

The Pilgrim's Progress. By John Bunyan. Most carefully collated with the Edition containing the Author's last Additions and Corrections. With a Life of the Author by Josiah Conder. Twenty-five Engravings.

The Dramatic Works of William Shakspeare. With Remarks on his Life and Writings, by Thomas Campbell. Royal 8vo.

The Seraphim, and other Poems. By Elizabeth B. Barrett.

The Man About Town. By Cornelius Webbe. 2 vols.

The Natural History of the Silk-Worm; with the most approved Methods of Rearing Silk, and Cultivating the Mulberry. Applied to our Colonies and Islands. By John Murray, F.A.S., F.L.S., &c. Second Edition. 8vo. pp. 67.

Considerations on the Vital Principle; with a description of Mr. Crosse's Experiments. By John Murray, F.S.A., &c. Second Edition, pp. 39.

In the Press.

Mr. Roscoe, the well-known Author of "The Landscape Annual," and other Illustrated Works, is at this time engaged on the subject of "Windsor Castle and its Environs." The work will be richly embellished with highly-finished Engravings on Steel, consisting of Architectural Views, Landscape, and Historical Subjects.

Preparing for publication, in royal 4to., "Illustrations of the Zoology of South Africa;" consisting chiefly of figures and descriptions of the objects of Natural History, collected during an Expedition into the Interior of South Africa, in 1834, 1835, and 1836. By Dr. Andrew Smith, Director of the Expedition. This Work will be published in Parts, under the Authority of the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury.

Dr. Andrew Smith's "Journal of an Expedition into the Interior of Southern Africa," comprising an Authentic Narrative of the Travels and Discoveries of the Expedition under his direction. In 2 vols. 8vo. Illustrated by a Map, and numerous Plates of African Scenery; and of the dresses, weapons, dances, ceremonies, &c., of the natives.

The Rev. Charles Gutzlaff (now and for many years a resident in China) has in the press, in 2 vols. post 8vo., a work, under the Title of "China Opened," or a display of the Topography, History, Customs, Manners, Arts, Manufactures, Commerce, Literature, Religion, &c., of the Chinese.

A Journal of a Voyage to Japan, in the Year 1837, will be published in a thin foolscap 8vo. volume.

THE
ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR AUGUST, 1838.

Art. I. *Rise and Progress of the British Power in India.* By PETER AUBER, M.R.A.S., late Secretary to the Honourable the Court of Directors of the East India Company. 2 vols. London: W. H. Allen & Co.; Calkin & Budd, Pall Mall. 1837.

HISTORY presents us with astonishing revolutions. Every one, who has been whipped through the common curriculum of a grammar-school, knows well that Virgil described the inhabitants of our island as in his day *Penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos*. The centre of civilization to the poet was the Palatine: yet strange to say, the property of that very spot was reported, when we were abroad, as belonging to an Irish monastery, a Scotch nobleman, and an English gentleman; the two last having purchased their shares of it to delve undisturbed for antiquities. For the precise accuracy of the rumour we will not at present vouch; but a much more striking fact is perfectly notorious: namely, that the successors of those once despised Britons are now sovereigns over an *Orbis terrarum*, of which the then masters of the world had scarcely an idea;—a colonial empire wider in extent than Julius Cæsar himself could have ever conceived;—a population of subjects, tributaries, and allies, larger than Trajan or Constantine ever ruled over;—raising revenues richer than those, that flowed into the imperial treasury of the Antonines;—and sustaining with their protectors and governors a range of commercial relations, in which the exports of Alexandria, or the imports of the Tiber, would have formed but an unimportant particular. In other words, India, the brightest jewel of our foreign possessions, acknowledges the sway of this country, from the Sutlej to Cape Comorin, and from Malacca to the Indus. We shall aim at bringing before the reader a brief survey of the former history of Hindostan; a sketch of the marvellous manner, in which the influence of England has overshadowed

the entire Peninsula; and an outline of the improvements, which we may, through the divine blessing, be the instruments of communicating to a hundred and twenty millions of people.

Nor must the geographical platform of our article be forgotten; for persons are very apt to remain satisfied with imperfect or indefinite notions respecting India. Nature has formed it into three grand divisions, of which two more especially will fall within our limits. There is first the mountainous territory along the northern frontier, consisting of the summits and slopes of the vast Himalaya; secondly, the great central plain of Hindostan Proper, including both the Ganges and Indus, with other magnificent streams watering regions of almost unrivalled fertility; and thirdly, the southern triangle, within the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar, terminating in the promontory of Travancore. Chains of high hills, called the Eastern and Western Ghauts, run parallel with the sea on either side; those towards Madras being much the least lofty. The elevated table-lands of the Deccan and Mysore are found in the interior; the former extending from the Kistnah to the Nerbuddah. Pepper and diamonds are among their products; and they are few, who have not heard of the siege of Seringapatam, and the gems of Golconda. The Circars and Cuttack connect the Carnatic with Bengal; whilst Cochin, Calicut, and the Canara, reach along the shores of the Arabian sea to Goa; and the Concans from thence to Surat. Bombay is on an island ceded to the English through the marriage of Charles the Second with Catherine of Portugal. Above the remarkable country of Guzerat extend the states of Rajahpootana to the Punjaub, or kingdom of Lahore. The superficial area of Hindostan may be reckoned at from twelve to thirteen hundred thousand square miles; and the total population at about one hundred and forty millions. The climate cannot be considered unhealthy in the correct sense of that expression; and although the opulence of the soil was exaggerated to the ancients, and still more so to our predecessors of the Middle Ages; the mines and manufactures of India,—its precious stones, silks, rice, sugar, cotton, opium, and indigo, offered such sources of wealth, as were then nowhere else to be found; nor will they fail, in our own times, to afford sufficient rewards for the enterprize and industry of our countrymen.

Prior to the irruption of Alexander, the clouds of mythology and ignorance had veiled its real history from the rest of mankind. A Maharajah stretched his supremacy over perhaps the entire peninsula; governing through the agency of various feudatories, and the support of an established but pagan priesthood. Polytheism and cruelty reigned and revelled. They witnessed with little internal change the rise and fall of the Greek empire of Bactria, the culmination and decline of Persia, and Persia,

the Arsacides and Sassanides;—the fleeting dynasties of the Ghaznavites, Saffarides, and Samanides; until in the tenth century three lines of Mahomedan princes arose, whose successors flourished themselves in Hindostan. These were the Gaznavites, from A.D. 1000 to 1157; when they were driven out of India by the Indian conquests, by the Gaurides, from Gaur, a province to the north of Gazna; and the Charazmians, so called from the name of their native kingdom; but whose domination, after lasting scarcely a dozen years, fell before Zenghis Khan in 1221. During this interval of tempest and change, the dignity of emperor of Hindostan had become merely nominal; the provinces underwent the usual fate of being parcelled out amongst bold and ambitious chieftains. Their tribute, indeed, went into the treasury of the Moslem conquerors; and a pretended allegiance might be paid to the representatives of their ancient master: but with no real limitations, the strongest arm, or the shrewdest head lorded each separate division of the land. The Deccan seems to have maintained an undisturbed subjection to Indian sovereigns, until 1293, when it was invaded by the governor of Kurrah. An Arabian race of potentates then succeeded; and amidst many revolutions, preserved their sway to the commencement of the sixteenth century; although at the close of the fourteenth, when the Tartar had planted his standard upon the marble towers of Delhi. One of his viceroys, Chizar Khan, reigned successfully for the sceptre: but the Tartarian government had grown odious in the eyes of all, when the Turks, invading Great Bokhara, A.D. 1493, constrained Akbar, the descendant of Timour, to seek another throne, not that of Samarcand, in the cities of Northern Hindostan. By this hero, and his posterity, the paramount rule of the Great Mogul was rendered nearly co-extensive with the confines of the Peninsula. Humayoon carried his arms into Persia and Guzerat. Under Akbar, Bengal, Viziapore, and Madras, were all subdued. Shah Jehan conquered the Deccan; and Aurungzebe augmented his empire from river to river, until at length he encountered the Mahrattas. Beneath the peaceful, yet majestic shadow, sixty millions of slaves groaned under the endurance, from the tenth to the thirty-fifth degree of latitude; whilst his revenues exceeded thirty millions sterling annually, and in a country, when and where the productions of the soil were three times as cheap as they are now in England. His reign retains a conspicuous place in the annals of prosperous empire, and human folly. The imprisonment of his father, and execution of his brothers, had opened for him a blood-stained road to whatever an infatuated world calls valuable and magnificent: on the verge of eternity, he is said to have anticipated a hell of horrors; avowing that wherever he looked, 'he beheld nothing

but an avenging divinity.' The Mahrattas exacted fierce retribution from his descendants. Their chief Sambajee, having fallen into his hands, suffered inhuman torments from the emperor, who insisted upon a conversion to Islamism. In vain was the tongue of the idolater torn from his throat, and his heart cut out of his bosom. A legacy of revenge and disaster proved the miserable result. Aurungzebe died in 1707; and the successor of Sambajee first shook the throne of the Moguls. Before 1740, these Mahrattas had overrun all the territories between the Western ocean and Orissa, and from Agra to the Carnatic: being a tract of one thousand miles long, and seven hundred wide! They had also obtained authority from Delhi to collect the Chout, or the fourth part of the net imperial revenues, excepting those of Bengal. Their capital was Sattarah: but on the decease of Sahojee, the Peishwah, or vicegerent, resided at Poonah,—the Bukshi, or commander-in-chief, at Nagpoor in Berar,—Scindiah in part of the province of Malwa,—Holkar at Indore in the same province,—and Futtu Sing, generally called the Guicowar, in Guzerat. The Concan was also a portion of their possessions, under certain feudatories.

The future governors of India appeared to the orientals as having hardly grown out of their gristle. Vasco di Gama had sailed round the Cape of Good Hope; and his countrymen were therefore among the first to reap the golden harvest. Sultan Bahauder, who reigned in Malwa and Guzerat in the sixteenth century, granted the sea-port of Diu to the Portuguese, in consideration of their aiding him against Humaioon the son of Baber. The English had also entered the field of commerce and enterprise. Their projects to discover a north-east and north-west passage, exercised and formed some noble navigators for forty years, from 1527 to 1567. In 1582, and 1596, voyages were vainly attempted by that Cape, which is now only a link of the mighty chain, which binds Bengal and Madras to Great Britain. Yet in 1577, Sir Francis Drake had reached them, by going round Cape Horn; and nine years afterwards, Cavendish did the same through the Straits of Magellan. The capture in 1593 of two Indiamen from Lisbon, one of sixteen hundred tons burden, whetted the appetite of Queen Elizabeth's subjects; for both prizes were laden with spices, calicoes, silks, gold, drugs, pearls, ebony, porcelain, and ivory. She accordingly chartered an Incorporation in A. D. 1600, under the title of 'The Governor and Company of London Merchants trading to the East Indies.' Its capital of £30,133. 6s. 8d., was managed by a Committee of fifteen, the prototypes of a Court of Directors: and in eight successive voyages, profits were realized of from one to two hundred per cent. The charter was for fifteen years;—and under the condition, that if not found advantageous to the country, it might be

annulled after a couple of years previous notice. James renewed it in 1609; when the Company was constituted a Body Corporate *for ever*: yet still providing, with felicitous inconsistency, that on experience of prejudice to the nation, its exclusive privileges should, after three years notice, cease and determine. Their primary establishments were made in 1611 and 1612, at Surat, Ahmedabad, Cambaya, and Goza, upon stipulations, that they should pay duties of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on their merchandise to the Great Mogul; whose Phirmaun, confirming their commercial arrangements, bears date the 11th of January, 1612. Akbar had died in 1605; and his vast inheritance was now subdivided, under the supreme authority of his successor, into the fifteen Soubabs or Viceroyalties of Allahabad, Agra, Oude, Ajimere, Guzerat, Bahar, Bengal, Delhi, Caubul, Lahore, Moulтан, Malwa, Berar, Candeish, and Ahmednuggur. These in fact constituted so many satrapies, comprehending indeed the diversified tribes of one nation, yet fettered by a system of caste, and courting the hands of a ravisher. In all eastern empires, except that of China, the elements of disunion are constantly overcoming those of coherence; and will probably continue to do so, until European stablesness, shall have thoroughly engrafted itself upon Asiatic pliancy. In 1614, Sir Thomas Roe undertook an embassy from James the First to Shah Jehan; for the Portuguese, through pride and ill conduct, had embroiled themselves with the Imperial court, and attacked our settlements. Sir Thomas succeeded in his object, and concluded a treaty on behalf of the British Company; giving them moreover this piece of advice, 'That they should seek no profit but at sea, and in the way of quiet private trade; since to affect the support of garrisons and land wars in India would undoubtedly prove injurious.' Sagacious counsel no doubt, could it have been acted upon: but the violence of the Portuguese, Dutch, and Spaniards, in combination with other circumstances, compelled the English to fortify their factories, as well as to have troops for their protection. It was in these defensive and necessary operations, that the rudiments of future power, and prosperous aggression, came to be gradually developed. The capital employed by the London merchants had increased to £429,000, raised by a sort of arbitrary subscription. Four voyages, from 1612 to 1616, averaged $87\frac{1}{2}$ per centum as profit; and in 1617-8, the second joint stock subscription amounted to £1,600,000 sterling. There were now thirty-six vessels in full employment, from 100 to a 1000 tons burden. Their principal marts were at Surat, and Bantam in Java.

In some respects the Mogul empire might be compared to that of the Byzantines, when Genoa, Pisa, and Venice, contended for supremacy from the Euxine to Egypt, utterly regardless of the Roman representative at Constantinople. Struggles throughout

the East, for somewhat similar objects, occurred between the subjects of Great Britain, Holland, and Portugal, in the seventeenth century. Our countrymen found formidable rivals in the Dutch; whilst they easily overcame the Portuguese at Ormus, in 1622, in conjunction with Persia. This augmented their fame, and elevated their hopes. James and Buckingham exacted £80,000 from the Stadtholder in 1619, for compensation money; a prelude to the horrible transactions at Amboyna. The honour of Dutchmen was ever said to lie at the bottom of their pockets; and their agents retaliated with a vengeance. Rage at home knew no limits, when tidings reached London of what had been done: yet, in looking back upon the affair, we should not forget that torture was then by no means banished even from our own judiciary. The Company administered it to their own servants; and to adopt a cotemporaneous description, 'deserters were 'scourged out of this world into the next,' (that is flogged to death,) with small compunction. The perpetrators of such occasional enormities were already entrusted with the exercise of martial law, and projected a settlement at Tanjore. This brought them into collision with the hardy Dane: yet they established a factory at Armagum. Bantam was reduced to an agency dependent upon Surat. The reflecting reader will not fail to remark the growth of their ambition, as the commercial horizon opened. It first publicly appeared in 1627, that their obligations exceeded their receipts by £200,000, notwithstanding their pretended profits; so that their stock fell twenty per cent.: and as 'lying 'always rides upon debt's back,' they commenced a series of attempts to delude both the government and the nation. Mystery, in nine instances out of ten, may be set down to the account of iniquity. They assured the crown, after the fashion of all such innocents, that there never before was worth or virtue comparable to theirs. They employed seamen and exported goods, for which their present returns were reproaches and losses. The former they attributed to popular ingratitude; the latter, to every cause except the true one,—their own manifest mismanagement. Holland still continued their successful competitor with regard to all solid advantages. Her thrifty sons sold European commodities cheaper, and purchased Indian productions dearer. Their larger capital, and greater economy enabled them to do so: hence they had the choice of every market abroad, and could obtain more remunerating prices at home, from the superiority of their wares. The crisis between Amsterdam and the Thames had not yet arrived. Meanwhile, the London merchants formed a third joint stock, and extended their communications along the eastern coast of Hindostan. A factory, which had been abandoned at Masulipatam, was revived: certain privileges were obtained from the Rajah of Golconda; permission was given by the Mogul to trade

in Orissa; Bantam again became a presidency, with the eastern coast under its jurisdiction, as the western was under that of Surat; and a share in the Malabar pepper-trade was secured. But now in England came the harbinger of civil war in a general and just outcry against monopolies of all descriptions. From 1640, when Madras was first settled, to 1653-4 when it was erected into a presidency, confusion prevailed throughout the Company's affairs. While Cromwell, or rather Blake, enjoyed a triumph over the Dutch in the channel, they were beating the British on the Coromandel shore. Happily for our countrymen, a surgeon, named Boughton, obtained about this time, from the Court at Delhi very extensive exemptions and favours for the English factories in Bengal. Some ideas, however, of free trade, which began to emerge upon the public understanding, hid their diminished heads amidst the loyalism and folly consequent on the Restoration. Charles the Second granted his East India Company a new charter, on the 3rd of April, 1661; confirming their ancient immunities, investing them with powers to make peace or declare war with any prince or people; and permitting them to seize unlicensed persons within their limits, and deport them to England. Rights of administering justice were simultaneously added to complete their influence as colonial governors. The possession of five hundred pounds stock also qualified its holder to vote at the India House. Lord Marlborough then went out to Bombay with a body of troops; but the king finding more trouble than emolument from his nuptial dowry, handed it over to the Company in 1668, 'to be held in free and common soccage, 'as of the manor of East Greenwich, on paying a rent of £10 'sterling per annum!' The presidency of Surat was afterwards removed thither; and in 1687, while Bombay was elevated to a regency, Madras was formed into a corporation under a mayor and aldermen!

The salaries, however, of these magnates do not appear to have been very startling. Sir George Oxenden, as President of Surat, rejoiced in no larger emoluments than a stipend of £300 per annum; together with £200 more, as his compensation for private trade. Most exaggerated notions still continued to be entertained respecting oriental commerce. Every clerk, merchant, writer, or supercargo, was to return a sort of Sindbad the Sailor! Sir Joshua Child, one of the Directors, published extraordinary statements on the subject, which the late James Mill used severely to contrast with a work by De Witt on the Fisheries of Holland. Covetousness cut capers at the very imagination of an El Dorado. France caught the infection, and gaped for ingots and pagodas; but her ignorance of the simplest commercial principles rendered her a harmless rival, until a much later period. The British Company, nevertheless, reeled in difficulties during 1674; although its

growing interests in Bengal demanded a separate agency, and intercourse with China was commencing. In 1676-7, they ordered a quantity of tea on account, to the value of one hundred dollars! It is curious and not unprofitable to observe these *parva cunabula rerum*. Our annual demand for that single article now exceeds four millions of pounds sterling. Yet if a century and half ago, their traffic with Canton appeared thus trifling, it is also lamentable to perceive, that the sum total of honesty in Leadenhall-street was about as small. The Court of Directors coolly recommended all manner of trickery and temporary expedients in dealing with the Tartar Khan, the mighty Mogul, or his subordinate rajahs. Discretionary powers were transmitted for the employment of armed vessels, to enforce the observation of treaties, or exact fresh concessions; thus reserving the means of shifting from themselves the responsibility of attack, in case disputes should arise between ministers at Delhi and the Company, by throwing the entire blame upon the errors of their servants. Who will hereafter believe that a policy so frightfully Machiavelian once found fervid apologists in this country? It has been justified on the grounds of a rival Company being now launched; and from a war breaking out between the king of Bantam and his son; in which the Dutch sided with the latter, the English with the former. We ultimately lost Bantam; its factory being removed to Fort St. George at Madras. The old Company were not long in obtaining an Admiralty jurisdiction. Their authority over their countrymen in India was in fact nothing less than absolute. Over the natives, within the presidential boundaries, their administration weighed heavier than ever. The expense of maintaining these narrow territories exceeded their revenues. If the Company diminished taxation, their representatives suffered; whenever the latter enriched themselves, it was from the marrow of the Hindoos. One wave of confusion rolled in upon another; and every thing would have gone to pieces, had other nations been more able or honest than themselves. The English settlements, acquired by purchase in Bengal, through a grandson of Aurungzebe, toward the close of the seventeenth century, were the villages of Soota Nutty, Calcutta, and Govindpore, on which ground, the metropolitan city now stands. The fort, erected for its protection, received its denomination from his Majesty, King William the Third; in whose reign the House of Commons had nobly declared, 'That it was the right of all Englishmen to trade to every quarter of the globe, unless prohibited by Act of Parliament.' Under the auspices of his successor, and Lord Godolphin, the old and new Companies, after trying to ruin each other by their acrimonious contention, were at length united. Their entire capital stock amounted to two millions sterling: and the general body of proprietors elected twenty-four of their mem-

ch possessed of £2,000 stock to be a governing executive. 5, Calcutta was declared an independant presidency. Khan, Nabob of Bengal, and afterwards of Bahar and hated the intruders. He never failed to thwart their proposition all possible occasions; although in vain. We already hear of his extortion on the one hand; and the purchase of eight more towns by the Company, on the other. Their also become more and more active, either in protecting shores, improving the banks of the Hooghly, opening roads in the interior, acting as police, or now and then engaging in quarrels of neighbouring Zemindars. Ever and anon, the Directors, grown more prudent from experience, or being more men than their predecessors, sent out line upon line, and upon precept, against the acquisition of new territories. It was, that all such exhortations or mandates addressed to an ambition, or perhaps a necessity, which had no check. The power of Great Britain in India seemed to emulate any. Every stem shot up into a solid trunk; every tree struck another root into the earth; trees multiplied into a forest; until their foliage overshadowed the land. The feudatories of the Mogul lost rapidly their sense of subjection, after the death of Aurungzebe. They fancied themselves independent; and learned to act accordingly. In 1740, the Subahdar of the Deccan, jealous of his neighbour in Bengal, called in the British to collect the Chout or tribute. Such an irruption was a course to be guarded against by the English Company. They dug round their domains the famous ditch of seven miles in length; still bearing the name of its occasion. Additional troops, artillery, and artillery, bristled along the puny frontiers; the respect paid to our military prowess completed another link of the causeway, which conducted us to the throne of

There had occurred, moreover, a previous revolution, of which, although the immediate effects more nearly concerned the provinces, yet its ultimate result extended throughout all India. Mahmoud, having seated himself on the throne of the Moguls, confided every species of public business to his nobles and ministers. These officers gave mortal offence to the Subahdar of the Deccan, who subsequently invoked the British. He, in revenge, played the common part of an excited traitor; and beckoned Nadir Shah, from beyond the mountains, to lay waste Hindostan. That conqueror, answering the call, marched at the head of an army inured to devastation, with the appetite of vultures, and the temper of tigers, through Hindostan, and shed blood to the metropolis. It is affirmed, that in different parts, one hundred thousand victims glutted his scimitars, in one and the same day. Every individual, whose appearance

rendered it probable, that he was acquainted with concealed treasures, was subjected to the most terrible tortures. A dervise presented himself to the victor, and said: 'Invincible Shah, if thou art a god, show thy resemblance to the deity, by clemency;—if thou art a prophet, declare unto us the way of salvation;—if thou art a king, put us not to death, but reign over us, and make us happy.' Nadir Shah replied: 'I am not a god that I should forgive,—nor a prophet that I should teach,—nor your king, that I should reign over you: but I am he, whom the Almighty commissions in his wrath to punish the nations of the earth.' And fearfully was the mission of this modern Sennacherib fulfilled. The carnage consequent on his invasion, and the enormous booty, with which he withdrew into Caubul, exhausted the Mongolian empire, that it seemed little else than a stranded wreck from that moment. Plunderers from distant and opposite quarters scented the spoil and gathered round it; nor did the mutations of affairs in Europe exercise an inconsiderable influence upon our oriental presidencies.

The Silesian wars had produced that union between France and Spain, which at last drew Great Britain into the vortex. Few were aware how busily the French had been engaged in endeavouring to learn practical wisdom, and establish some hold upon the nabobs and omrahs of India. Hostilities commenced between their forces and those of the English, along the Coromandel coast, in 1746. Labourdonnais, a self-educated but most able man, captured Madras, which was restored by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle; leaving, however, the sparks of the political conflagration unextinguished. Two remarkable persons were about to develop their abilities on the theatre of the Carnatic, each representing his peculiar government,—Dupleix and Clive. The family of a chief named Sadutullah had managed with success, for three or four generations, very extensive territories, from the Circars to Travancore. Their feudal investment had been received from the Grand Mogul, until his sceptre was broken for all efficient purposes. The Subahdar of the Deccan claimed the right of nomination, when strong enough to set at nought the court of Delhi: besides which, a kind of hereditary descent, something like Tanistry, prevailed just so long as the reigning race remained too firmly seated to be moved, either by the emperor, or the subahdar. Rival claimants at this time existed, both for the viceroyalty of the Deccan, and the nabobship of the Carnatic. The French and English espoused opposite sides, as might be expected. Active operations ensued, in which the genius of Clive shone out with wonderful lustre, and marked him for a man of mighty deeds. Trichinopoly became the theatre of the greatest bloodshed: but the pacification of 1764 illustrated the siege of Arcot, and consolidated the supremacy of the British

East India Company. The subsequent seven years war only confirmed the former defeat of Dupleix, and the dissipation of his splendid schemes. The four Northern Circars were surrendered to his opponents; the reinforcements of Count Lally wasted away; Pondicherry was taken in 1761; and by the 5th of April in that year, his employers had not a single military post in India. The English lost no time in making hay, while they thought the sun shone. The new nabob, entirely owing his elevation to the Company, could look for nothing beyond the pageantry of nominal sway, or at least the smallest possible portion of vice-regal power. His loving allies, on their part, perceiving that the defence of the territories must principally rest with them, considered themselves entitled to the lion's share of its resources. They had supplied the sinews of the contest,—money, powder, troops,—and the fruits, which had combined all in one triumphant campaign. Further, on his especial behalf: he was now therefore to pay the stipulated price, and assuage the thirst of Mammon. The result was what it usually is in such conflicts of interest and selfishness. Each strove with might and main to make the best of the bargain: but it was a realization of the old parable, as to the iron and earthen vessels floating down the stream in copartnership;—the strength of England dashed in pieces its fragile colleague. Troubles in the Mysore, about 1767, augmented the aggravation. That state had aspired to independence, upon the downfall of the kingdoms in the Deccan. According to Hindoo custom its nominal master was a Rajah; its real one, any active energetic minister, who could exercise upon a weak mind the sorcery of intellect, and become both lord and jailer to his sovereign. Such a magician was Hyder Ali; whose son and successor afterwards threatened to be towards the British, what Mithridates had been to the Romans.

Clive had transferred his name and exploits to the nobler regions of Bengal. Ally Verdy Khan, having procured a grant of that province from Delhi, dethroned the reigning subahdar or nabob; and bequeathed his dominions, after a rather vigorous administration, to Suraja Dowla, the son of his youngest nephew. This chief looked with an evil eye upon the merchant-princes, his English neighbours. He quickly blew up a quarrel; assaulted and captured Calcutta; and perpetrated the horrors of the black hole,—more through autocratic carelessness, as has since been demonstrated, than premeditated cruelty. Colonel Clive soon reversed the order of affairs, and extorted at the cannon's mouth, full restitution of the British possessions, with large surry for recent usurpations. Feeling, moreover, that the French at Chandernagore had instigated the nabob, he resolved to expel them from the country. This he did in perfection, as to all appearance of power. Suraja Dowla looked quietly on, with

the apathy of oriental thoughtlessness, while those who could alone coalesce with himself, in case of danger, had their claws cut, and their teeth drawn. His own turn came next. Clive reflected, that the re-establishment of the Company must always be an object of abhorrence to the nabob; and since both natives and Mahomedans groaned under his tyranny, it was but going one step further, to unite with the oppressed, so as to present them with another sovereign. This was accordingly done. Suraja Dowla was condemned to deposition, *per fas aut nefas*: the mind of Clive very rarely oscillated between conviction and irresolution: he advanced with his army forthwith; fought the memorable battle of Plassey, on the 23rd of June, 1757; seated an intruder, Meer Jaffier Ally Khan on the musnud; and then made obeisance before him, as lord of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa. We have neither space nor inclination to pourtray the shifting intrigues, which led to the putting down one puppet, and setting up another. Whoever might be prince of the pageant for the time being, became such, through a scale of extravagant concession exceeding that of his predecessor: and the solitary certainty remained, that the heads of the factory, at Calcutta, grew daily more ambitious, more rapacious, and more irresistible, after every fresh sacrifice. They retained the effective force of the entire country in their own hands. None could peep or mutter against them; and much less act with any impunity. Each shadow of royalty, as they suffered it to glide across the scene, shook a gory finger at the waning glories of Delhi. The conqueror of Plassey undoubtedly tore away the sceptre of India, and laid it at the feet of the far-off mistress of the seas. The final assignment of the Dewannee, or collection of the revenues, by the descendant of Tamerlane to the Company, rendered both the nabob and the emperor, mere pensioners upon British bounty. Clive's services were rewarded with an Irish peerage, and a munificent Jaghire, producing £30,000 per annum. He had saved Arcot; captured Madras; annihilated the pirate Angria; recovered Calcutta; and suppressed a mutiny, which menaced for an interval all the brilliant results of his career. His abilities and prowess secured for his countrymen nearly a third of the dominions and influence, which they now enjoy; from the banks of the Caramnassa, to the extreme coast of Coromandel.

Mr. Verelst succeeded Lord Clive, on the return of the latter to England; and the Directors, in the following year, communicated to the council at their chief presidency, certain sentiments upon recent advices from Bengal. They enjoined their servants, 'Not to increase the revenues by any way, which might oppress the inhabitants, whose happiness and prosperity they were desirous of cultivating; as upon public respect, affection, and confidence, the permanency of English power would greatly depend.'

'They were never to extend their possessions, beyond the present bounds: never to engage in a march to Delhi, nor enter into offensive hostilities, unless urged to them in pursuance of treaties; and whenever obliged to employ troops for such purposes, to have Allahabad, Chunar, or some similar fortification previously secured; besides insisting upon the command in the field being invested in one of their own officers.' With these reasonable views, and suggestions, were blended others not less so: such as to prevent Europeans, as much as possible, from engaging in the service of unfriendly native princes; watchfulness against cannon, and warlike stores, finding their way up the Ganges; and the extension of commerce rather than territory, by every means within their reach.

Under the administrations of Verelst and Cartier, from 1767 to 1772, there are no striking circumstances to record, except that while the Company wore externally the air of emperors, their finances were approaching a state of bankruptcy. One of our most philosophic observers has well described the nature of these difficulties, and the real share which Lord Clive had in producing them. In fact, all is not gold that glitters. That nobleman, amidst the grandeur of his success, seemed to seek more for immediate effect, than for substantial advantages. He preferred, in other terms, splendour to durability. A double government, conducted in name by the nabob, in reality by the Company, was his favourite project. Yet surely this was little else than a system of clumsy and crooked artifices. It could impose upon no one; whilst it justly incurred the punishment due to chicanery and imposture. The fraud involved an amount of mischief, sufficient to exclude the chances of an honest administration; without, however, enriching the conjurors carrying it on; or sparing the people they thus vainly attempted to delude. Neither the nabob, nor his officers dare exert any authority towards English traders, of whatsoever injustice or oppression they might be guilty. The Gomastahs, or native agents employed by the Company, not merely practised a tyranny that had no limits; but they also converted the tribunals of justice into instruments of cruelty, by wielding decisions unrighteously obtained within-doors, against the victims of their rapacity without. The ancient modes and usages of society were paralyzed: the new ones had no other object, than the highwayman's pistol and salutation. Beyond the former boundaries of the presidency, the Governor-General had no legal authority over the Hindoos; nor were the English themselves amenable to the laws of their own land. Deportation remained the sole remedy; but it could never be applied upon an adequate scale. The natural consequences followed in the ruin or utter prostration of all classes. Revenues depend upon the productive operations of a people; and that people will perma-

nently produce in due proportion to its share in the rewards of labour. Hence the Company beheld their exchequer descending into the lowest stages of consumption; as the evil went forward, working itself worse and worse. The gorgeousness of palaces only concealed the wretchedness of prisons: nor were other sources of calamity closed up. The powers of the nominal ruler were placed in actual commission, if not in abeyance, by confidential residents being appointed to watch and control them at the Durbar: yet these agents from their circumstances, could at any time appropriate treasure, or receive bribes; and if dismissed for it, (their utmost penalty,) leave their posts for new comers, with larger appetites, equal opportunities, and greater temptations. Another, and that the most pernicious of all the errors, into which Clive exerted himself to mislead the Company, was the belief he created, that India overflowed with riches,—the expectations he raised, and on which his credulous employers so fondly relied, that a torrent of opulence was about to fall into their laps. In political affairs, it is long before even experience teaches wisdom.* Temporary relief was sought for by borrowing. The servants of the Company, made individually opulent at its expense, willingly advanced their fortunes, for bills payable in England. The funds to meet these, were the investments on account of the Company; but the investments did not increase in proportion to the bills, because the money, in consideration of which they had been granted, was expended in carrying on government, and not in the purchase of goods. The charges of sovereignty more than absorbed the profits of merchandise, and pride threw dust in their eyes, to prevent them from discerning the worm of exhaustion at the root of their prosperity. Then instead of investigating the matter, the Directors acted like the wise men of Gotham. They endeavoured to lessen the disaster, by limiting the sum, for which bills might be drawn upon them; so that private persons found themselves compelled to forward their fortunes to Europe, through the French and Dutch Companies, who traded with the moneys thus lent to them, and realised immense returns. Our sages in London puzzled their brains to solve a riddle, which, under any other circumstances, they would have dismissed the humblest clerk for not comprehending. The victors of Bengal, and their foreign rivals, whom they had trampled, as they thought, into vassals at their feet, stood out in the strange contrast of the lean and fat-fleshed kine of Pharaoh. They failed to see in this particular instance, that the man who borrows to spend, and the man who borrows to traffic, are in totally different situations. Every quack in Leadenhall-street,

* Mill. Hist. Ind. vol. ii. pp. 258—260.

proposed his nostrum, from tampering with the currency, or circumscribing bills, or more singular than all,—raising their dividend from six to ten, and even twelve and a half per cent, whilst their millstone of embarrassment was rapidly growing into a mountain! At length the juggle exploded; and in 1773, the Company, supplicating assistance, laid their affairs before Lord North, and the House of Commons.

Now came the Regulating Act of 1774, by which a Governor-General was nominated, and a supreme court of judicature created. Warren Hastings was to carry out the new plan, the first of a series of measures, which transferred the sovereignty of the Company to the crown of Great Britain. We have much pleasure in presenting the reader with an extract from our author:

“The administration of Mr. Hastings, although not distinguished by those brilliant achievements, which marked the course of the noble founder of the British Empire in India, forms an epoch in the history of the Company and his country, to which great interest must always attach, whether viewed in connexion with those eminent names, that stand prominent amidst the principal actors in the chequered and trying scenes, which so rapidly followed each other abroad, or with the state of parties at home, to whom the affairs of that country and the conduct of the Company’s servants presented such fertile ground for political differences: those differences being carried to such extremities as to lead our revered monarch to contemplate the possibility of even leaving England.

Few public servants have been placed in more trying positions than Warren Hastings. The very commencement of his government was marked by instructions of a character repugnant to his feelings, and which placed him before the British public in a questionable light. The parties selected for his councillors had their minds pre-possessed with the unfavourable view, that had been formed at home regarding the conduct of the Company’s servants. Their opposition to Hastings was systematic and uncompromising. He endured with unshaken firmness a series of personal attacks, that partook of a virulence, equalled only by the subsequent conduct of his still more powerful enemy, in the origin and progress of the celebrated impeachment.

“The lengthened period, of thirteen years, during which he presided over affairs in India, may be designated as one of experimental legislation. Measures devised by parliament with a view of securing the rights, and happiness of the people, failed of the desired effect, from having been framed in ignorance of the laws, customs, and usages of the people, to whom they were applied. The embarrassments consequent upon such a state of affairs naturally followed, until the jarring elements of a discordant system constrained the legislature to enter upon a general revision.”—Vol. I., pp. 689—691.

Touching the grand discussions of 1783–4, Mr. Auber re-

marks, that although the East India Company had been incorporated nearly two centuries, it was during the last ten years only, that parliament had interfered for the regulation of their affairs. Within that brief period, a regular government had been established; the receipt of presents had been prohibited; the rate of interest had been defined; rules and ordinances had been ordained; justices of the peace had been appointed; appeals had been provided for to the king in council; his majesty had authority to disapprove of dispatches from the court of Directors to India; the jurisdiction of the supreme court had been settled; and the natives secured, perhaps with too much delicacy, in the enjoyment of their own opinions and habits. The provision essentially wanted was a central controlling power, competent to give effect to measures determined upon by the sovereign, his parliament, and the courts of directors and proprietors. The fate of the Bill proposed by Charles James Fox is well known. It bore the impress of his energetic talents; but seems rather the production of an advocate crammed for the occasion, than of a legislator to whom India was meat and drink; or who had meditated upon it, as Turgot would have done, until the matter had become transubstantiated into his mind. William Pitt, by his measure, accomplished covertly, what his great rival had attempted to do openly. His Board of Control was to all other authorities what the rod of Aaron was to the serpents of the Egyptian magicians. It escaped the opposition so fatal to Mr. Fox, because the age was short-sighted. Men were led by names, and scared by hobgoblins: and Mr. Pitt had the unquestionable merit of having so accurately gauged the public intelligence, that he could tell to a hair just how much it would endure. Neither must it be forgotten, that one man may steal a horse; whilst another shall be transported for looking over the hedge. The supreme administration and patronage of India, including a large portion of legislative as well as executive authority, was by the successful minister annexed to the crown; by the unsuccessful one, to seven commissioners, who, though in the sequel to be appointed by the crown, could be dismissed only by an address from either House of Parliament. Macpherson filled the chair left vacant by Warren Hastings, at Calcutta; and, in September, 1786, Lord Cornwallis entered upon his high office, uniting in his own person the civil and military supremacy; and enabled also to act on his own responsibility in opposition even to a majority of the council.

There never was a functionary more thoroughly imbued with benevolent intentions than the new Governor-General. Had his talents, judgment, and opportunities been commensurate with his philanthropy, he might have proved a Washington in Hindostan. In alliance with the Nizam of the Deccan, and the Mahrattas, he

mote the Mysorean sultan, after a protracted struggle, under the very walls of Seringapatam; and deprived him of half his dominions. The boundaries of the Peishwah were extended to the Tomboodra; those of the Nizam from the Kistnah, to beyond the Pennar: the Company acquired the Malabar coast, a district in the Western frontier of the Carnatic, and another in the neighbourhood of Dindigul. He also, in 1792, concluded a treaty with Mahomed Ali, the nabob of the Carnatic; by which the nasque of British occupation was not a little removed; and the road opened for the complete appropriation of the country at some future day. Mahomed Ali, representing that his resources were inadequate to the demands made upon him, consented that all his fortresses should be garrisoned by the troops of the Company; and that in the event of a war, they and he were to change places, one-fifth of the nett revenues being paid him. But Lord Cornwallis will be principally remembered in India, by the revolution he effected in the judicial and fiscal systems. The basis of change, in the latter more particularly, was an acknowledgment of the Zemindar, as hereditary proprietor of the soil which he rented, subject to a land-tax, the annual amount of which, though fixed at first for ten years, was in 1793 declared a perpetual settlement. It was hoped by our disinterested Tories, that a landed aristocracy,—the ignoblest curse, except personal slavery, that the political box of Pandora contains, would thus be inflicted upon Bengal. Several transit duties were abolished; but the monopolies of salt and opium were continued. No failure could be more disastrous, than that of the project now before us. The amiable Governor-General merely acted as he had been taught, under a bigoted though virtuous monarch, in a generation of rampant conservatism; with a horror moreover of liberal institutions, thundered into his ears, by the never-to-be-forgotten artillery of Yorktown! The radical defect in his plan was the absence of any sort of consideration for the Ryot, or common labourer. Subalterns, formed in the school of William Pitt, never condescended to learn the impossibility of eating the plum-cake and keeping it too. It has always been enough for them that upper classes should be cherished, as wolves in pastoral garb of the flock committed to their charge: yet they have never clearly comprehended, that unless the sheep are really taken care of, there will soon cease to be either purple for their own raiment, or delicious feeding for their fare. It cannot be too often reiterated, that public prosperity depends upon the solid amount of comfort enjoyed by the many, and not upon the aggrandizement of the few. So simple and elementary a truth being lost sight of, the whole land was made desolate. 'Its nobles sent their little ones to the pits, and found no water: they returned with their vessels empty: they were ashamed and confounded,

'and covered their heads.' This pathetic picture of the prophet was realized from Benares to Madras, and the Sunderbunds. It has been proved, as we think satisfactorily, that with regard to proprietorship, the Zemindar was merely the supreme revenue officer of a district, paid by an average commission of about ten per cent. on the sums he collected. He was also invested with the powers of police and administration of justice.* But the sovereign of Hindostan had been the recognized owner of the soil, from ages immemorial; and in the place of that sovereign stood the East India Company. Their sacrifice of admitted rights would have been laudable, had it only occurred in the proper quarter. 'The relation of a zemindar to government, and of a ryot to a zemindar, was neither that of a proprietor nor a vassal, but a compound of both. The former performed acts of authority unconnected with proprietary right; the latter had rights without real property: while the property of the one and the rights of the other were in a great measure held at discretion.' The leading feature of the new system was professedly to secure the people from the exactions of their masters: an object which could never be achieved so long as magistrates and tax-gatherers were the same persons. Lord Cornwallis, therefore, separated their respective duties, and assigned them to distinct officers. The cognizance of fiscal causes was also transferred to a court composed of Europeans, with natives to expound, or rather to mystify, the laws and customs in each district. To the provincial judges he likewise entrusted criminal jurisdiction; and the business of police was provided for, by confiding a tract of 400 square miles to a Hindoo chief constable, bearing the title of Dudogah, with a retinue of armed followers. In connexion with topographical divisions, we may just mention that a certain number of organized villages formed a Pergunnah; a certain number of these, about equal to one of our counties, was called a Chuckla; of these a certain number and extent constituted a Circar; and several Circars were a Soubah, or Vice-royalty.

Sir John Shore, afterwards Lord Teignmouth, followed the Marquis Cornwallis, and evinced himself a warm friend to the views and policy of his predecessor. He settled the affairs of Oude with remarkable ability; applying his attention not merely to the finances, but also superintending most beneficial changes as to the nominal executive of that kingdom. If amidst constant revolutions among the native potentates, he perhaps carried his

* History of British India, by James Mill, Esq., as compared with two able articles on that work in the British Review. Nos. xxiii. and xxiv, August and November, 1818. Baldwin and Co.

sacred disposition a trifle too far, in allowing the Mahrattas to reach upon the Nizam, the splendid administration of Lord Clive, soon created Marquis Wellesley, retrieved the loss and profited by it in the end. Lord Wellesley reached Calcutta in May, 1798. Having penetrated the intentions of the Nizam Sahib to coalesce with the French against Great Britain, he boldly baffled all, by resolving upon immediate war. Nothing could have thwarted a series of secret machinations, which, subsequently proved, would have evolved incalculable calamities. General Harris assaulted the metropolis of the Mysore, on the 10th of May. Advantage was taken of the glowing hours of noon to surprise the besieged. The Sultan defended himself with the same gallantry of his father, and died bravely in the breach,—the most deadly foe our oriental influence ever had to encounter. His dominions underwent a division between the British and the Nizam: The Governor-general enjoyed the good fortune of having a younger brother in the army, destined greater than himself. Colonel Arthur Wellesley, the future hero of Waterloo, gathered his earliest laurels in the East Indies: while the plan was acted out of depriving the dependents of their possessions, and leaving them the mere name of feudatories with a pension from the Anglo-Indian Exchequer. The Nizam of Surat, Tanjore, and Furuckabad on the Ganges, were rolled down into expensive phantoms, after the fashion of mediæval petty sovereigns of Germany. The entire empire shared the same fate, upon evidence, sufficiently sound to be being a step necessary for our interests: though it must be admitted, that if one hand of the arbiter grasped the balances of justice, the other was upon the hilt of his sword. Nor did a moment await the Vizier at Lucknow. He was compelled to disband his own troops, and confide for defence altogether to British forces; for the support of which, more than a moiety of the territories formed a cession to his dictators. Persuasion and the force of consequences subdued the Nizam to a similar surrender; thus excluding the French, and entrusting himself to subsidiary battalions stationed within his boundaries. So acted the British of old with respect to their Syrian acquisitions: suffering the tributaries for a time to hold the reins, at the beck and will of a Prætor; until, opportunity permitting the fusion to be completed, Jerusalem or Antioch fell into the ranks of the British, as much as Naples or Marseilles. And now came on the great Mahratta contest with the Peishwah, Scindiah, Holkar, and the Rajah of Berar. Brilliant victories ensued. The Doab, the region between the Ganges and Jumna, seemed the most important of our prizes. Adding these to the Cuttack country, which connects the Circars with Bengal, it plainly appeared that our apprehensions need henceforward be entertained about

further perils from Poonah, Sattarah, or Hyderabad. The relief derived by a philanthropist, in glancing at the scene of triumph, will flow mainly from a consideration, that many millions were rescued from the yoke of sanguinary despotisms, and transferred to a better government. British sway may not always have been what it ought: but there can be no comparison between it and a native pagan autocracy. The former must be a paradise in the parallel. If this be remembered, and admitted, the corollary that our security in India should be maintained, will be admitted also. Sir George Colebrooke well observes on the capture of Seringapatam in May, 1799, that 'It has often been a question, how far it is consistent with good policy, more nearly to connect ourselves with the politics of the country, as tending to involve us in war. That must no longer be a question. The empire of the East is at our feet. We have gained and must hold it by the sword: we must either support the commanding ground our conquests and treaties have given us; or we must relinquish the hope of maintaining it to advantage.' Major Munro, in the following year, remarks to Colonel Wellesley: 'I confess for my own part, that as we have thought it necessary to appear in India as sovereigns, I think we ought to avail ourselves not of the distresses of our neighbours, but of their aggressions, to strengthen ourselves, and place ourselves in such a situation, as may be likely to prevent such attacks hereafter.' He had maintained the same opinions before: 'Men read books, and because they find all warlike nations have had their downfall, they declaim against conquest as not only dangerous, but unprofitable; but there are times and situations, where conquest not only brings a revenue greatly beyond its expenses, but brings also additional security. Let us advance to the Kistnah, we shall triple our revenue; our barrier will then be both stronger and shorter. The discussions and revolutions of the native governments will point out the time when it is proper for us to become actors;' that is, as we presume he means, when it could be done with justice. 'While the power of Tippoo exists, we shall be perpetually in danger of losing what we have. Nothing can be more absurd than our regarding any of the native governments as powers which are to last for ages. It would not be surprising if all of them were to cease in the course of thirty years!'

How nearly this prediction of Sir Thomas Munro has received its accomplishment is obvious; nor should it be forgotten, that whilst a future Governor-General, the Marquis Hastings, had, as Lord Rawdon, publicly opposed the Wellesley policy, he nevertheless, when called upon to govern Hindostan, acknowledged to the Court of Directors, the inexpressible tendency of our India power to enlarge its bounds, and to augment its preponderance, in spite of the most peremptory injunctions of forbearance from

‘home, and of the most scrupulous obedience to them in the ‘government abroad.’ He entered upon hostilities with Nepaul, from no other motives than those which had actuated Lord Wellesley on analogous occasions. Victory enabled him to deprive his enemies of the Kemaon with its capital Almorah; besides placing the entire domains from the Jumna to the Sutlej under British superintendence. The Peishwah, the Guicowar, Holkar, the Rajahs of Berar and Sawuntwarree had to surrender Saugor, Huttah, Darwar, Poonah, and the southern Mahratta country, the Ahmedabad Farm, Kandeish, the districts on the Nerbuddah, Sumbhulpoor, Patna, and the Concans; besides Beejapoor and Ahmednuggur, wrenched from the Nizam, as well as Ajimeer in Rajahpootana from Dowlut Rao Scindiah. The last named chieftain was no ordinary person. His family emerged into notice from being simple cultivators. Ranojee was the first, who became a soldier; and then taken into the service of the Peishwah, his employment was to look after his master’s slippers. His advancement is said to have arisen from his being discovered one day, asleep on his back, with the objects of his office clasped closely to his breast. Such extreme carefulness, in so lowly a vocation, struck the Prince of the Mahrattas, who appointed him forthwith to some post in the body guards. Full of ambition, and love of enterprize, he carved out noble fortunes for himself and his posterity: one of whom was the personage opposed to Lords Wellesley and Hastings:

‘Born and educated at a distance from the Deccan, surrounded by Europeans, Mahomedans, and Rajahpoots, and despising the irregular and predatory hordes, whose activity and enterprise had established the fame of his ancestors, to which Rao or Row Scindiah was more the principal sovereign of India, than a member of the Mahratta confederacy, when at the age of only thirteen years, he succeeded to his great uncle’s vast possessions, and to the command of an army that rendered him the arbiter of the Mahratta empire. The war undertaken by these chiefs against the Nizam, in 1795, formed a temporary bond of union, but the campaign was shortly terminated by great sacrifices of territory and treasure, under the treaty of Kurdlah, secured by scenes of art, treachery, and intrigue, which led to the subsequent commotions in the Mahratta states.’—Vol. II., pp. 277, 278.

He engaged with unbounded activity and animosity against the Company in their war with the Pindarries; who are thus described by our author:

‘In January, 1816, large bodies of them had appeared on the northern banks of the Kistnah, with the supposed intention of making inroads in the territories subject to Madras. The rapidity with which these barbarians moved was scarcely to be believed; a circumstance,

which, coupled with the still more extraordinary intelligence they possessed, baffled all attempts to intercept their retreat.

'The difficulty of obtaining any information regarding these marauders was greatly enhanced by the fear which their depredations had infused among the people. Their success increased the natural ferocity of their manners; devastation, violation, and death being the horrid concomitants of their route. To escape the misery attendant upon their irruptions, families assembled together, and the torch was applied to the destruction of their habitations, in which they themselves perished, rather than fall a prey to the intolerable scourge of such ruthless barbarians.'—*Ib.*, pp. 516, 517.

The duplicity of Scindiah, with regard to them appears thoroughly oriental. When he feared the forces assembled by the Marquis Hastings, he pretended to acquiesce in certain propositions made him, for assisting to extirpate his own allies, but,

'During these negotiations, two messengers, conveying letters from his Durbar to the court of Catmandoo, were arrested. Waxen impressions of Scindiah's great seal were discovered to be in their possession, and likewise letters concealed between leaves glued together of a Sanscrit book in their charge. The open letters and covers were subsequently sent to the resident at Catmandoo; who was instructed not to make known the fact to the Durbar there, but to watch its proceedings while the sealed letters were to be delivered publicly to Scindiah, merely apprising him of the manner in which they had come into our hands. These orders were ably executed by Captain Close, Scindiah not attempting any exculpation.'—*Ib.*, p. 522.

It was difficult to bind such a Proteus with any treaty; yet one was concluded with him on the 5th of Nov., 1817:

'The Governor-General having taken the field, and the central division of the grand army being assembled at Secunderabad, information was given to Scindiah of the intentions of the British government; and a note was delivered to him in October, remonstrating with him for having harboured the freebooters. Discussions took place, which terminated in a treaty on the 5th of November: it was ratified by Scindiah on the day following; he engaged to afford every facility to the British troops in their pursuit of the Pindarries, through his territories, and to co-operate actively towards their extinction. He was to furnish five thousand auxiliary horse for the service of the campaign, and his country and troops were to be regarded as those of an ally.'

—p. 538.

The Marquis of Hastings now wrote again to the directors, remarking that their pecuniary advantages must solely rest upon the consolidation, and probably the enlargement of our oriental possessions: 'It was by the preponderance of power that those mines of wealth had been acquired for their treasury; and by

‘preponderance of power alone could they be retained. The supposition that the British could discard the means of strength, and yet enjoy the fruits of it, was one that would be certainly and speedily dissipated: in the state of India, were we to be feeble, our rule would be a dream, and a very short one.’ Lord Amherst came to no different conclusions. Burmah had scourged a race of savages, with the hideous denomination of Mhugs. Several hordes of fugitives from among them wasted the frontiers of the Company. Troublesome negotiations ensued with the monarch of Ava, partly on their behalf, and partly with regard to certain demands for compensation. Shortly after Lord Amherst had reached Calcutta, the Burmese made a nocturnal attack on the island of Shapoorie, on the coast of Arracan. They drove away our soldiers from the place, and thus violently possessed themselves of a British station. There can be no doubt, but that impunity would have emboldened the aggressor, and humbled our arms in the sight or estimation of all Hindostan. No time was therefore to be lost: a steam vessel forced her voyage up the Irrawaddy; Sir Archibald Campbell entered Prome; some rather severe actions occurred; and the golden-footed emperor, as he delights to call himself, ceded Assam, Arracan, Tavoi, Ye, and Tenassarim, together with a crore of rupees, in money, as the price of his tremendous folly. Singapore and Malacca had been obtained a year or two before from the Dutch; so that nearly the whole Bay of Bengal now acknowledges our authority.

In the early part of 1825, during operations against the Burmese, the attention of the Bengal government was attracted towards procedures at Bhurtpore, which terminated in its siege and capture by storm on the 18th of January, 1826. Its reduction assumed a character of immense importance, from an impression generally entertained among the natives, that it was invulnerable, or at least impregnable. This was owing to the celebrated defence it had made one and twenty years before, when besieged by Lord Lake in 1805. Bishop Heber bears testimony to the opinion prevalent even throughout the Carnatic, that it would prove the rallying point of India, in recovering her independence. The circumference of the town and fortress was above eight miles: to carry them was to trample in the dust the last talisman of the Mogul empire over popular sentiment. One of the ramparts had received the name of the Bastion of Victory; its walls were styled, in the boastful language of their defenders, *Eternal*; and when tidings spread that they had actually fallen, the sensation is said to have been unparalleled. We therefore extract the following description, with much pleasure, more especially as it conveys a fair idea of our author’s best manner and abilities:

‘Early in the morning of the 18th, the troops destined for the

assault established themselves in the advanced trenches, unperceived by the enemy. At eight o'clock a mine was exploded with terrific effect; which was to be the signal for attack. The whole of the salient angle, and part of the stone cavalier in the rear, were lifted up into the air, which for some time was in total darkness: but from the mine having exploded in an unexpected direction, or from the troops having been stationed, in consequence of miscalculation, too near it, the ejected stones, and masses of earth, killed in their fall several men of the regiment at the head of the column of attack, and severely wounded three officers. They fell so thickly about Lord Combermere himself, that Brigadier General Mc Combe, who was standing next to him was knocked down, and two sepoys, who were within a few feet of him, were killed on the spot. The troops immediately mounted to the assault, with the greatest order and steadiness, and notwithstanding a determined opposition, carried the breaches. The left was the more difficult of the two; the ascent was very steep, but the troops pressed on, and quickly surmounted it, the grenadiers moving up it slowly and resolutely, without yet drawing a trigger in return for the volleys of round shot, grape, and musketry, which were fired upon them. Some of the foremost of the enemy defended the breach for a few minutes, with great resolution; but as the explosion of the mine had blown up three hundred of their companions, they were soon compelled to give way, and were pursued along the ramparts. Whenever they came to a gun, which they could move, they turned it upon their pursuers; but they were immediately killed by the grenadiers, and the gun upset. In two hours, the whole rampart surrounding the town, although bravely defended at every gateway and bastion, along with the command of the gates of the citadel, were in possession of the besiegers, and early in the afternoon, the citadel itself surrendered. The loss of the enemy could not be computed at less than four thousand killed; and owing to the disposition of the cavalry, hardly a man bearing arms escaped. Thus, as by the surrender of the town, all the stores, arms, and ammunition, fell into the hands of the victor, the whole military power of the Bhurtpore state might be considered as annihilated. The fortifications were demolished; the principal bastions and parts of several curtains, were blown up on the 6th of February; it being left to the rains to complete the ruin.

—Vol. II., pp. 590, 593.

Lord William Bentinck closed the grand chapter of conquest, by seizing the Coorg country, and its ferocious Rajah; who had perpetrated such atrocious murders amongst his relations, that he now remained the solitary survivor of his family. This wretch may serve as a sample of the native princes; and having long been neither more nor less than the Ishmael of the Mysore, it was determined to subject his province to the absorbing rule of Great Britain. In fact our political supremacy had been satisfactorily settled in 1827; when Lord Amherst made a formal announcement of its completion to the titular Mogul at Delhi.

Yet the sketch, thus offered to the reader, will be defective, without a brief retrospect at the recently granted Charter. By it, the territorial government of Hindostan, is continued nominally to the Company; but their commercial functions remain in total abeyance, during their administration of affairs. That administration, we need hardly add, is thoroughly under the check of the Board of Control; which has obtained the power of sending direct orders to the Presidencies, without consent from the Directors, and without their having even an appeal against its decisions. Hence, what the ambition of the Company has so often said and done to others, has now happened to itself:

Mutato nomine de te fabula narratur !

In one word, the Company is a mere intervening machinery whereby the Crown of Great Britain governs its East Indian territories. Sir John Hobhouse is Secretary to her Majesty Queen Victoria for Bengal and its dependancies. The trade with China has been thrown open to the nation at large; a measure, which ought by this time to have ruined those who availed themselves of it, according to the prognostications of the Quarterly Review a few years ago. The disingenuousness of Toryism in taking credit for not openly opposing what had clearly become inevitable, may be numbered with its other eminent virtues; although such is the popular disposition in some points to forget, as well as to forgive, that the memory of the public requires every now and then not a little refreshment. The abolition of the Tea-monopoly alone has proved equivalent to a reduction in taxation to the extent of two millions' sterling per annum. A surrender has also been made on the part of the Directors to the Crown, of all assets commercial and territorial, in lieu of which an annuity is now paid them of £630,000 in the character of a Joint-Stock Association; the same being equal to a dividend of ten and a half per cent on their capital. At the end of forty years, if Government please, this annuity may be paid off at the rate of £100 for every five guineas. The ministerial plan met at first with a reception from the proprietors, very like that clamour which occurs, when receivers of stolen goods are called upon to deliver by the officers of justice: yet nevertheless when it was evident that a plain answer must be returned, the ballot in Leadenhall Street decided for acquiescence by a majority of 477 against 52! Our author cannot forbear offering these pertinent though respectful observations:

‘Thus, notwithstanding the claims put forth to commercial property of the value of twenty-one millions' sterling, and to territorial possessions, forts, and factories, with as good a title as that by which any property is held, only one month intervened between the announcement

of the proposed scheme to the proprietors, and its adoption with some (slight) modifications, with only fifty-two dissentients out of five hundred and twenty-nine votes : the latter number being scarcely a fourth part of the proprietors as a body, and little beyond a third part of the number who have voted in favour of a candidate for the direction !'

—ib., p. 693.

Our interests in Hindostan extend over an area of nearly twelve hundred thousand square miles, and from one hundred and twenty to one hundred and forty millions of people. About eighty millions of these are our immediate fellow-subjects; the remainder are tributaries or dependent allies. In the vast Presidency of Bengal, Hindoos and Mahometans are governed upon the principles of the Islamic law; but in that of Madras and Bombay, each by their own laws respectively. Instead, however, of cruel punishments, such as mutilation, and the like, imprisonment or some other substitute, as analogous as may be to our own more merciful and civilized notions, has been adopted. The military and marine forces vary from 220,000 to 250,000 in number; of which, with the exception of 37,000 infantry, artillery, and cavalry, the mass consists of native troops, or sepoy, commanded by European officers. The annual charges of the civil, military, and marine services, amount to about £18,546,917; and the interest upon the territorial debt of nearly forty millions sterling comes to £2,139,117 more; making the total expenses £20,686,034 per annum. The annual revenues are about £21,695,207; so that there is a considerable excess of income over expenditure. Our three presidencies are productive in very unequal proportions. Bengal returns five millions and a quarter more revenue than is disbursed within its own provinces. As to Madras, the outgoings and incomings are about equal; while at Bombay, the charges exceed its revenues fifty per cent; the former being £3,600,841, and the latter £2,421,443! So startling a fact is not of the consequence which it may at first appear to be; since both Madras and Bombay, together with Agra and all central India, are subordinate to the Governor-General and his Council at Calcutta. He in fact rules over ninety-four provinces, including the Prince of Wales's Island, but not Ceylon; the last having for many years been a mere pasture for patronage to the Colonial Office. Reform, nevertheless, has forced its way thither. British subjects may now become proprietors of land, and exercise their skill and industry there, as well as in India; a privilege, however, only conceded by the late Charter. Trial by jury has been successfully introduced; purveyance and monopolies are abolished; and the Taprobana of the ancients is no longer an absolute disgrace to its modern sovereigns.

We have now to consider, in the narrow space left us, a few of the improvements, which we may be the instruments of commu-

nicating to the East; and we shall glance at them summarily under the three heads of politics,—social ameliorations,—and religion.

Our Indian empire has always struck us as likely, in the lapse of years, to exercise incalculable influence upon Lahore, Burmah, and Siam, Thibet and China, as well as upon the oriental Archipelago. Persia may possibly become the prey of Russia; who may also be the first to unlock the Blue Chamber of the Pacific Ocean, and let in daylight upon Japan. But with regard to the other enumerated nations, Great Britain may be, under infinitely better auspices, what Crete and Ionia were, many centuries before Christ, to the Mediterranean world. Already our outposts touch upon the Chinese or Thibetian frontier; while growing intercourse with Canton must sooner or later penetrate, if it does not overthrow, the walls of exclusiveness and separation. Let the Company promote, and not repress every project, which fairly conduces to such a result. The curious voyage and researches of Gutzlaff demonstrate that much more might be done, than the authorities seem at present disposed to countenance. Commerce, acting upon selfishness, will gradually overcome one restriction after another; until men every where acknowledge the reasonableness, and act upon it, of buying wherever they can buy cheapest, and selling wherever they can sell dearest. Its multiplying ramifications will thus open channels for nobler merchandise than human art can supply or offer. The divine and almighty Alchemist, turning every thing he deigns to touch into gold, will compel even the passions of avarice and ambition to make the rough places plain for the advancement of his purposes. It is said that more than two millions of Chinese are scattered up and down the harbours of that vast range of islands extending from Malacca to New Holland. Through their means, by a liberal policy, our manufactures and habits may raise the level of civilization, and pour the horn of plenty upon shores overwhelmed in vice, destitution, and degradation. Steam may work, and is indeed effecting wonders. Our author has devoted several pages to the subject; and when monthly mails shall pass as matters of course from Bombay to London; when intercommunications shall have become regular, as well as frequent, between Calcutta, Canton, and along the north-eastern coasts to the Amoor, or as much further as the Siberian Bear will permit,—there will then be an amount of temporal enjoyment dispensed, such as makes the heart of a philanthropist bound within him at its contemplation. In one word our external policy in these regions must be to maintain peace,—improve trade,—to set an example of firm, just, and faithful dealing,—and impress the natives with right notions as to our national integrity as well as our power; as to our desire of ameliorating their circumstances as well as augmenting the sources

of our own mercantile opulence. In an opposite direction, we shall rejoice to see the views of Lieutenant Burnes carried out; and a line of traffic opened up the Indus to Attock,—thence by portages to the Oxus,—and down that noble yet neglected river to Bokhara, and into Central Asia.

The Ganges is now ascended by steamers for pacific purposes, as the Irrawaddy was in the Burmese contest, for warlike ones. This brings us to mention a few social ameliorations, which we are bound in common justice to confer at least upon Hindostan. Facilities of transport should be fostered to the uttermost; for whatever tends to annihilate distance, tends also to diminish prejudices. Roads, and posts, with cheap public conveyances, will do more towards melting down the numerous tribes of India into one prosperous people, than meddling orders from the directors, or expensive regulations at Calcutta. Economy ought to be a main matter with our Anglo-Indian government. The fiscal system still remains an Augean stable of abominations; nor will any Hercules, we fear, short of the Schoolmaster, be ever able to cleanse it. In Bengal, the land-tax is for the most part fixed in perpetuity; but there exist two Mammoths of monopoly in the shape of salt and opium. In Madras and Bombay, the culture of that vile poppy is forbidden: but all prohibitions of the sort are in their very nature absurd and preposterous. The monopoly of salt exists also in Madras, together with one of tobacco inflicted upon two large provinces. Export, import, transit, and town duties are levied upon different principles, and at different rates, under the three presidencies; nor does the first, second, or even third payment always exempt the merchant, if his goods are conveyed from one territory to another. Let Prussia teach us the folly, not to say the iniquities of such anomalies. Retrenchment moreover should be urged forward unsparingly, through every civil department; especially amongst legal functionaries. Specimens only can be given of the profuseness which has hitherto prevailed. Each Judge of the Company costs India, directly or indirectly, upwards of £88,000, upon an average, including his education at Haileybury College, his salary for fifteen years' services, and his retiring pension! This is about twenty per cent. more than the expense of a Crown Judge of the highest class, and sixty per cent. more than the lowest, under the same circumstances. The difference is pure, or rather impure, extravagance. Under the government of Madras, with a remarkably litigious population of thirteen millions and a half, the total amount of property under litigation, in both native and European Courts, was valued in 1818, at £453,833; while the judicial charges amounted at the same time to £350,000; of which the salaries of the British judges alone absorbed £260,000! It is clear that the Hindoos should be encouraged to aspire to all civil offices,—

the nomination of course being with the local, and responsible authorities ; since they must be the best qualified to decide as to the capability or incapacity of parties. Yet instead of this obvious and rational mode of procedure, enormous and unnecessary sums are squandered upon a certain privileged class, sent out by the Directors to smoke cigars and inflame their livers, through the cycle of their official term ; at the conclusion of which, having hoarded what they can in the land of their exile, they fly home upon the wings of a fortune, to spend it at Bath or Cheltenham. How can the Lords of India look for either respect or affection from the millions of their subjects ? After all that has been said or written respecting the apathy and laziness of the natives, they still remain the principal medium of oral and professional intercourse : for according to the evidence adduced before a parliamentary committee, 'seven-eighths of the administration of justice 'is virtually conducted by them.' Sir Henry Strachey maintains, that if they were well paid, and so raised in their own estimation, they would be fit for any employment in India ; and he afterwards explains, that what he means by good and adequate pay is 'one-tenth of what is at present received by the civil functionaries' of the Company ! Improvements judiciously carried out, in these respects, avoiding precipitancy, but cherishing reformation, would enable us to reduce Indian taxation,—relieve industry,—call out slumbering usefulness,—strengthen the framework of society,—and yet relieve its pressure. A consolidation of numerous public establishments, kept up as to their number, for mere purposes of patronage and ostentation, would augment in many instances their efficiency, and extinguish not a few pecuniary grievances.

As to the system of law, the historian of India, more than twenty years ago, pointed out a scheme for their revisal and codification ; namely, the appointment of a council of five persons, whose chief business should be that of legislating for Hindoostan. He would have it consist of the Governor-General, a professional lawyer, an European, and a native of extensive local knowledge, besides one other individual 'thoroughly versed in the philosophy 'of man and government.' As matters are, we strongly suspect, nothing can be more deplorable. We perceive how large a proportion of judicial duties is performed by native officials ; and English magistrates are notoriously in the hands of the inferior agents in their own courts. 'To administer justice civil and 'criminal, primary, and appellate to eighty millions of people, 'there are three hundred judicial functionaries of all grades, many 'of whom, however, are charged, at the same time, with the administration of the revenues, and almost all of them with that of 'the police and magistracy.' The laws are generally administered in the Persian tongue ; a dead language, as it would seem to all parties. Consequent delay is enormous. In Bengal alone,

in 1819, the arrear of causes was eighty-one thousand; and in 1829, one hundred and forty thousand!

The coinage has also been pointed out by a shrewd observer as calling loudly for amendment. Each presidency has its own; and Bengal possesses two: while three out of the four have not only different impressions, but different values. Strange, moreover, to say, 'the coinage of one government is not current in the territories of another; being only bullion; so that it must be put into the melting-pot. Again, the civil establishments at Calcutta are paid in one denomination of money, the military in a second, and the general accounts are kept in a third; all differing from each other in value very materially. Notwithstanding a seignorage of two per cent. a heavy loss is annually sustained by the mints; which, for 1829 — 1830, was stated in the public accounts at £44,285; not including buildings, or wear and tear of machinery. One of the Bengal mints cost £200,000 sterling; and that of Bombay has scarcely been less expensive.* The entire mint charges seem to be about £120,000, with jobs and sinecures in due proportion. It should never fade from the memory of a patriotic statesman, that with regard to India, Great Britain is neither more nor less than a guardian or trustee for a minor, whose estates are held by military tenure indeed; but of which an account must one day be given even in the present world. Nations in their collective character will have no existence at the last grand assize. They will then dissolve into individuals. Hence their tribunal is in time; not in eternity. And whoever may doubt the scheme of literal rewards and punishments, dispensed among them by an unerring arbiter, let him read as he runs, the history of Spain and Portugal; whose tyranny in Peru, Mexico, and the Brazils, has been visited before our own eyes, with visible and retributive vengeance. Doubtless there is a God that judgeth the earth; and continuance in courses of injustice, upon a scale so approaching the sublime in magnitude, that we almost lose a proper sense of its hideousness, will bring down the wrath of the Most High, as upon Babylon of old, or Palmyra the queen of the desert, or Tyre and Zidon, or any other once celebrated merchant-princes, whose memorials have now passed away like the chaff of the summer threshing-floor. For such reasons, we take even the low ground of self-interest, as the foundation of strong and earnest appeal to our fellow-countrymen, that they may prepare India for better things; for an enjoyment at some future day, however distant, of our political privileges,—of those institutions, which are beginning to take root in Ceylon,—and which, when transplanted to her own shores,

* Westminster Review, No. xxxvii. July, 1833.

will remunerate her for any amount of wrongs, inflicted upon her since the battle of Plassey.

But this brings us to the final point, which we undertook to touch upon,—our obligations and responsibilities in the East, as to the Christian Religion. No sane person will deny, that here we have incurred guiltiness as a nation, in the very highest degree. Let us prostrate ourselves in the dust and ashes of humiliation; and then rise to make up for our past remissness by future strenuous exertion. The reproach of Edmund Burke can, through mercy, no longer apply to us, that were our empire to be swept away to-morrow, there would remain no traces of it in Hindoostan, beyond the footsteps of the tiger in his jungle! The names of Henry Martyn, and Carey, and Ward, and Marshman, and Brown, and Buchanan, with others of whom the time would fail us to tell, have withdrawn the sting of the stigma; though that is, alas! *all*. The mighty and overwhelming duty of doing what ought to be done has been only commenced:—in its vastness, it now calls for its accomplishment. In dealing as governors with the superstitions of the natives, we feel as averse to any invasion of the rights of conscience as we are opposed to that mawkish sensitiveness, with regard to pagan abominations, which has been until lately, and is even now, the besetting sin of our Indian rulers. The curious part of the whole affair is, that most of those who then filled our high places, both at home and abroad, had no hesitation about upholding in the British parliament an antiquated system of oppression and persecution, as it respected Christian Dissenters; while they were as tender of the Suttee in Bengal, amongst the heathen, as though, in denouncing it, one had touched the apple of their eye. The truth is, that a real regard for the rights of conscience had nothing to do with the matter. Worldly men acted upon secular principles, at the bottom of which selfishness lies concealed like a serpent. Apprehensions for their own interests, in a heathen land, were a little too gross to be publicly adduced in opposition to the dictates of Scripture; so they endeavoured to conceal their actual motives under the froth of latitudinarian professions. Not less than three hundred and ten instances of women burning themselves upon the funeral piles of their husbands occurred in 1819. When Lord William Bentinck had the honour of abolishing this practice in 1828, some complaints undoubtedly were made by certain Hindoos on the one hand; but it is equally clear, that there were numerous Hindoo congratulations on the other. An affecting instance of repugnance to the observance of the Suttee, in a female of high rank, is adduced by our author from the testimony of Sir John Malcolm; as long ago as 1793:

‘ Ahalya Baee had lost her only son. Her remaining child, a

daughter, was married, and had one son, who died at Mhyair. His father died twelve months afterwards. His widow immediately declared her resolution to burn with the corpse of her husband. Her mother and her sovereign left no effort untried, short of coercion, to induce her to abandon her fatal resolution. She humbled herself to the dust before her, and entreated her as she revered her God, not to leave her desolate and alone upon earth. Her daughter, although affectionate, was calm and decided. 'You are old, mother,' she said, 'and a few years will end your pious life. My only child and husband are gone, and when you follow, life I feel will be insupportable; but the opportunity of terminating it with honour will then have passed by.' The mother, when she found all dissuasion unavailing, determined to witness the last dreadful scene. She walked in the procession, and stood near the pile, supported by two Brahmans, who held her arms. Although obviously suffering great agony of mind, she remained tolerably firm, until the first blaze of the flame made her lose all self-control; and while her shrieks increased the noise made by the multitude, she was seen to gnaw in anguish those hands she could not liberate from the persons by whom she was held. After some convulsive efforts, she so far recovered as to join in the ceremony of bathing in the Nerbuddah, when the bodies were consumed. She then retired to her palace, where for three days, having taken hardly any sustenance, she remained so absorbed in grief, that she never uttered a word. When recovered from this state, she seemed to find consolation in building a beautiful monument to the memory of those she lamented.—vol. iii. pp. 612, 613.

It is but common justice to annex the remarks of Lord William Bentinck, and our author, upon the toleration of idolatry, and the education of the natives: the former observes, 'There prevail throughout India, as in the darkest ages of European history, the same ignorance and superstition, the same belief in witchcraft, the same confidence in charms and incantations, the same faith in astrology and omens, the practice of human immolation of all ages and sexes, and many other barbarous customs, opposed to true happiness, and repugnant to the best feelings that providence has planted in the human breast: and it is by the gradual operation of European influence over the immense mass of native population, that their barbarous and often cruel and idolatrous customs, can be eradicated, and supplanted by domestic comfort, security of person and property, and advancement in education and morals.'

Mr. Auber then adds:

'It is satisfactory to know, that neither the original measure abolishing Suttee, nor the virtual confirmation of it by the rejection of the appeal to the privy council, produced any want of confidence, or the least degree of alarm, on the part of the Hindoo population. As edu-

cation advances, and the British power is still further extended, and becomes more firmly fixed, the question of how far we are to tolerate idolatry in India, will press itself more strongly upon the consideration of the governing power. Where religious rites and offices are not flagrantly opposed to the rules of common humanity or decency, they may, from our position in India, demand toleration, however false the creed by which they are sanctioned. Such concession in no degree exceeds that which is extended to doubtful creeds in the united kingdom. But toleration and protection must go hand in hand in India, or the safety of the individuals engaged in the celebration of their rites, however absurd or much to be lamented, would not be provided for. Such toleration, however, in no way enjoins a participation, or assistance in such worship, so as to identify the British authorities in the eyes of the people, with it.'———'Lord William Bentinck watched, with anxious solicitude, the education of the natives: the reports sent home in the course of the year gave the most promising accounts of the progress made in the acquisition of the English language. According to the testimony of Mr. Bird, of the civil service, the desire to learn the English language was extending universally at the principal stations in the Mofussil. There was no religious prejudice against it, while, by giving complete access to European ideas and sentiments, it has the strongest testimony to weaken the prejudices of the natives against the other branches of education given at the government institutions. The English class at the Madrisa had furnished well qualified members for the station of vakeels at the several courts, as well as for that of law officers in the native courts: and there were three thousand youths studying the English language at Calcutta.'—vol. ii. pp. 612, 614.

These are delightful tidings, and none can hail with greater pleasure than ourselves, every thing that may be done in the way of national native education. Our complaint is that hitherto our efforts in this way have been so thoroughly trifling. In 1818, the annual expenses disbursed for the purpose were no more than £5000: Parliament then enacted that they should be doubled in future; and yet for eleven years afterwards down to 1824, they only averaged from £7000 to £8000 per annum. For the last eighteen years £273,522 has been expended; or at the rate of from £8000 to £17,000 annually, little more than three-fifths of the Governor-General's salary, to say nothing of perquisites or allowances. What we should do, is,—to retrench needless expenditure, so as to employ half a million or a million sterling in each twelvemonth, for the next quarter of a century; covering the entire peninsula with a net-work of electric wires, in the form of well organized schools, so as to communicate moral and intellectual light and life, from Calcutta downwards. Direct religious instruction, just at first, might be out of the question, except in those cases where some profession of Christianity had already been made. But the ability would be im-

parted to read our scriptures: and the taste might be inclined that way without adopting measures either of coercion or interference. Simultaneously with this scheme, translations of the Old and New Testaments should be got ready upon something like an adequate scale; avoiding of course, every thing in preparing or publishing them, which would occasion needless alarm. Missionaries of all orthodox denominations should be countenanced, instead of being often discouraged; and the unhappy error, fallen into by the introduction of a religious establishment, should be amended, with the least possible delay. The recent and most painful circumstances which have occurred in the Tinnevely station, under the auspices of the Church Missionary Society, must have sounded a trumpet of alarm, in the ears of Episcopalians themselves, as to the momentous nature of the evil. Moral, intellectual, and religious education ought to be offered to all upon equal terms, without reference to any peculiarities of speculative sentiment: but this is just what we can never get an establishment to do. Government, we venture to think, is bound by the most solemn obligation to provide that knowledge, which to 'be without is not good;' and even to obtrude it upon the minds of the young, without difference or partiality, in the same way that proper food and medicine must be found for and pressed upon them, when such supplies can be procured from no other quarter; that so they may grow up to maturity, and become themselves responsible moral agents. But it is the very character of a religious establishment, as we see in India, at this instant, to make differences and manifest partialities. It usurps a right to impose instruction of its own selection upon that part of the community which has grown out of its nonage, and is able to choose for itself. Injustice, therefore, may be seen written on its forehead, look at it from whatever point you will; and its glances in return are from a green eye, with a cast in it! With its soul, as well as body in this world, it loudly talks, and does little more, as to another. Like the semipetrified monarch in the 'Arabian Nights,' it is only half alive; a mass of marble from the feet to the waist; immovable and unfeeling, in the midst of an enchanted palace,—where the stateliness of its grandeur is producing the loneliness of a desert. We respect highly the character and talents of the present Bishop of Calcutta. As the pastor of his own clergy, on ordinary occasions, he reminds us of his zealous and sacred ministrations at St. John's, in Bedford Row. But when he assumes the language and bearing of a prelate; when his charges are in the teeth of what St. Peter denounces, by 'lording it over God's heritage,'—he seems a Cyprian of the third century; possessing indeed the piety, yet not without the manifold infirmities of that ancient Father.

We have only one more suggestion to offer; : that is, that

stated prayer-meetings should be held throughout all churches, both at home and abroad, imploring the influences of the Holy Spirit upon India, more especially. There, the heathen are our fellow-subjects; a portion and an immense one, of our own civil and political household; they have claims upon our sympathies and exertions therefore *above*, although, of course, not to the exclusion of others. Glorious, indeed, will be the day, when this wilderness shall have become in a spiritual sense, as the garden of the Lord: when this stronghold of the kingdom of darkness shall be subdued under the banner of the Lamb. The poet of the Crusaders has told us, that when their standard floated over Mount Sion, the whole air and face of nature felt revived at the glories of its presence:

La Vincitrice insegna in mille giri
 Alteramente si rivolge intorno:
 E par ch'en lei più riverenti spiri
 L'aura, e che splendida in lei più chiaro il giorno
 Ch' ogni dardo, ogni stral, che'n lei si tiri,
 O la declini, o faccia indi ritorao:

But to trample under foot the superstition and might of mythology,—to effect a breach in those ramparts where for so many ages the seat of Satan has been undisturbed,—to plant the cross not merely upon the pagodas of Hindoostan, but within the heart of its inhabitants, will realize a nobler triumph than even the imagination of a Tasso could conceive, or a Godfrey of Bouillon accomplish.

We feel satisfied that our excellent author will concur in what has been said. We owe him our best thanks for his able and most useful production now before us. He has supplied a desideratum which perhaps few could have supplied so well. Mr. Mill's great work, upon the same subject, comprised three ponderous quarto volumes, well worth their weight in gold; but from that very circumstance, not always attractive to the general reader. Moreover it brings the history down no further than 1805; and consisting of considerably more than two thousand pages, can never be universally familiar to any but real students. Mr. Auber's two octavos are replete with information; elegantly yet perspicuously written; carefully arranged; pleasant both to the eye and the mind; and, at once pregnant with sound sense, and the best moral feelings. There are three maps, two of which are coloured, to show at a glance the progress of British conquests; and yet the retail price of the book is not permitted to exceed a guinea. We cordially desire for it, what we think it will obtain, an extensive circulation. It is a refreshment in the present day to fall in with a gentleman like Mr. Auber, who possesses so complete a mastery over what he professes to describe; and is so perfectly free from all manner of affectation.

Art. II. *On the Law of Christ respecting Civil Obedience, especially in the Payment of Tribute; with an Appendix of Notes and Documents,* By JOHN BROWN, D.D. Edinburgh: Paterson. 1838.

IN reviewing these lectures, it is necessary to make our readers acquainted with the *Edinburgh Annuity Tax*, in certain proceedings connected with which they have had their origin. Indeed this subject has claims of its own to general notice; forming, as it does, a very remarkable episode in the ecclesiastical history of the North, and containing, as in an epitome, a curious and instructive specimen of the principles and the working of a civil establishment of religion.

This tax is of considerably ancient origin, having been first imposed in the year 1633, by a process of legislation not exactly accordant with modern usage. From the period of the Reformation, the clergy of Edinburgh had been supported, partly by voluntary contributions, and partly by certain property which had been taken from the Catholic, and granted to the Protestant church. Charles the First, following out, as he alleged, the intentions of his father, recommended the Town Council of Edinburgh to raise the stipend of the clergy by a tax on the inhabitants; the council prepared an act for this purpose, which they transferred to parliament for its sanction; and by parliament it was referred to the privy council, with full warrant to decree and enforce it, which that body accordingly did. The first form in which the tax appeared, was the appointment of a particular sum (£666. 13s. 4d.) to be levied on inhabited houses according to the rental, and divided among the ministers. At this period, it is to be remarked, episcopacy was established in Scotland; so that the tax by which the Presbyterians of Edinburgh are at present supported, originated in the suggestion of the Royal Martyr for Episcopacy, moving the town council of Edinburgh, and by them the parliament and the privy council, to endow, not a Presbyterian, but an Episcopalian clergy. Had Charles foreboded the ultimate destination of the tax, there is no doubt this offspring of his royal brain had never seen the light. Nevertheless, there are statements in this Act, intended to justify the measure, scarcely to be expected in those times of rigor, and placing the support of the clergy on a basis, to which, (the employment of civil force excepted) the most ardent friend of the voluntary principle in our own days, could not object. The following is the preamble of the act: 'For sae meikle (forasmuch) as there is nothing more consonant to equitie and reason than that all such persons that daily enjoy in plentie that blessing of the word of God, and hearest the same preached, and does particeipit the benefit of the clergy; should contribute to the maintenance of the minister,

'in these places where they take the foresaid benefit.' Very well, truly, for the Episcopalians under the Stuart dynasty; and better still, if the enlightened Episcopalians and Presbyterians in the days of Alexandrina Victoria would learn, that it is not equity or reason that such persons as do not participate the benefit of the clergy; and do not hear the word from their lips, should be compelled by legal authority to contribute to their maintenance.

From this period to 1661, the tax underwent various changes, by successive acts of parliament. In 1639, episcopacy was overthrown, and presbytery prevailed; the former again triumphing with the restoration of Charles the Second, in 1660. Under these changes the Annuity Tax was enjoyed by the dominant party for the time being; and in 1661, when it was assigned by law to the Episcopalians, it received that form in which it continued during the next one hundred and fifty years. By this settlement a tax of six per cent. on the rental of all houses within the city was appointed to be levied for the support of *six ministers*, the best of the clergy to be supported from the other funds of the burgh; and the magistrates were empowered, in their judicial character, to see that this act should be carried into execution, and should do all things necessary to that effect; and letters of horning, and all other executionalls necessary, are ordained to be direct upon this act. Such was the coarse machinery by the inharmonious operation of which the salaries of the clergy of the Scottish metropolis were supplied during this long period of the Episcopalians enjoying them from the Restoration to the Revolution, and the Presbyterians afterwards.

Our readers will perceive that as the city of Edinburgh enlarged in its dimensions, and in the size and splendour of the mansions of its inhabitants, the amount of the Annuity Tax must have increased proportionally. It did so. Unproductive at first of the sum needful for the comfortable maintenance of six clergymen, it soon yielded more than the magistrates thought proper to grant them.

There is a peculiarity in the application of the ecclesiastical revenues of Scotland. The law does not provide that these shall be wholly engrossed by the clergy, but only that a *reasonable support* shall be assigned to them from these revenues, by the civil court competent to make such allocation. These, and the parochial tithes (tithes) are not all enjoyed by the clergy. The court of tithes (the court of session sitting under this denomination) assigns from the parochial tiend what it deems a competent salary to the clerical incumbent; and, at this day, the tiend which the court might call up, if necessary, but which is still unappropriated to the clergy, amounts to nearly as large a sum as that which they enjoy. On this principle, the magistrates and council of Edinburgh, as the Annuity Tax became progressively productive,

paid, not the whole of it, to the clergy, but only such a sum as they judged sufficient for their support, or as was agreed upon betwixt themselves and the clergy; and applied the residue to the common objects of municipal expenditure. There is only one other Scottish town in which the clergy are supported by a local tax, the town of Montrose. There, also, the increase of the town augmented the productiveness of the tax; when the magistrates, in place of appropriating its surplus to the purposes of the burgh, reduced the rate of the impost. This measure offended the ministers of Montrose, who brought the case before the court of session, claiming that the vote should not be reduced, and that its whole amount should be theirs, without deduction. The court decided firmly in favour of the magistrates, finding that the ministers were not entitled to the whole amount of the sin-reduced tax, but only to such a salary from that source as was judged sufficient for their comfortable subsistence. Had the magistrates of Edinburgh wished to spare the pockets of the inhabitants, or, perhaps, acted in the spirit of the law of Scotland in such matters, they would have followed the example of their brethren in Montrose; but, being less thrifty than these frugal northerns, and very zealous for the Athenian splendour of their beautiful city, they retained the tax at the full amount which Charles had appointed, and usage had confirmed, and applied the surplus in the way we have stated.

But, in 1809, a new era arrived in the history of this metropolitan impost. Previously to this date, the limits of the Edinburgh *royalty* (the city) had been extended at various periods, by acts of the legislature obtained for this purpose, and the right to levy the annuity and other local taxes had been co-extended with the advancing limits of the urban territory. In 1809, parliament was to be applied to for a fresh extension of this royalty, the city being at that period in a state of rapid increase. Now was the chance of the clergy; and now, also, was the chance of the council—of the clergy, to grasp an accession to their wealth; from this fresh field of taxation which opened on their view—and of the council to gather laurels for themselves, by adding yet greater decorations to their city from a larger sum, which a little management might enable them to obtain from an augmented excess of this productive Annuity Tax. Nothing is more curious, nothing more humiliating than the management to which the two parties had recourse, on this animating occasion.

The clergy wished that with this new extension of the royalty, there should be, as formerly, an extension of the tax also. Why not? Who could object? The forefathers of this generation had been taxed for the church; and why should it fare better with the children than with the fathers? Those now within the Athenian domain had been taxed; and why should those who were to be

brought in refuse to share in the burdens, seeing they were destined to share in the immunities and honours. It was not for the magistrates to object. For themselves, probably, they were taxed already; and as for the rest, the more Annuity the better for the beauty and the fame of their dear city. So the clergy and the magistrates, the church and the state, in Edinburgh, hoping both to gain at the expense of the people, heartily agreed in this, — that ever the extended royalty there should be diffused the blessing of an extended Annuity Tax. It could not be imagined, that with such parliaments as the period of the French war produced, any objection, any difficulty, any question, could arise in that quarter. But how was the matter to be managed, so that both clergy and magistrates should hope to gain? The ecclesiastics of the day knew how, as far as they were concerned. They drew the section of the proposed bill that related to the Annuity Tax 'with cunning craftiness,' saith the historian of these transactions; in which, by dexterous arrangement of vocables, it was obscurely, deceptively, but effectually provided, that the whole Annuity Tax—as well that portion which should arise from the new and splendid territory, as that which was collected from the old—without any deduction whatever, for the decoration of the city, or any other purpose, should go to the clergy; and that ten this large fund, and certain others specified, not six ministers, as the law had hitherto fixed, but all the ministers in the royalty, should share.

Thus all the golden dreams of the magistracy touching this new mine which they hoped to work for the benefit of the city were dissolved in air. But were the magistrates asleep? No, they were not. They thought with themselves that the preparation of this clause was in the best possible hands. Would the clergy of Edinburgh do a selfish or deceptive thing? Would they deceive the magistrates, for the purpose of enriching themselves at the expense of a fund of which the magistrates were the guardians? Who would breathe such a surmise, or pollute his bosom by harbouring within it the dark and uncharitable suspicion? But why were not the people alarmed? There was a way to prevent this, too, and the clergy found it out; for the clergy are wise. Smuggling was, at that time, common in Scotland; and in a good cause, the clergy judged that smuggling, often employed to cheat the king, might, in this instance, be piously employed to cheat the people. It is well known, that when any local act is to be applied for, the standing orders of the House of Commons require that parties intending to introduce the bill should publish notices in the newspapers, and on the church doors, specifying all the objects to be embraced in the bill, and that any clause beyond the notices which finds its way into the bill is considered fraudulent. Clauses of this kind, are called

'smuggled clauses,' the authors of them being 'smugglers,'—just as contraband articles are called 'smuggled goods,' and those who deal in them obtain their name from their vocation. Notice was given in due form, that a bill was to be brought in for the extension of the royalty; but no notice was given, that a clause was to be inserted modifying so essentially the Annuity Tax, both as to its amount and its application. The bill, however, soon became law, and the clause, too well known in Edinburgh as 'the smuggled clause,' formed part and parcel of it.

Now came the tug of war. With the authority of the legislature on their side, it was not to be expected that the clergy would allow their new privileges long to slumber. They quickly applied to the magistrates and council for an augmentation of their salaries, which, at that time, were at the moderate rate of £380 a-year. The council sternly refused their request, little aware of the vantage ground now occupied by the petitioners; and informed them that, if they chose, they might take legal steps to obtain redress. Rash defiance! The clergy were not slow to accept the challenge. They entered court manfully; and claimed at once £750 a-year, with £75. additional for house-rent. And what pleadings ensued! 'Tell it not in Gath.' The ministers boasted that they had prepared the clause with great care, and by the aid of legal advisers; the magistrates protested that they were deceived, that they were altogether unaware of the contents of this 'smuggled clause,' otherwise, they never would have put it into the power of the clergy thus to enrich themselves with the spoils of the municipal bonds, and of the public. It was judged by many, that the court of session would not sustain the claim of the ministers, and would refuse to enforce a virtually illegal act of parliament. But the whole college of justice were specially exempted from the Annuity Tax—and, by a majority of one vote, the clergy triumphed, leaving the gulled council, and the fleeced people, to digest their common misfortunes as best they might.

Is it wonderful that the citizens of Edinburgh should detect this impost, and that extensive resistance should be made to its exaction? Indeed, we only wonder at that apathy, that servile deference to usage, that morbid love of ease, that absence of spirit and active principle, of just and generous indignation against iniquity and fraud, by which, either within the church, or without its pale, this disgraceful joke could have been endured for an hour. The truth is, that resistance, active or passive, to the Annuity Tax has been nearly uninterrupted since its commencement; and the history of this resistance, and of the means employed to subdue it, is very striking and instructive. Each of the rival parties who have alternately enjoyed it, has experienced great opposition to its collection; the party exacting being always horror-struck with

the impiety and perversity of the wicked recusants—and the recusants being not less impressed with the tyranny and injustice of their exactors. During the civil war and the protectorate, it was held by the Presbyterians; and then it bore very hard on the consciences of the Episcopalians to support disorderly, unapostolic Presbyters, and besides reduced them to the hard necessity of supporting both their own clergy, whose services they enjoyed, and those of the favoured party from whose ministrations they derived no benefit. When Episcopacy was restored with Charles, and the Annuity restored to episcopacy, what could be more rebellious and ungodly in the eyes of Episcopalians, than the refusal of refractory Presbyterians to obey God and the King in supporting an apostolical hierarchy? What more horrid in the estimation of Presbyterians than to uphold by their money the superstitions of black prelacy? And once more, when the Stuarts fell never to rise again, and when episcopacy fell finally in Scotland by the revolution, what was so reasonable to the joyous Presbyterians as that all classes of the community should be compelled to support the divine ordinance of Presbytery? What so mortifying to their fallen antagonists, intoxicated with the possession of power and wealth for twenty-eight years, as to uphold a species of lay-ecclesiastics, whom they equally hated and despised?

The means employed to coerce payment were various. In addition to the ordinary expedient of distraint, it was common in former times to quarter soldiers on the disobedient; and to give additional effect to this punishment, to compel them to board as well as lodge these unceremonious inmates. During the two centuries of the continuance of this impost, distraint has been the common recourse,—in some cases, incarceration. These distraints, as may be supposed, have often produced expenses more than equal to the sum distrained for. It will give our readers some idea of the amount of annoyance caused by these proceedings to specify a few facts. ‘Nearly one-half of the records of the Town Council about this period (after the Restoration) are filled with matters respecting the ministers and their stipends, their churches and sessions,’ says the narrator of these events. ‘Judging from the records, the support of the church appears to have been a source of constant annoyance, and an intolerable burden on the inhabitants of Edinburgh, for the last two hundred years!’ For a long period the tax was collected not by the clergy, but by the Council; and although the Council were abundantly desirous that the tax should be productive, for the good of the town, as well as of the ministers, they did not wish to shock public feeling by unnecessary rigour; they did not estimate the houses altogether at rack-rent,—they gave liberal exemption in cases of alleged poverty—and they rather reined in than spurred on the obnoxious

prosecutor. When the tax came to be the property of the Clergy exclusively, they complained loudly of this leniency, and urged the magistrates to greater severity. The magistrates replied, that such severity 'would not be submitted to by the inhabitants,' and that they, if they were still urged, 'would no longer continue to put the Annuity act into execution, but shall leave it to the ministers to elect stent-masters and choose collectors for themselves, in any way they may think proper.' The ministers, nothing abashed, took the magistrates at their word, and since 1820, 'have become tax collectors, receiving the whole produce of the various revenues.' The result was an increased activity on the part both of the recusants, and of the clergy, by their agent. In 1833, legal diligence was used against 768 persons, upwards of 700 of whom were exposed to a second prosecution for expenses; and upon the whole, 'the expenses for the prosecutions for the recovery of the Annuity tax, during 1833, amounted to £1127 8s. 1d.' Incarceration was subsequently employed; but with so little favourable effect to the clergy, that during this year, (1838) no fewer than 1900 recusants have been reported as simultaneously exposed to the visitations of the law. But we must quit this narrative.*

'Ab uno disce omnes.'

The history of the Edinburgh Annuity Tax, is a history, *in parvo*, of civil establishments of Christianity, in their mildest and most reduced form. What is their origin? From beneath, not from above—the will of man, not the will of Christ. He has not invested his church, or any section of it, with a right to employ the secular arm to coerce a reluctant support of his divine institutions. No church, availing itself of secular power, dare say, 'the weapons of our warfare are not carnal?' They are carnal. 'If my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight.' You fight, you unsheathe the sword, and you smite with it. You pillage the property, you incarcerate the persons of men, of your own brethren. Are these weapons given you by Christ, or by Cæsar? From this earth-born influence what real advantages does the Christian church derive? *Status and emolument*, it will be said. Her ministers are elevated to a higher grade in society than those unacknowledged by the state—their income is more plentiful, more secure, derived from a more respectable source,

* We have been indebted for these facts chiefly to an elaborate and interesting tract, by an able and excellent man, well known in the Northern metropolis, Duncan McFaven, Esq. The tract is entitled 'History of the Resistance to the Annuity Tax, &c. From Authentic Documents, Edinburgh, 1836.'

is thing so much valued, *respectability*, is shared even by members of the establishment, whose pastors the state bay who worship in superb and venerable edifices, and who themselves associated with the most wealthy and noble in the land. Whether these are advantages which the true disciples of the cross will very highly appreciate, we leave to each to decide. Supposing them to be advantages, are there no irremediable evils? Upheld by the state, the Church necessarily is the subject of the state; either by express compact, securing her natural independence, as Warburton and others, and expressly owning a parliament, a king, a queen, as her sovereign, or virtually, though not professedly, becoming a creature of the state, as the highest legal tribunal has declared the Scottish Church to be. And what can compensate to the church for this exchange of freedom for bondage, for this degrading barter of noble birthright, this sacrilegious surrender of the liberty which Christ hath made her free. Then see what sort of men descend from the state upon the church. Her clergy, often introduced by secular patronage and favour, subscribe, in many cases, doctrines which they neither teach nor believe, and take the cure of souls for a living. And will such men, and such themselves, guard the sanctity of the church against the intrusion and the influence of the ungodly? In state churches the line is unknown, and the christian profession ceases to be any distinction of moral or religious value. In the course of time, differences must arise betwixt the church and the state; the church must be extended, she must have more money, more abundant means of influencing the population; she must scold, scolding, menacing, if her demands are refused; contriving, cunning, canvassing, to get friends in, and to keep foes out; till she arm the state with her power, and shake the whole fabric of society by the *imperium in imperio*, which that power creates. And the principles of the system will not bear examination. Some of the plausibilities with which special pleading may defend them, they are palpably exclusive, unjust, harassing to the poor, at war with freedom. Perhaps, however, in the presentment of means, a development of the system, by its operation and effects, is necessary to its removal. Society is slow to move on principle; its decisions are determined by facts. The system must become offensive and impracticable to statesmen,

in these contests with the secular authorities for objects purely secular, the character never escapes intact; the clergy too generally, showing the selfishness, cunning, avarice, and pride of secular ecclesiastics, the disinterestedness, meekness, and humility of the disciples and of Christ. Unhappily, by such manifestations of character, religion is the chief, though the innocent sufferer.

vexatious to society at large, at last irksome and intolerable to good men connected with it, ere its final downfall can be peacefully effected. By such means, it appears to us, providence is plainly and rapidly preparing the way for a better order of things in this country; and to the reflecting and the pious who cling with overwhelming fondness to a state church is emphatically and solemnly enforcing the call, 'Come out of her, my people.'

We must now introduce our readers to the discourse of Dr. Brown. We understand that until a recent date, Dr. Brown was in relation to the Annuity Tax, *ultra vires*, living beyond the limits of the taxed territory. Circumstances, however, led him to settle within these limits, and it immediately became a practical question with him, which side to choose. To pay or not to pay? was the question. In the first instance he resolved to pay; but in order to do justice to his own convictions, he published in the newspaper a species of protest, to the effect that he did not pay the tax willingly, or from any approval of it, but yielded to necessity alone. On a more mature consideration of the case, however, he saw it to be his duty to advance a step farther, to cast aside all compromise, and, knowing that he had the option of paying, or of suffering for non-payment, he determined to subject himself to the latter. This was no unimportant step for any man, particularly for a public man to take; and Dr. Brown very distinctly indicated the importance he attached to it. At a public meeting, held in Rose Street Church, on the 19th of October last year, on the subject, we believe, of the Annuity Tax, Dr. Brown rose, and, amidst the breathless silence of the assembled multitude, uttered, with what effect it is easy to conceive, these memorable words, 'I am the only minister of the secession church in this city liable to be assessed for the Annuity Tax. I have not paid it; and, while I retain my present convictions, I never will pay it. In an elaborately prepared paper, of which these are the first sentences, and which is one of many interesting documents appended to these discourses, Dr. Brown explained and vindicated the measure he had adopted. We cannot afford room for this document; it may suffice to say, that after stating his principles respecting submission to the powers that be, the duty of paying tribute to whom tribute is due, and his cordial regard for Christian brethren connected with the established church, he declares his conviction of the unscriptural, unjust, and injurious character of civil establishments of religion, of the imperative duty of refusing all active support to these institutions, and concludes the paper with these words:

"It may be asked, then, why do you not pay the tax again under a similar protest? For this plain reason, that I am convinced from experience that all the desirable ends of passive resistance have not been

gained in this way, and that a stronger manifestation, both of the iniquity of the system, and of my abhorrence of it, is likely to be made, by permitting those who are unhappily interested in the execution of what I account an unjust law, to avail themselves, if they please, of whatever powers the law may give them to punish me for my conscientious conviction. I consider it my duty not only to keep my conscience void of offence, which my public protest did; but to do this in the way most calculated to produce the greatest degree of good, as well as the least degree of accompanying evil. On these principles, I have not paid, and while they continue unaltered, I will not pay the Annuity Tax. Such is the path which my conscientious convictions have chalked out for me. I call on no man to follow me farther than he is a participant with me of these convictions. 'Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind. Happy is he who condemneth not himself in that thing which he alloweth.'—Notes, p. 70.

The city was in an uproar. 'Dr. Brown has refused to pay the annuity tax!' was in every one's mouth. The wrath of the church was heated sevenfold. Dr. Brown, every one knew, is no common man. He is an able and eminent Christian minister. He is one of the Professors of Theology in the Institution of the church to which he belongs. He is known universally as a man of talent, of extensive knowledge, of much erudition, of long-tryed and consistent piety; a gentleman withal, and so gentle too, as rather to eschew than court the storm,—far sonder of the pulpit than of the platform,—fully more given to converse with the dead than with the living, and just as remote from the character and the vocation of the agitator and the demagogue (in the offensive sense of these terms) as man can well be. He must be, he is, an influential man. 'What then is to be done?' was the question. 'Shall we let him alone; or shall we run him down?' 'Run him down by all means,' was the policy of his opponents,—a policy, however, easier in the adoption than the execution. In the church and tory journals, he was denounced as a rebel against Christ and Cæsar—against the law of God, and the law of the land; and as the patron of principles and practices which might soon convulse society, and deluge the country with blood. His scholarship was elaborately, though anonymously attacked; even his knowledge of the facts of which he writes was questioned,—with what success, the curious and valuable documents and notes already referred to will enable the reader to judge.

Amidst this activity of his opponents Dr. Brown did not deem it his duty to sit with his hands folded. He had ample resources at command, and he resolved to avail himself of them. The cause of truth and righteousness was assailed through him, and it was incumbent on him to step forth in its vindication. To the newspaper attacks he replied in a long and able argumentative

epistle, which properly appears among the appended papers: but as the general subject is so important, he determined to devote two discourses to an exposition of the passage Rom. xiii. 1, which he justly considers to be a compound of 'the law of Christ respecting civil obedience, especially in the payment of tribute.' Into this passage Dr. Brown enters with great critical minuteness and ability. He adopts the obvious division of the paragraph; considering the first five verses as containing an injunction and enforcement of civil obedience. *Let every soul be subject to the higher powers. For there is no power but of God; the powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever, therefore, resisteth the power resisteth the ordinance of God: and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation. For rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil. Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power? do that which is good, and thou shall have praise of the same. For he is the minister of God to thee for good.* But if thou do that which is evil be afraid; for he beareth not the sword in vain: for he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil. Wherefore ye must needs be subject, not only for wrath, but also for conscience' sake. From the two remaining verses he is led to the doctrine of Christ respecting the paying of tribute: *For, for this cause pay ye tribute also for they are God's ministers attending continually upon this very thing. Render, therefore, to all their dues; tribute to whom tribute is due; custom to whom custom; fear to whom fear; honour to whom honour.*

In examining the first, he sets aside, on the one hand, the sense given to the passage by the friends of despotism, that kings receive their power immediately from God, hold it by a tenure exclusively divine, are responsible for its exercise to God alone, and have a right to demand, in the name of God, an unlimited obedience from their subjects; and, on the other hand, the interpretation of those who consider the Apostle as enjoining obedience on no existing subjects to any existing government, but, by an ingenious abstraction, describing a government which ought to be, and an obedience which, in such a case, should be rendered.

Avoiding both extremes, he adopts the generally received interpretation,—that the Apostle, without defining the limits of civil authority on the one hand, or of civil obedience on the other, affirms the duty of obedience to the existing powers, and enforces by the strongest reasons that obedience. On this part of the subject, no man can state more clearly and solemnly than Dr. Brown, the right of the rulers to exact, and the duty of the subjects to yield, obedience. But he fearlessly institutes the inquiry, Are this authority on the one hand, and this obedience on the other, limited or unlimited? And with all constitutional jurists, with all sound divines, with every interpreter of the

and writings who consents to obey this canon of interpretation, the Bible is the great interpreter of itself, he decidedly answers—the authority and the obedience are limited. He shows unless we elevate human authority unduly, unless we commit civil rulers the control of all moral duty and obligation, exalt them above all that is called God or is worshipped, every precept enjoining obedience by man to man, there must be limitation, either understood or expressed. Sometimes it is expressed, as in the following examples: *Wives, submit yourselves to your own husbands as unto the Lord; for the husband is head of the wife, even as Christ is the head of the church, from, obey your parents in all things: Servants, obey in all your masters according to the flesh.* The man who would understand these precepts without limitation, if he is not a fool, must be a concealed enemy of the morality, and consequently of the inspiration and authority of the Bible. The very same limitation must be applied to the injunction of obedience to rulers. Is this violence to the text? By no means; the text demands it. For, in the first place, a limitation is in reality found in the text itself. ‘*He is the minister of God to thee for good*’; that is, he is so in many parts of his administration. But he forbade to teach or preach in the name of the Son of God, scourged and imprisoned his servants in obeying the commands of their Master, whether then was he God’s minister or the king’s? whether was he enjoining and administering good or evil? whether was it duty or sin to obey him? *Rulers are not a terror to good works*—that is plainly, only when they sanction or reward good works, not when they interdict and punish their performance. *Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power? do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same; that is, in whose power approves of that which is good, but not certainly when it unhappily approves what is evil, and condemns what is good.* Dr. Brown, we think, should have made this limiting character of the passage much more prominent than he has done. In the next place, the limitation of obedience to the powers is made clear as with a sun-beam, by the whole of approved example on the part of the persecuted in evil times; and by the recorded maxim of the Apostles, so plain in its reasonableness that the inspired men deem it enough to state openly to their enemies. *Whether it be right in the sight of God or not, obeyed unto you more than unto God, judge ye. We ought to obey God rather than man.* Dr. Brown states three distinct objections to civil authority—when it opposes the will of God—when it is illegal, in regard to the existing law of the land—and when the magistrate transgresses his own province and invades the province of God. The last, we think, might have been included in the first.

The second discourse is occupied with the question of tribute; and here Dr. Brown adopts the proposition apparently self-evident—that the paying of tribute is just one form of civil obedience, a species included in the genus. The authority by which the other laws of the state are made and enforced, makes and enforces the laws respecting tribute. Taxation is only one form of legislation; and the ground of our obedience to the laws respecting taxes is the ground of our obedience to all other laws. There is no peculiarity in taxation exempting it from the conditions to which other departments of legislation are subject—or the paying of taxes from those conditions by which other parts of civil obedience must be regulated. If a bad law is passed requiring me to do what is wrong, my obligation to obey ceases in regard to that law, because in obeying man I should be disobeying God. So, if a tax is imposed for a wicked object, my obligation to pay ceases; because by paying I should be contributing to an object at variance with the will of God. Suppose I lived in a heathen country, and were required by law to conform to the national idolatry, my obligation to obedience would in that instance be suspended; my duty requiring not obedience, but disobedience. But were that government to abstain from commanding me to worship its gods, but to tax me for the support of the superstition—for the erection of the temple—the decoration of the idols—the purchasing of victims to be offered at their shrine, would not my obligation to pay cease in like manner? Should I not be as really countenancing and supporting the idolatry by paying for its maintenance, from regard to human law, as if, from deference to that law, I should bow the knee to the idol? The idol should no more be paid for than worshipped. The whole should be utterly abolished. The paramount authority of God, therefore, which sets me free when I am commanded to worship, sets me free when I am commanded to pay. My virtue, in such trying circumstances, consists in honouring God rather than man, no matter to what obloquy, what injury, even to the spoiling of my goods, the loss of my liberty, or the destruction of my life, my steadfastness may expose me. This is the high ground which Dr. Brown occupies and defends.

That there are difficulties connected with the subject no one will deny; but they are not insurmountable. 1. It may be said, if you object to pay a tax imposed specifically for a bad object, how can you consistently pay the general taxes, which may be partially applied to such objects? To this it may be sufficiently replied, that the support of government is laudable and necessary, and that security of property, life, and liberty, could not otherwise be maintained—that for these objects tribute is a debt—and that we must not refuse the whole on account of the misapplication of a part, which were obviously unjust. But when a bad object is

ing to Britain, either secretly or openly, seek to subvert its government—that neither of them going to Turkey or to China, should act the part of a ringleader or promoter of sedition—and that all Christians, placed in the same circumstances in reference to the government under which they live, as the primitive Christians were in reference to the Roman government, are bound to act not only on the same general principle, but in precisely the same way. A Christian individual, or a body of Christians, living under a Pagan or Mohammedan government, are bound to do all in obedience to those governments that their enlightened consciences will permit. They are quietly to submit to such sufferings as the government may inflict on them for their non-compliance with what they account sin; and they are to do nothing to unsettle the government, except by the dissemination of the doctrines and laws of Christ, which sooner or later will, by their moral power, either improve or destroy all the secular governments on the face of the earth.

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‘It is obvious, however, as we have already seen, that the obligation to obedience to any human government, even to the one expressly declared by an apostle to be ordained of God, has limits. ‘To pretend,’ says Bishop Burnet, ‘that we owe our princes obedience without reserve, is profane and impious. The laws of God, the King of kings, are reserves upon our obedience, to those whose highest dignity it is that they are ministers deputed by him. It is a reproach to all religion, and indeed a professed throwing it off, to any who pretend to be Christians, to contradict this so flatly as to assert an obedience to any human authority without reserve. The more solemnly and publicly this is done, the reproach is the deeper. For it is the open preferring ‘the creature’ to ‘the Creator, God blessed for ever.’ Subjects are only bound to render to princes what is theirs; that is, the rights vested in them by law, custom, and constitution, and no more. And if we are only bound to render them what is *theirs*, then if they should demand what is not *theirs*, but is by the most strict possible provisions still ours, such as the liberty of our person, the property of our estates, and the observance of our laws,’ (the good bishop might have added, our conscientious convictions, and our immortal hopes,) ‘we are certainly not bound to render them these, because, in a constitution like ours, no prince can call them *his*. We may preserve them as from robbers, so from all illegal and violent invasion. Warrants and commissions in such cases, are null and void of themselves.’

‘But let us examine a little more closely the extent of the limits within which submission to our government or to any government is obligatory. The existence of such limits will scarcely be denied in so many words in our times. And first, then, it is obvious that no civil enactment can ever make void the laws of God—can ever make that sin which He makes duty, or that duty which He makes sin. If the government were requiring its subjects (as some of its subordinate agents, not long ago, did in a foreign country, and unhappily had their conduct sanctioned by the commander-in-chief and a majority in the

haps the pretence of conscientious objections to particular taxes, but the reducing of those pretences to practice—that when passive resistance to any tax becomes general, it is invariably wrong to impose it, and its imposition in such circumstances can only be vindicated on the principles of tyrannical despotism—and that the opposite doctrine, namely, that which would exclude the conscientious judgment of the individual from this department of his obedience, is mischievous and degrading, investing government with despotic power, reducing the subject to a mere machine, which the state may move at its pleasure, and assuredly preparing the way for intolerable oppression on the part of the state, the ruin of all that is generous, noble, and free, on the part of the people, and ultimately some violent re-active convulsion to break in pieces a yoke which even men reduced to the condition of the brutes can no longer bear.

Such, upon the whole, are the sentiments which Dr. Brown advocates; and his application of these to non-payment of the Annuity tax is obvious enough. He believes that when the civil magistrate legislates in religion, he steps into God's province, where he must be resisted as an intruder, not obeyed as a lord. He is persuaded that just as if the magistrate were to require him to cease to be a Dissenter and to unite himself with the established church, he could not obey him, the lord within being paramount to the lord without, the Lord of heaven being superior to the occupant of the earthly throne; so when he is enjoined by this subordinate authority to support with his money the system he condemns, he has the same answer—he is not careful to obey in this matter. The state may arrest his property, it may incarcerate his person—it may do worse; he quietly submits to the wrong. But the authority of the state will no more compel him to pay than otherwise to act, in opposition to the dictates of his conscience, and of God, who is greater.

We shall set before our readers some specimens of Dr. Brown's discourses. The following extracts relate to the obligation of Christians to obey the powers that be in all lawful things, and their exemption from this obligation in things unlawful.

‘With regard to practical instruction, it obviously teaches us, that Christians, in all countries and ages, should respect and obey the civil government under which they live,—that a Christian who follows a course which tends to anarchy, acts a wicked as well as an inconsistent and foolish part—that no Christian is warranted to disturb a civil government because it is not, in its form and administration, so good as he could desire it—that, for example, the Briton who glories in the mixed government of his country, must not, on going to America, conspire or rebel against its republican institutions—that the American, who is at least equally proud of what he counts the pre-eminent freedom of the constitution of his country, must not, on returning

ing to Britain, either secretly or openly, seek to subvert its government—that neither of them going to Turkey or to China, should act the part of a ringleader or promoter of sedition—and that all Christians, placed in the same circumstances in reference to the government under which they live, as the primitive Christians were in reference to the Roman government, are bound to act not only on the same general principle, but in precisely the same way. A Christian individual, or a body of Christians, living under a Pagan or Mohammedan government, are bound to do all in obedience to those governments that their enlightened consciences will permit. They are quietly to submit to such sufferings as the government may inflict on them for their non-compliance with what they account sin; and they are to do nothing to unsettle the government, except by the dissemination of the doctrines and laws of Christ, which sooner or later will, by their moral power, either improve or destroy all the secular governments on the face of the earth.

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‘But let us examine a little more closely the extent of the limits within which submission to our government or to any government is obligatory. The existence of such limits will scarcely be denied in so many words in our times. And first, then, it is obvious that no civil enactment can ever make void the laws of God—can ever make that sin which He makes duty, or that duty which He makes sin. If the government were requiring its subjects (as some of its subordinate agents, not long ago, did in a foreign country, and unhappily had their conduct sanctioned by the commander-in-chief and a majority in the

House of Commons) to take a part in idolatrous worship, they not only are not bound to obey, but they are bound to disobey such a command. Unless a clear case of necessity can be made out, I do not see how a Christian soldier can obey a command to go to drill on the Lord's-day. Should the government engage in the prosecution of enterprizes opposed to the law of God, and require me directly to support them, I am bound to refuse. Should they engage directly in a trade, which they too long sanctioned, and send our ships of war as slavers, to the coast of Africa, would it be consistent with my duty to serve as a sailor aboard these ships, or, which as we will by and by see comes to the same thing, pay a tax, levied avowedly for the purpose of supporting this service? If government, in making and executing laws in reference to the church of which Jesus Christ is sole Lord or King, usurp his place, can any Christian taking this view of the government's conduct, actively support such an usurpation? And what other view can an enlightened Christian take of it? Is not Jesus Christ the sole King and Head of his church? Who has right to legislate in her, or about her, but himself? To whom has he delegated the power given to him by the Father? Can a Christian safely, or in any way, show his approbation of a principle, which is indeed the soul of 'the Man of Sin'—of a system the very foundation of which is permitting human authority to take the place of the authority of Christ—by adding to, and taking from his institutions? '—pp. 40—41.

The following is the only other passage we can afford room for. It relates to the limitations of the law of tribute.

'The questions—Whether this precept to pay tribute, as addressed to the Roman Christians, had any limits; and if it had, what were they, come now to be considered. The thought that first suggests itself to the mind reflecting on this subject is, that payment of tribute being just one of the innumerable forms of civil obedience, particularized in the passage before us, for reasons which have been already assigned, must share in the limitations which, in a former part of this discourse we have shown, characterize the whole class of duties to which it belongs; and this conclusion is strengthened, by perceiving that the other particular precepts specified along with it, all of them require limitation. It is only within certain limits that we are to fear or honour any human being, however dignified and powerful. These considerations will go far, I think, to settle the question with every unprejudiced inquirer, and induce him to proceed immediately to endeavour to ascertain what are the limitations, about the existence of which he can have no doubt.

It seems, however, to be held as something like an ethical axiom with many, that this precept about tribute-paying has no limits; and it has been gravely argued, that the circumstance of its being singled out from among the endlessly diversified forms of civil obedience, and made the subject of an express statute, proves this. The reason why such prominence is given by the apostles to tribute-paying has already been stated. It must strike every person, that if the apostle, in speci-

fyng tribute-paying, had intended to teach that the limitations which attach to other forms of civil obedience were inapplicable to it, he would have distinctly said so, and not have left the precept in reference to expression, exactly on a level with a precept, which all *now* admit requires to be understood with exceptions. Besides, tribute-paying does not stand out quite so singly as has been supposed. There are honour and fear; and surely these sentiments, without limit, are not due to any created being.

Still, however, we do not deny, that the precept as to tribute-paying may be without limit: all we say here is, this does not prove it to be so. If it be unlimited, which certainly is a very improbable hypothesis, this must arise, not out of its general nature, as civil obedience, but out of something which is peculiar to it, as tribute-paying. There are only two conceivable causes, in the absence of a distinct declaration of the law-giver, which could give this idiosyncrasy to this particular form of civil obedience: either that the parting with money is not in itself, properly speaking, a moral act—or, that supposing it to be in itself a moral act, if performed voluntarily, the compulsory character of the exaction strips it of its morality. Neither of these views of the case, and I can conceive of no third, is at all tenable.

Parting with money stands, with regard to morality, on a level, neither higher nor lower, with all other external acts. Viewed apart from the principles of the intelligent moral agent who performs them, they have no morality. To walk to the heathen temple—to lay incense on the heathen altar, viewed as mere external acts, are just as little moral or immoral as the parting with money. To walk to a heathen temple and burn incense on an idol's altar, is disobedience just from the state of the mind of him who does it—from what must be the state of mind in any sane man who does it; and exactly in the same way, parting with money voluntarily for what I know or believe to be wrong, is just as obviously immoral,—immoral for the same reason, as employing any other set of means, over which I have the control, in the same way.

But admitting all this, it has been said that the compulsory character of tribute strips it of its moral character in one way, and invests it with a moral character in another. Here is an object to which I could not voluntarily contribute without sin; but God has given another party authority to impose tribute on me, and he has power to compel me to make payment: so that whatever be the object, I have no concern with it, while, from the divine command, it is my duty to make the required payment. Now, in the first place, we have to remark here, that in taking for granted that God gives to the magistrate the right to impose tribute for whatever purpose he pleases, the premises are made to contain the very conclusion to be drawn from them—a convenient, but not a very reputable mode of arguing; and, in the second place, that compulsoriness is not a quality peculiar to tribute-paying—it belongs to all acts of civil obedience: the very principle of civil government being force. If a Christian was commanded to pay a tax for the support of idol worship, the very same power that was ready to punish him if he did not do it, was equally ready to be put

forth against him for refusing to go to the temple and worship; and if the compulsory nature of the requisition is a good reason for complying with the first, it would be difficult to see why it should not be a good excuse for complying with the second. If actual absolute force were employed in either case, then indeed the moral character of the acts would be lost, obliterated, destroyed; for in that case the man would cease to be an actor and become a sufferer. It appears, then, that there is nothing in the nature of tribute, to take it out of the general category of forms of civil obedience; there is nothing to make the precept's having limitation, an impossible thing.—pp. 66—69.

We regret that, without unduly prolonging this article, we cannot go farther into an examination of these valuable Discourses, and the valuable Appendix to which we have repeatedly alluded. We regret that, for the same reason, we cannot examine some replies which the Discourses have already called forth. Of these the chief are the Letters of Robert Haldane, Esq., to whose attacks on Dr. Brown indeed, immediately after his refusal to pay was made public, we believe we are indebted for the Discourses themselves. The letters of Mr. Haldane have been published at a cheap rate by the friends, we understand, of the national church, with whom (strange coincidence enough) Mr. Haldane acts as an ally. We flatter ourselves that the leading objections to Dr. Brown's opinions advanced by Mr. Haldane have been anticipated in the preceding paragraphs. Mr. Haldane is not the man to stick at trifles; he goes right sweepingly to work: pay in every instance, no matter for what object the state demands your money, only pay, is his doctrine; and do it cheerfully, otherwise you rebel against God! Dr. Brown had referred to Juggernaut, and had said, that if a tax were imposed by government for the purpose of supporting the obscene and bloody rites of that idol, 'a Christian must do violence to every principle of his new nature, and crucify every holy affection,' ere he could bring himself to pay that impost. But Juggernaut himself does not scare Mr. Haldane. 'Sorry reasoning,' he exclaims. 'In giving the money enjoined, he has not to crucify one holy affection.' (What sort of affections must Mr. Haldane deem holy?) 'He gives it cheerfully,' (mark the assumption) 'because it is the will of his God to obey, while with his whole heart he abhors the wicked purpose to which it is appointed. . . . The money paid in tribute is not his own, but is in full the property of those to whom it is appointed to be paid. God has taken it from him;' (what God? the holy and righteous God of heaven? or the god of this world for one of his idols?) 'and he ought not only to acquiesce, but to rejoice in complying with God's appointments.' But a child must answer, *is this God's appointment?* God does not appoint me to worship the idol, in obedience to the magistrate, even when he requires

obey the magistrate who demands that worship; neither God require me to pay for the idol worship, when he commands me to give tribute to the magistrate who enjoins this payment.

Both have the same limitations. No one acquainted with Haldane's tone of writing will expect much of the attractive pages. In this instance he is, we fear, alike remote from the dignity of literary or philosophic inquiry, and from the purity and charity which religion prescribes. He is petty, selfish, intolerant. You are not wrong only in that thing in which he differs from you; you are hostile alike to religion and government; you subvert all things; you rebel against country and God, and should be dealt with accordingly. He says that Dr. Brown should be forthwith placed under the ban of the church and of the state. 'He is deserving of ecclesiastical rebuke, while at the same time his allegiance to the Government of his country is justly liable to impeachment. . . . He is more ignorant and less prudent than himself may be estimated by his dereliction of duty to assume a still more decided attitude of insubordination, and thus occasion scenes of terror and bloodshed, such as those with which the same line of conduct has already desolated Ireland.' It is good for Dr. Brown that Mr. Haldane is imbecile, and that statesmen are more merciful than this aged Baptist Dissenter. We believe Dr. Brown to be a disciple, but we fear he has not purged himself of the perilous ambition to command fire. Old as he is, he will be as usual for very humbly recommending to him a renewed reading of Luke ix. 54—56.

The question which Dr. Brown has thus contributed to oblige the British public is of peculiar importance at this hour; on this account, we strongly recommend his work to the perusal of our readers. In a period of national repose, when all things continue as they were, and no one is bold enough to propose any practical change of importance, principles and doctrines hostile to national usages are mere theories, with which speculative minds are permitted harmlessly to amuse themselves, but which are not meant to accomplish any thing of moment. It is otherwise now. The present is a season of change; opinions produce measures. We not only think what should be, but we venture to set about the doing of it, old usages are standing. We attempt improvements. Our old marshes are draining—our stagnant lakes are finding outlets—the issues of fountains are guided into channels; and, through the power of acquired machinery is worked, by which results the most important to the whole condition of society are progressively obtained. Dr. Brown has done much to cut a new channel, or to open an old one, to pour a stream of no mean influence into the world he has prepared, and to give an additional impulse to a

very active machinery which the wise welcome, though the *old frame* men would gladly break it in pieces, if they could. In truth, the influences now at work in Britain—not against the church of Christ, as the friends of abuses talk,—but against the coercive support of a church by civil law, and the intrusion of the civil power into a province placed by God beyond its jurisdiction, are many and strong. The majority by far of the inhabitants of the United Kingdom are unconnected with the Established churches, a fact which is pressing more and more heavily every day on the minds of considerate statesmen—the numbers of those within the established churches who are hostile to exclusive privileges, and are now heartily willing that their party, on the ground of justice, should abandon these privileges, and support their own institutions by their own exertions, as their dissenting brethren have always done, are rapidly increasing—the conviction that religion, in place of losing by its disconnexion with the state, and its separation from the influence of state-jobbing and patronage, would gain incalculably, is irresistibly making way—the impossibility of moving onwards in a course of wise, just, and peaceful legislation, with the whole weight of the churches acting on the wheel like lock-drags, is seen and felt by the nation—the faction zeal of ecclesiastics, their fantastic pretensions, their obsolete arrogance, their insatiable cravings from the treasury of the country, have now become offensive and insufferable. These and other influences now in progress are very strong. But should a new moral influence accumulate in British society—should the question be instituted extensively, ‘Are we at liberty to contribute by tax, rate, or tithe, to the support of an institution at war with the will of God?’ and should the result of that inquiry coincide with that at which Dr. Brown has arrived—should the passive resistance of quiet quakerism become, we say not universal, or even general, but very extensive in the country, running through the ranks of the Dissenters in Scotland, and of the non-conformists in England, a power which we cannot estimate would thus be added to those already acting in the cause of religious liberty, the holy and indomitable spirit of the ancient martyrs would thus animate and impel the host, the moral struggle would soon be ended, and a glorious victory be secured.

Art. III. *The Athenian Captive! a Tragedy.* By T. N. TALFOURD.
 Author of 'Ion,' &c. 8vo. pp. 103. Moxon, Dover-street. 1838.

THERE are few men who have studied the Greek drama more deeply than Mr. Talfourd, and fewer still who have so thoroughly imbibed its spirit. This is the second attempt he has made to introduce amongst us a species of composition bearing in many respects a close resemblance to the ancient tragedy; at all events imbued throughout with a classical spirit. It is true there are certain innovations made, without which such compositions could not be accommodated to modern tastes at all. There is, of course, no chorus,—the piece is divided into Acts and Scenes. Little as there is in the 'Athenian Captive' of the exhibition of *love*, (the staple source of interest in the modern drama,) there is more of it in Mr. Talfourd's tragedy than can be found in the most celebrated remains of the Grecian drama. Its general aspect, however, there can be no doubt, is Grecian; it is so in the simplicity of the fable, in the fewness of the incidents, in the dignity of the characters and passions represented to us, in the scope that is given to the utterance of lofty and noble sentiment; and we may add in the severity of taste, and the elegance of diction and style, by which it is generally marked; although we must confess, that here and there the style appears stiff and laboured: there is a want of ease and flexibility. This fault, however, is only occasional.—The story also is Grecian; this indeed follows as a matter of course, for it would be impossible to construct a drama so nearly approaching in spirit to the ancient models, out of the materials which modern life and manners supply, without doing violence to all our associations, and risking the introduction of the most palpable incongruities.

The plot which, as we have represented, is extremely simple and inartificial, is soon told. Creon, the aged king of Corinth, is engaged in war with Athens. His queen, Ismene, descended of the royal blood of Theseus, had been carried off from Athens long before by a band of Corinthian marauders. Her beauty had raised her to share the throne of Creon; but the splendours of this situation do not in the slightest degree mitigate the pangs of captivity, and she considers all the grandeur by which she is surrounded as but the trappings of a gilded servitude. Cherishing perpetual recollections of that illustrious city, which seems to have been above all other cities capable of inspiring her children with a truly *filial* reverence and love:—indulging in bitter regrets of her lost heritage and birth-right of freedom, she meditates schemes of vengeance, and patiently awaits some opportunity which shall enable her to realize them. Creon has two children by a former queen, Hyllus and Creusa, two characters conceived and sketched

with a truly Grecian spirit of delicacy and loveliness. Creusa is almost as beautiful a vision as the Antigone of Sophocles. Hyllus, chafing at some taunts of Ismene (who was ever seeking by such means to inflame the passions of the royal house of Corinth), rushes, though a mere stripling, into the battle with the Athenians; engages with a distinguished Athenian warrior named Thoas, who, after striking him down, spares his life from a sentiment of generosity and in admiration of his courage. The forbearance of Thoas, however, leads to his own capture; and being brought to Corinth, though his life is spared by the intercession of Hyllus and Creusa, he is doomed to put on the garb of servitude and descend to the condition and tasks of a slave. The proud spirit of the Athenian chafing under these indignities, mourning over his freedom, and the loss of that still dearer glory for which from his earliest youth he had so earnestly panted, is well described. While a slave, he a second time saves the life of Hyllus, and by his nobleness and magnanimity, wins the affections of Creusa. Under such circumstances he has a fair prospect of regaining his freedom, but Ismene, who sees in him only the instrument of her long desired revenge, artfully procures from his enemies the most ignoble treatment. She takes delight in multiplying the indignities thrown upon him, for the purpose of exasperating his spirit and exciting within him the thirst of vengeance. She extorts from him a solemn promise of an interview on the very night on which Creusa appears to him in his solitary imprisonment, with the offer and the means of freedom. He pleads his plighted word to Ismene, and while they are debating the matter, the summons comes. Ismene now reveals her purposes of vengeance, but Thoas magnanimously rejects every scheme which requires for its accomplishment secret violence, bloodshed, or treachery. In the course of the dialogue, Ismene discovers, but without imparting the secret to him, that Thoas was the infant child whom she had left amidst the blazing rafters of her Athenian dwelling when she was swept into captivity in a foreign land. She then contents herself with effecting her purposes without his cognizance—by his blind and involuntary concurrence. She shows him how to effect his escape; she tells him he must pass through a certain chamber, and she exacts from him the promise that if any one shall oppose his passage as he steals through, in the darkness, he will strike him down with his dagger. That chamber is the chamber of Creon. As Thoas passes through it, the monarch, roused by the noise of footsteps, stretches out his hand to arrest the intruder. A single blow of the Athenian's dagger at once dispatches him. The whole conception and spirit of this part of the play is thoroughly Grecian.

Thoas makes his escape from the palace and city, and rejoins the Athenian camp; stung, however, with remorse at the hideous spect-

lessons of the murderous deed he had committed. Here he meets with the exiled Hyllus, and learns by his answers to certain questions, the full extent of that calamitous crime into which he had been so artfully betrayed;—that the fatal chamber was the chamber of Creon; and that he had thus murdered the father of his friend Hyllus, and of his more than friend, the young Creusa. From the madness of remorse, he is transiently roused by the sight of his countrymen in arms, and by the visions of military glory. He leads on the hosts of Athens, plans the attack, obtains a complete victory over the enemy, and conducts them to Corinth in triumph. Here the transient excitement of battle ends. The momentary illusion of triumph vanishes. A sad interview with Ismene, who fills up the measure of his horrors by disclosing the relation in which he stands to her, awaits him. The dialogue is well sustained, and characterized by all the appropriate graces of the dramatic style. It is followed by a brief interview, still more touching, with the heart-broken Creusa. While the dialogue with Ismene is proceeding, Iphitus, a priest of the temple of Jupiter, enters and summons them to the investigation of Creon's murder, announcing that till the discovery and punishment of the criminal, a perfect cessation of all hostile feeling had been agreed upon between the conquerors and conquered. The oracle had been consulted; it delivers its ominous declaration that Ismene could disclose the name of the murderer. This incident displays much dramatic skill, but we do not think the catastrophe itself is managed with a dexterity at all corresponding to it. They repair to the Temple, and Ismene, between maternal solicitude for her long lost son, and unabated desire of vengeance on her enemies, points to Hyllus as the criminal. Thoas implores his imperious mother to reveal the truth; she refuses, and departing from the Temple, plunges down an abyss near the Temple of Jupiter. Thoas, without implicitly declaring himself the criminal, sacrifices his own life, and Hyllus is freed from accusation. We think that the catastrophe might have been better managed. It is, in our opinion, too confused, precipitate, and needlessly shocking. The obstinacy of Ismene would surely have been a 'dignus vindice nodus;' a difficulty well worthy of the intervention of supernatural agency; and the punishment of the queen and her son might have been mysteriously left to the justice of the gods.

Such is a brief and meagre outline of this very able attempt to transplant into our literature the spirit of the ancient drama. We shall now present our readers with two or three of its more beautiful scenes. There are few more striking than that in which Creon, (in whom the selfishness of old age had extinguished almost every passion, except that of parental tenderness,) and Creusa are introduced to us. Iphitus and Creon are engaged in a dialogue,

when the quick ear of a parent detects the approaching footsteps of his daughter. Iphitus says:

Still thine age
Is green and hopeful; there is nought about thee
To speak of mortal sickness, and unnerve
A soul that once was noble.

CREON.

Priest, forbear!

The life that lingers in me is the witness
With which I may not palter. I may seem
To-day to wear the look of yesterday,—
A shrivell'd, doting, peevish, weak old man,
Who may endure some winters more to strip
A leaflet daily from him, till he stands
So bare of happiness, that Death hath scarce
An art to make him naked. My soul
Begins its solemn whispers of adieu
To earth's too sweet companionship. Yet, hark!
It is Creusa's footstep; is't not, priest?
Is not my child approaching us?

IPHITUS.

Afar

I see the snowy foldings of a robe
Wave through the column'd avenue; thy sense
Is finer than the impatient ear of youth,
That it should catch the music of a step
So distant and so gentle.

CREON.

If thou wert

A father, thou wouldst know a father's love
'Mid nature's weakness, for one failing sense
Still finds another sharpen'd to attend
Its finest ministries. Unlike the pomps
That make the dregs of life more bitter, this
Can sweeten even a king's.

[CREUSA passes across the stage behind CREON, bearing offerings.

She passes on;

So! So! all leave me. Call her, Iphitus,
Though that her duty own no touch of fondness,
I will command her. Am I not her king?
Why dost not call?

Re-enter CREUSA, who kneels in front to CREON.

Ah! thou art there, my child;
Methinks my waning sight grows clear, to drink

The perfect picture of thy beauty in ;
And I grow gentle—Ah! too gentle, girl—
Wherefore didst pass me by without regard,
Who have scant blessing left save thus to gaze
And listen to thee?

CREUSA.

Pardon me! my father,
If, bearing offerings to the shrine of Jove
For my sweet brother's safety, anxious thoughts
Clove to him in the battle with a force
Which made its strangest shapes of horror live
As present things; and, lost in their pursuit,
I heeded not my father.

CREON.

In the battle?
Is Hyllus in the combat 'mid those ranks
Of iron? He who hath not rounded yet
His course of generous exercise? I'm weak;
Is that the cause? Is he impatient grown
To put the royal armour on, his sire
Must never wear again? Oh, no! his youth,
In its obedient gentleness, hath been
An infancy prolong'd! It is the Power
Which strikes me with the portents of the grave,
That by the sight of his ensanguined corpse
Would hasten their fulfilment; 'tis well aim'd,
I shall fall cold before it.—pp. 3—6.

The following is the exquisite description of Ismene supplicat-
: vengeance before the statue of Minerva:

CREON.

Comes the queen hither? Does she mock our bidding?

IPHITUS.

At stern Minerva's inmost shrine she kneels,
And with an arm as rigid and as pale
As is the giant statue, clasps the foot
That seems as it would spurn her, yet were stay'd
By the firm suppliant's will. She looks attent
As one who caught some hint of distant sounds,
Yet none from living intercourse of man
Can pierce that marble solitude. Her face
Uprais'd, is motionless,—yet while I mark'd it—
As from its fathomless abode a spring
Breaks on the bosom of a sullen lake
And in an instant grows as still,—a hue

Of blackness trembled o'er it ; her large eye
 Kindled with frightful lustre ;—but the shade
 Pass'd instant thence ; her face resum'd its look
 Of stone, as death-like as the aspect pure
 Of the great face divine to which it answered.
 I durst not speak to her.

CREON.

I see it plain ;
 Her thoughts are with our foes, the blood of Athens
 Mantles or freezes in her alien veins ;
 Let her alone.'—pp. 7, 8.

The following is part of the dialogue between Ismene and Thoas on the fatal night of Creon's murder. The associations which the young Athenian soldier had formed with his illustrious birth-place, and which inspired him with a love of his country and of freedom so deep and strong, are beautifully described; and the manner in which the queen comes to a knowledge of the relation in which she stands to the young soldier, is eminently natural and touching.

THOAS.

What would'st have me do ?

ISMENE.

I have not wasted all the shows of power
 Which mock'd my grief, but used them to conceal
 The sparks which tyrant fickleness had lit,
 And sloth had left to smoulder. In the depths
 Of neighbouring caverns, foes of Creon meet
 Who will obey thee ; lead them thence to-night—
 Surprise the palace—slay this hated king,—
 Or bear him as a slave to Athens.

THOAS.

Never !

I am a foe to Corinth—not a traitor,
 Nor will I league with treason. In the love
 Of my own land, I honour his who cleaves
 To the scant graces of the wildest soil,
 As I do to the loveliness, the might,
 The hope, of Athens. Aught else man can do,
 In honour, shall be thine.

ISMENE.

I thought I knew
 Athenians well ; and yet, thy speech is strange.
 Whence drew thou these affections,—whence those thoughts
 Which reach beyond a soldier's sphere ?

THOAS.
From Athens;
Her groves, her halls, her temples, nay, her streets
Have been my teachers. I had else been rude,
For I was left an orphan, in the charge
Of an old citizen, who gave my youth
Rough though kind nurture. Fatherless, I made
The city and her skies my home; have watch'd
Her various aspects with a child's fond love;
Hung in chill morning o'er the mountain's brow,
And, as the dawn broke slowly, seen her grow
Majestic from the darkness, till she fill'd
The sight and soul alike; enjoy'd the storm
Which wrapt her in the mantle of its cloud,
While every flash that shiver'd it reveal'd
Some exquisite proportion, pictur'd once
And ever to the gazer;—stood entranc'd
In rainy moonshine, as, one side, uprose
A column'd shadow, ponderous as the rock
Which held the Titan groaning with the sense
Of Jove's injustice; on the other, shapes
Of dream-like softness drew the fancy far
Into the glistening air; but most I felt
Her loveliness, when summer-evening tints
Gave to my lonely childhood sense of home.

ISMENE.

And was no spot amidst that radiant waste
A home to thee indeed?

THOAS.

The hut which held
My foster-father had for me no charms,
Save those his virtues shed upon its rudeness.
I lived abroad;—and yet there is a spot
Where I have felt that faintness of the heart
Which traces of oblivious childhood bring
Upon ripe manhood; where small heaps of stones,
Blacken'd by fire, bear witness to a tale
Of rapine which destroyed my mother's cot,
And bore her thence to exile.

ISMENE.

Mighty gods!
Where stand these ruins?

THOAS.

On a gentle slope,
Broken by workings of an ancient quarry,
About a furlong from the western gate,

Stand these remains of penury ; one olive,
Projecting o'er the cottage site, which fire
Had blighted, with two melancholy stems.
Stream'd o'er its meagre vestiges.

ISMENE.

'Tis plain !

Hold ! hold ! my courage. Let the work be done,
And then I shall aspire. I must not wait
Another hour for vengeance.—pp. 49—52.

We can find room for only one more extract ; it is from the First Scene of the Fourth Act, which opens with Creusa bending over the Urn of Creon. It is full of a pathos and tenderness, a calm beauty, not unworthy (again we say) of Sophocles.

CREUSA.

'Tis strange !—I cannot weep for him ; I've tried
To reckon every artifice of love
Which mid my father's waywardness proclaim'd
His tenderness unalter'd ;—felt again
The sweet caresses infancy receiv'd,
And read the prideful look that made them sweeter,
Have run the old familiar round of things
Indifferent, on which affection hangs
In delicate remembrances which make
Each household custom sacred ;—I've recall'd
From Memory's never-failing book of pain,
My own neglects of dutiful regard
Too frequent—all that should provoke a tear—
And all in vain. My feelings are as dull,
Mine eyes are rigid as when first they met
The horrid vision of his thin white hairs
Matted with blood. Gods ! let me know again
A touch of natural grief, or I shall go
Distract, and think the bloody form is here.

Enter HYLLUS.

Hyllus ! my brother ! thou wilt make me weep,
For we shall mourn as we were lov'd together.
Dost thou know all ?

HYLLUS.

Yes, all.—Alas ! Creusa,
He died in anger with me.

CREUSA.

Do not dwell
On that sad thought ; but recollect the cause

Was noble—the defence of one whose soul
Claims kindred with thine own.

HYLLUS.

Unhappy sister,

What sorrow stranger than thy present grief
Awaits thee yet! I cannot utter it.

CREUSA.

Speak;—any words of thine will comfort me.

HYLLUS.

I fear thou must no longer link the thoughts
Of nobleness and Thoas.

CREUSA.

Then my soul

Must cease all thinkings; for I've blended them
Till they have grown inseparate. What is this?

HYLLUS.

That he hath made us orphans.

CREUSA.

He is free

From such ignoble guiltiness as thou.

What fury shed this thought into a soul

Once proud to be his debtor?—pp. 66—68.

We have of course regarded this drama merely as a *literary* production; the only point of view in which it is at all interesting to us. We understand, however, that it has been acted; with what success we know not. Mr. Talfourd tells us indeed, in his brief preface, that the piece originated in his wish to assist Mr. Talfourd in his efforts on behalf of the *acted drama*. That Mr. Talfourd would be very happy to see the '*acted drama*' purged of its bad taste and worse morality, we can easily believe, and the public ought to be obliged to any man who makes an honest endeavour (however ineffectual we may believe it will be) to render it innocuous. We believe that such efforts will,—that they will not be ineffectual; that however pleasing from their novelty, and for a little while, such productions as those of Mr. Talfourd may be, the great mass of the audiences who throng our play-houses will soon get tired of them, and demand food more coarse and stimulating. Some, indeed, vainly anticipate the day when the drama shall be made an instrument of moral instruction, a cher of virtue and goodness, and compete with the pulpit, if supersede it. It will be time enough to talk of this, when the

play-house can be made a place even of innocent recreation. That a drama may be so constructed as to contain nothing at all offensive to morals; nay, may abound in a great number of excellent precepts and sentiments, we have no manner of doubt; but whether such dramas, if exclusively acted (and this alone be it recollected is the point) would stand a chance of attracting such audiences as could alone repay the expenses of the spectacle, we think can be as little matter of doubt. A vast revolution must at all events take place in the taste and morals of the people before this can be.

But even if many of the plays represented on the stage had little or nothing objectionable in them, our great objections to the playhouse on the score of morality, would remain perfectly untouched. We think those who have condemned the practice of attending plays have sometimes weakened their cause by laying the chief stress rather upon the pernicious influence of the drama itself, than upon the circumstances with which its representation is necessarily connected. That many of the plays represented are highly injurious to the youthful mind, we have not the slightest doubt; it is equally true that it is the *concomitants* of the play which render the play-house chiefly dangerous. It is a tainted atmosphere; the air is such as virtue would not willingly breathe. It is the company with which the youth meets, the obscenity and the vice with which he is familiarized, the inflammatory influences by which he is surrounded, the dissolute manners (more dangerous because often veiled under an air of exterior elegance) which beset him on every hand, the general character of the *corps dramatique*,—it is these things which have rendered the play-house, and will render it, most ruinous to youth. These nuisances, we admit, might be greatly abated, if only such dramas were acted as were unexceptional—such as Mr. Talfourd, and men like him, would feel the greatest delight in attending; but then comparatively few would sympathize with them, and the *nuisances* of the play-house, and the play-house itself, would alike vanish together.

rt. IV. 1. *Rome*. In 2 Vols. (Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopædia.)
The History of Rome. By THOMAS KEIGHTLEY. [Carried down
 to the sole dominion of Augustus Caesar.] and London 1807.
History of the Overthrow of the Roman Empire, and the Foundation
of the Principal European States. By W. C. TAYLOR, LL.D.,
 &c., of Trinity College, Dublin; Author of a History of France,
 and the Historical Miscellany, &c.

It is said that the historian of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire, was first determined to dedicate to that great event the labours of his life, while his eye wandered over the ruins of Rome. All Europe is Rome in ruins. The Forum, and the disconsolate do not speak more plainly of fallen Rome to the natural eye, than does the whole texture of European society, and the Christian church in her secular pomp, witness of the same to the ill-informed mind. We are not indeed Roman citizens, as some interpreters of prophecy would persuade us; yet the more we know of what we are, politically and religiously, the more manifest it is, that we cannot know our own selves aright, without understanding the history of Rome. Indeed, the history of Christianity and the history of Imperial Rome are so closely knit together, that the latter must ever possess a powerful interest with all well-ordered Christians.

But republican Rome is in a political view not less important; for the British nation it possesses a peculiar source of interest, in that we see a remarkable specimen of a *balanced constitution*, the comparison of which with our own government is in many ways instructive. As we know of no history to compare in magnitude, variety, and universal importance, so we know none intrinsically adapted to become popular in England. A continuous narrative of the fortunes of Rome, from her pagan birth down to her Christian adoption:

———dum capitolium
 Scandit cum tacitâ virgine pontifex——

will be a new capital and a new religion, a new court language and new ceremonial, proclaimed that that which had been no more; such a narrative, if at once philosophical, and accommodated to unlearned but sound-minded readers, would be a national work of real importance. We might even herald its approach by calling:

Cedite Romani scriptores, cedite Graii,
 Nescio quid majus nascitur Iliade.

But as yet, we have seen nothing to meet our idea. There is indeed announced, as in the press, the first volume of a history of Rome, by that eminent scholar and noble-minded Christian

theologian, Dr. Arnold of Rugby; but time will show whether this will presuppose too much knowledge in the reader to be a popular work.* Meanwhile, our histories are certainly very much improved, as the books whose titles are at the head of this article, fully show.

An eminent writer † considers it to be the providential office of England to teach the world how a mixed government can be maintained. Indeed Tacitus despondingly remarked, that such a government is never permanent. Yet the Romans, to the full as much as the English, showed great sagacity in maintaining it; and it was not causelessly that Virgil gave them the prerogative of *governing*. We know that men of first-rate powers have expressed the sentiment, that it is something peculiar to Teutonic blood which imparts that practical good sense, tact, and sobriety, without which the love of freedom fails of making states free; insomuch that if it be asked why the Greeks, or the Hungarians, do not enjoy a sounder liberty and better political institutions, it is supposed to be enough to reply, that they are of Pelasgian and of Finnish extraction. We have ourselves also much belief in the real, though not unchangeable, difference between the races of mankind. The military prowess of the Normans in all parts of Europe, perhaps cannot be accounted for so well by any other hypothesis, as by that which with Shakspeare refers it to their *breed*.

—This teening womb of royal kings,
Feared by their breed, and famous by their birth—

Nevertheless, it savours too much of national partiality, to fancy that we are the only people in the world who understand constitutional government; and it has a most wholesome refutation in the states of ancient Italy. Of course we can speak but little of most of them, except as there is a presumption that they were similar to early Rome. But if we do not mistake, the Latin league bore (on a small scale) a striking similarity to the federal system of the North Americans. It is very common to speak of *representation* as a principle perfectly modern; only because the parliaments of the ancient republics were municipal assemblies, gathered from a single city or county. But in the Latin league, ‡ each city sent its ten deputies to the Congress at

* The volume has appeared since the above was written, and we apprehend its high merit does not at all disappoint Dr. Arnold's admirers. But as it is of a character totally different from the works which we are reviewing, we purpose ere long giving it a distinct notice.

† Sir J. Mackintosh.

‡ The Amphictyonic Council, the Achæan league, and, in Asia Minor, the congresses of the Ionians, Eolians, Dorians, were all of the same stamp; but among the Greeks, it generally happened that one city or state was too powerful for the rest, and enslaved the whole confederacy. The Achæan league was an instance to the contrary; but it sank before foreign force.

the fountain of Ferentinum, forming a supreme parliament of 300 members ; a number not too great for orderly and effective legislation, nor too small to represent all feelings and interests fairly.

A comparison of Roman and English constitutional history points to this singular difference ; that the balance of powers was acted on in the Roman state, from earliest memory ; while in England, it has only been inwrought by time and experience. If the Saxon monarchy was limited, and if our Norman sovereigns were forced to yield many points of their prerogative, it was because the thanes and barons were stout warriors. There was a speedy decision by the sword. Wild freedom maintained itself by the most obvious method. It is only in a course of centuries that we have learned to entrench ourselves with constitutional maxims, using rebellion as a last resort, and opposing moral force, passive resistance, a spirit prepared to suffer, but determined not to be enslaved, in place of that prompt appeal to arms which injures a nation to civil war as an ordinary state of things. Our ancestors kept whatever freedom they had, just as the Arabs keep theirs. But in Roman history we cannot name the time at which the *organic* structure of the state did not show an elaborate attempt to maintain the balance of different orders. From a period almost too early to allow any thing else to be discerned, it may be clearly discerned that they spent singular pains on the framework of their constitution ; that the modes of procedure in their assemblies, their bringing forward of business, their debates, their voting, were regulated by most precise laws : and that practical sagacity was active in perpetually adapting and modifying institutions to the growth of the community. We do not mean that there was less selfishness and narrowness in the possessors of power at Rome than at Athens or Syracuse ; or that just claims were conceded without a struggle, and as early as they should have been : but (what is next best) a succession of compromises were made ; rights were extorted little by little,—after much blustering, but with little or no bloodshed,—so that no sudden changes were felt, nor did any *oscillation* of power between opposite factions endanger the equilibrium of the whole nation. In such a community the tyranny of an individual of course could not be endured. And if the destruction of the monarchy seem to be a violent step, let it be remembered that the Roman king was only an elective officer ; and that from the earliest times, the true sovereignty was considered to reside in the public assembly ; as the phrase *populus jussit regem* (the people commanded a king to be made) shows. See Livy i. 17, 22, 32, 35, 46. The change at the expulsion of Tarquin was vastly less than the abolition of monarchy in Great Britain would be. It was putting two generals instead of one, and making the office yearly ; expe-

rience having shown that the civil and military authority combined in the person of the king, was too great to be safely held for life. But in all other respects, the consuls (as they were afterwards called) held precisely the power of the kings. In fact, it would seem that hence flowed what has been stigmatized as the principal vice of the Roman Constitution,—the extravagant powers given to every officer of state: by which many of their greatest sufferings were caused.

The Greek republics in general, whether in Asia, in Greece Proper, in Sicily, or in Southern Italy, differed greatly from that of Rome in the mode of proceeding in the popular assemblies. At Athens and at Rome alike, the popular assembly was what our ancestors called a 'folk mote;' such as was sometimes held at St. Paul's Cross. But at Rome there was a most jealous restriction put on the proceedings of the assembly. It could only reply, Yes, or No, on the matter which its chairman laid before it. No private citizen might speak; no one could amend a motion. The practical good sense of the Romans showed them from the beginning that a multitude can never profitably meet for deliberation and debate. Indeed, the contrast of Athens and Rome was far more deeply seated. The constitution of the former was the work of an individual,—of Solon; it was first invaded by the usurper Peisistratus, and next undermined by the aristocratic demagogue, Cleisthenes. The Roman system was hammered out by the conflict of evenly balanced parties, and was made to endure for ages. The grievances of the lower orders were little by little redressed; and in the first Punic war, Rome was internally free and united, governed mildly by a public spirited aristocracy, which was strong enough to lead and protect, but not strong enough to oppress. Her institutions had taken a hold of the national mind rarely paralleled. In politics, her organization was complicated; her veneration for precedent extreme; her changes gradual, and barely enough for the end in view. In religion, the higher orders were reverent, hypocritical, and politic; the lower people so grovelling and stupid in credulity, that nothing was too gross for them. In war, the discipline was cruel, obedience most devoted, privations and toil extreme; the soldier (says Polybius) thought of nothing but 'to do what he was bid,' though it were to sail against a tempest, or fight a stone wall. His spirit was upheld by deep-seated habit, become a principle of his existence; by a hardy frugal life, and by a strong sentiment of home and country. Such were the terrible soldiers whose prowess amazed the world, and prepared an unexpected way for the Prince of peace.

To the prohibition of debate in the Roman assembly must be added the highly important circumstance, that although one man's vote was as good as another, yet they voted by tribes; and a majority of

not of votes, determined any question. It rested with the place persons in what tribe he chose; hence the measure attached to the measure which gained for Fabius the surname of Maximus. He put all the city mob into four tribes; so that when the whole local population they made but four votes out of the entire thirty-one then. Of the rural population only the richest and most able persons could afford to be in the city for the sake of

judge fairly what was the Roman constitution in its prime, at view it for awhile with the eyes of Polybius. The high opinion which he expresses for it is natural, considering that it in all the vigour of its martial exploits, and before it had the fierce conflicts of faction, which began from the time of Gracchi. But his judgment of it is formed on a sound knowledge of the working of its machinery; and the whole of the analysis which he bestows upon it, is worthy of him, if we can forgive a little pedantry. He remarks that, in the complexity of its parts, it is very difficult for Greeks to understand it. Their forms of government are generally very simple, giving a decided predominance to one element, whether monarchy, aristocracy, or democracy; it is each one of these in itself. The Lacedæmonian constitution is the only one in Greece which he can compare it, where two hereditary kings were elected by a senate of peers and by a popular assembly. A stranger at Rome, on seeing the supreme authority of the Consul, the public officers except the tribunes; how he presents himself to the senate, lays before that body the business to be done, calls the popular assemblies, settles what measures shall be proposed for their acceptance, and has the whole executive government in his hands; how moreover he is despotic in all that relates to war, both as to the command of the armies, and in the management of the public purse; the foreigner, seeing all this, is at first disposed to look on the Consul as a King. But turning to the senate, he finds the senate to have absolute control over the revenues and expenditure, to be a high court for trial of public offences, and to transact all business with foreign potentates; and the light the state appears to be a true aristocracy. But when he learns that the popular assembly calls all officials to account, with authority to censure or honour, to fine in money, and even to punish with death for malversation in office, and that, in capital cases, there is appeal from the Senate to the Popular Assembly; that it moreover elects all public officers, and votes on all legislative bills and foreign transactions; these features appear to him so ample, as to imply that the government is really democratic. To get a vivid apprehension of the above, let us represent to

ourselves how our own constitution would need to be transformed, to make it approach to that of Rome. First, the crown is to be annihilated; and the ministry chosen every year by the Commons. The ministry must have two co-ordinate premiers, each of whom is commander-in-chief, besides his civil capacity. Two chancellors are to eject at will unworthy members of the House of Lords. All the business of the foreign office and exchequer must be handed over to that house; who also claim the right of taxation. The commons have to forfeit, not only this (in our view the most essential) prerogative; but are besides forbidden to debate or to amend measures: in turn, they win from the peers the right of passing sentence on impeached ministers, with the undoubted prerogative of enacting whatever their speaker proposes to them, in spite of opposition from the lords; even to the extent of lessening the authority or honours of that house. Neither can the lords bring in any measures they please, but must merely discuss those which the minister lays before them; and if any of them deviate from the business before the house to speak on another topic, it is only by sufferance and courtesy that he is heard. The vote and speech of each is asked of them in turn by one of the prime ministers. Finally (and what is to us strangest of all), instead of one speaker of the commons, there must be two, five, or ten, *any** one of whom can stop all public business whatever at his arbitrary pleasure. But this weapon can be turned against themselves when they are not unanimous; since any one can put his veto on the acts of all the rest, so as to prevent any business at all being brought before the commons. Such is a rude sketch of the Roman system; but it must be clearly understood that the 'commons' are not deputies from all parts of a large country, but are all the citizens and yeomanry of a small county.

Comparing the loss and gain of the lords, in the process of converting them into a Roman senate, we think our readers will agree with us that the gain preponderates; so that it might at first appear that aristocracy was more powerful in Rome than in England. But this would be to forget that even our house of Commons (so called) is highly aristocratical; as may be seen not only in its composition, but in its votes on every subject which brings the matter to the test; as the corn laws, or the law of primogeniture. The power of the senate was moreover considerably abridged by that very peculiar institution, the Tribune, reminding us of nothing† but of the Spartan *Ephors*. It is perhaps the only clumsy part of the Roman constitution. Their authority was too great in theory, and therefore often far

* Niebuhr holds that at different periods this was differently arranged; and that a majority of tribunes was sometimes needed.

† Cicero (*De Rep.*) compares it also to the *Cosmos* at Crete.

is in practice might be so strong as yet the power of annoyance possessed by a citizen was very great; that all prudent senators, that the aristocratic principle, that the second Punic war, has been mentioned by Livy, that in the year of Italy the city sided with Hannibal, that the orator who appears in the year of the consul C. Flaminius, who was sent off with a fleet to the Trasimene lake; but it does not appear and any fuel in existing grievances. Indeed, it is a statement to contrast the internal state of Rome, from the enactment of the Publilian laws (B.C. 507—336), with the latter era down to the tribuneship of Tiberius Gracchus (B.C. 139). In the former period we find a ceaseless warfare, diminishing, however, as the lower order gained more political privilege; in the latter period there was internal concord, (interrupted once only by the sufferings of the city from the laws of debt,) with immense energy against a foreign foe. Although it is the proper business of a historian to develop in detail the causes of this, yet as this is seldom done, popularly as we think it might be done, we will rapidly sketch what Rome was in the earlier interval.

The city, being situated on a navigable river, a little below the conflux of the Tiber and Anio, with the Tuscans on one side, the Latins on the other, and the Samnites higher up on both streams, contained from the beginning a very mixed population. Three tribes of these oldest citizens were counted, distinguished first by blood, and indeed for three centuries having internal inequalities.

But, besides these, in the times of the kings a large population lived in and round Rome, which was not admitted to the franchise of the city. This was named *Plebs*, or as we might say, Low Caste; in contrast to the *Patres*, Patricians, or High Caste. Intermarriage between them degraded the progeny; the Low Caste men originally could hold no public office, nor vote in any of the assemblies; and probably were treated as *foreigners*—aliens under the protection of the state; who, according to the maxim of the states of antiquity, could not even bring a suit in a court of law, except under the name of a *patron* as their patron. At this time, the supreme legislative assembly with the patrician assembly, called 'Curia,' the courts of law: these were 'the people,' in the law-language of the day, and their 'command' constituted a law. At their command a king was elected; their interposition could save a public criminal; as we might say, the sceptre of mercy was in their hands. Nevertheless, the organization of the whole body was eminently

aristocratical, so that power fell not to the poorer citizens, as in Athens, but to the rich. The citizens themselves were divided into clans (*gentes*), and in each clan the poorer part were uniformly dependents (*clientes*) of the rich; bound to them by a definite legal tie, and under duty to contribute to their influence and aggrandizement. The patron, on the other hand, found his glory in the well-being and flourishing pecuniary state of his dependents. All the great families of one clan had sacred rites in common; and of these families one would generally take the lead, so that the headman of the clan wielded the greater part of its influence. The mode of voting in their common council was *by clans*; which although difficult to understand, seems adapted to secure equal power to each clan. A popular assembly of such a nature of course needed a council of aldermen: such was the senate.

One of the later kings, known by the name of Servius Tullius, determined and achieved a great reform of the Corporation. He did not, indeed, venture to offend Roman superstition by any innovation which would entitle the Low Caste to participation in the *sacred rites* of the High Caste, or to intermarriage with them; he did not throw open the old assembly, but he instituted a new assembly, or as we might call it, Parliament of both Estates; which rode over the head of the other, and took all the most important prerogatives away from it.

The new assembly was evidently more national than the old one (if *national* be a word at all applicable in such a state of society); but it was so constructed as to give an immense preponderance to *wealth* and *age*, and in it, as in the other, no debate at all or amending of measures was allowed. To preserve the predominance of wealth, a *census* of all estates was taken every five years; from which word (rather than from *centum*,* a hundred), it would appear that the assembly was called Centuriata.

That the military spirit was as it were the heart and soul of the national union, is indicated by the fact that every man's place in the assembly, and place in the army, was regulated by the same scale and rule—his pecuniary estate. They were a body of national guards, voting in their ranks. Indeed it would appear a recipe for preventing war, to expose the *wealthy* foremost in the battle; to enact that those who have *most* influence in decreeing war, should bear the brunt of it in their own persons; which Niebuhr, and Mr. Keightley after him, assure us was really the case. But we must have some cognate

* If otherwise, the translation of Comitia Centuriata must be, "parliament of the hundreds."

before we can believe this. All that we can see is, that the vote is most influential in the assembly, is likewise to have the *best defensive armour*, and to hold the honourable place in battle; but not necessarily the most *valuable*. The poor plebeians, as we read a hundred times bore at Rome, as elsewhere, the chief scars of her incessant conflicts, without any proportionate power of stopping them, while the dictator drove them to enrol by the terror of the *axes*.

Whether are we able to believe, that the highest class of all, the *patricians*, had the most dangerous service. (Keightley, 12)

In this system, therefore, men had to encounter danger in proportion to the stake they had in the state, and to the *real* advantages which they enjoyed: for the knights also abused their precedence by being exposed to greater danger, *they were badly equipped*, and riding without stirrups, were unhorsed and disarmed, and were exposed to the missiles of the enemy's light troops.' Is not this a mere spirit of system? The obvious reason for making the first class keep the *army* was because they could afford it; not in order to balance political eminence by exposing them to peculiar personal danger. 'Widows were also appropriated to the cavalry,' says Livy rather oddly, 'to feed their horses by;' not, we presume, devoured by the horses by way of compensation for danger, for the widows did not vote. But the rich widows were taxed because they were rich, and exempt from personal

It is certain, however, that from this time the most exact registers of births and deaths and estates were kept at Rome; a matter of great importance; as it doubtless enabled the state to calculate the strength of the state with much more accuracy, and the advantages of war or peace.

The new Parliament did not entirely supersede the old meeting of the *Comitia* Courts. It left to it everything that was directly or indirectly connected with religion, and with which it would have been *profane* for the low caste to meddle? And this at Rome was a great deal after it; for it was necessary for all important decisions to be sanctioned by favourable signs from the gods, such as chickens eating and drinking, or birds flying in particular directions. Moreover, it had been usual for the Courts to elect all *magistrates* twice (as in our houses of Parliament bills are read twice); and this was now changed, so that the *Estates* elected an officer once, and the Courts should afterwards confirm it. (Cic. Rull.)

It was probably Servius also who admitted plebeians into the *Senate*, so that they were now disqualified only from holding

offices of state, and from intermarriage. It might be thought that these were no grievances to the poor, but only to the rich, plebeians. Far otherwise. Exclusion from intermarriage kept up the feeling of their being foreigners. The patrician who zealously defended the right of his humble client (a poor man of high caste) would cruelly oppress the low caste; nor could the latter expect any protection, until the public magistracies were thrown open to his own order. Besides, the 'auspices' being still in patrician hands, gave them a veto on every measure.

After the expulsion of the kings and the war of Porsenna, the whole state had suffered severely, but the chief distress fell on the plebeians, whose remote farms had been sacrificed to the enemy or neglected, while they were under arms. The extortionate usury exacted by the patrician money-lenders, and the horrible severity of the law of debt, nearly led to civil war. Indeed each caste was a nation in itself: they were long since compared by Niebuhr to the Protestants and Catholics of Ireland. The plebeians, accustomed to military organization, readily formed themselves into a formidable 'Political Union.' For purposes of registration they had already been divided into tribes, and at their head stood their tribunes or chairmen of their Union.

After civil war had been with great difficulty averted, the plebeians extorted from the senate the declaration that the tribunes should be *inviolable* (*sacrosancti*), and should be able to interpose in defence of a plebeian against any acts of the public magistrates; that he should moreover have the right of assembling the plebeians, to consult them and inquire their pleasure. Of course their resolutions had no force of law. In return, the patricians (as the history shows) gained the right of electing the Tribunes in the parliament of the estates, in which the plebeians voted, but so voted that the poor had no influence. It would seem that the patrician party had calculated on preventing any mischief from the tribunes' authority, by managing the elections in the general Assembly. These things took place, B. C. 492, according to the common reckoning.

Observe then the extraordinary complexity of the Roman state after these awkward compromises: *three* assemblies existed, where one was enough; and it soon appeared that the resolutions of the third and newest, though without legal force, yet, the votes of our House of Commons, could not be despised. Indeed, the tribunes presently advanced the extravagant claim that the tribes should try and condemn capitally any whom they might judge to have invaded their recently extorted privilege; and (protected by their inviolate character) threatened to send the consuls to prison. The patricians had set the example of atrocity by private assassination. But it concerns

is only to notice the steps by which the barriers to good government were broken down.

First, the law of Publius Volero (469 B. C.) established that the tribunes should be elected by the *tribes*. This was only the gaining of a weapon, by which other reforms might be enforced. Twenty-five years later, the tribunes won for their order the right of intermarriage with the patricians; and in the course of another century, an actual admission to all the public magistracies was gradually obtained. The most remarkable era of contest was concerning plebeian consuls; decided by the Licinian law, B. C. 365.

Meanwhile, in conformity with a bill of the tribune Terentilius Arsa, ten commissioners (*Decemviri*) were appointed to compile a code of laws, B. C. 450. According to Livy, the object of the code was to define and limit the consular power. Modern writers, since Niebuhr, rather believe that the object was to equalize all laws, as between the two castes; to extinguish clientship, regarded as a vassalage; and *by introducing the patricians into the tribes*, to make the assembly of tribes include the whole nation. This can only be learned, however, by somewhat uncertain inference.

But the tyranny of the Commissioners precipitated matters. In their third year a *secession* of the multitude took place, which was only appeased by the laws of the popular consuls, Valerius and Horatius. One of these, as given by Dionysius, is: 'Whatever the plebeians command by their tribes, shall be as valid as if passed by the estates;*' so that in future the tribunes were at liberty to take the votes of the national parliament in whichever of two ways they pleased; either by the tribes (i. e. vote by the head), or by estates; and that each should be alike valid in law. This was really a vast change; and could only have been carried at a crisis of so violent commotion: but it proved all the better. Aristocracy was so strong at Rome, that it could bear this and much more without the least danger.

The Horatian law probably did not supersede the veto possessed by the 'courts;' which veto however became almost obsolete and was naturally unpopular. The only occasion recorded on which they exercised it, was to exclude L. Sextius from becoming the first plebeian consul, B. C. 364. But the uproar was so great as to endanger another *secession*; which

* It is Niebuhr's opinion, that an actual *fusion* of the tribes and estates was effected by the censor Fabius Rullianus; of which no notice is taken in Livy. Such a fusion was certainly effected before Polybius's history begins; but at what time, is a matter of conjecture.

was the mode in which the plebeian party threatened war. The patricians at last gave way. Probably henceforth the veto of the courts was quite disused. For when the dictator Publilius (B. C. 336) brought forward his law, that the assent of the courts should be always formally given to every bill, while yet pending in the popular assembly, and before the voting had begun; a proposition apparently so strange excited no disturbance that has been recorded, but passed at once. Henceforward, 'the assent of the patricians' was a mere shadow, being conferred by thirty beadles, *representing* the courts 'for the sake of the auspices,' as Cicero says. Thus were the three assemblies finally reduced to one, and the discord of the castes nearly extinguished.

The fiction of giving assent by the thirty beadles, shows how much there was in the genius of Roman legislation similar to that of England. To neglect the auspices would have been irreligious; to turn them into a form was very bearable. Just so, after the English clergy in 1665 lost the right of taxing themselves, the custom was continued, and is still kept up, of summoning them to convocation at each new parliament. All the forms of electing proctors or deputies are gone through in the dioceses, and a speaker chosen at Paul's church: but the crown prorogues them before they can proceed to business.

It is curious to contrast also our *congé d' élire*, with an analogous device at Rome. In regard to the Irish church, the straightforward manner is pursued of appointing a new bishop by letters patent from the crown; but in England, as though that were an impiety, the deans and chapters have *leave* to elect the person nominated by the crown, with the punishment of outlawry if they refuse. A salutary method of reconciling the advocates of apostolic prelacy to the profanity of royal appointment! At Rome also, about a century before Christ, it was thought amiss that the election of the high priest should rest with the college of priests; but to take it from that religious body and give it to the popular assembly, would have been profane. The tribune Cnæus Domitius compromised the matter as follows. Out of the thirty-five tribes, he enacted that only seventeen should be assembled, and that the high priest should be appointed by a majority of them. Even if the whole seventeen were unanimous, this constituted but a minority of the thirty-five, and therefore their consent had no force of law. Yet the Domitian law enacted, that the college should then elect the person so recommended to them, *as if he had been elected by the whole thirty-five*. Thus Roman scrupulosity was satisfied that no compulsion on the priests was really used, when they were obliged by law to acknowledge as in the particular case compulsory, that which in other cases would not have been compulsory.

After the Publilian law, we said that the discord of the castes was nearly extinguished. For the only remaining struggles recorded, are marked by no greater vehemence than is to be expected at every contested election. The dictatorship, the censorship, and finally the priesthood, were gained so easily by the plebeians, that we have no evidence that there was any particular opposition at all: A rhetorical historian, like Livy, would always think it decent to represent that there was *some*; and would be led of the opportunity of writing speeches about it. Finally, we read in the epitome of the eleventh (last) book of Livy, that 'after severe and long seditions *because of debts*, the people for the first time seceded to the Janiculum; whence they were brought back by the dictator J. Hortensius.'

It is stated by Pliny, that on this occasion, the dictator passed law; that 'whatever the plebeian assembly commands, is binding on all Roman citizens:' the very words in which Livy states the effect of the Publilian laws. This is explained by Mr. Keightley, after Niebuhr, to have been an annulling of the veto possessed by the *tribune*. We think however that it is not clearly proved that any direct veto ever existed by which the senate, even in the earliest times, could annul a command of the supreme assembly. But this is no place for discussing these obscure matters. We will only add, that this 'Hortensian' law of Pliny appears to be the same as that which Cicero calls the 'Mænian,' ascribing it to Mænius, who was a tribune of the people in the year B. C. 36.

In the opinion even of Niebuhr, the popular power was now alarmingly great; yet now commenced the time of internal peace and universal patriotism. Facts disprove theory; doubtless because the community was not yet corrupted by victory and apine, and the people had deeply seated habits of order and duty.

But when Rome had at length attained so well balanced a constitution, why did she degenerate? Had she not after all the seeds of dissolution in her, owing to the unhappy circumstance that the people were by law the true sovereign? And this is a question worth answering.

We may reply by a suppositious case, which our readers will appreciate. We read in English history, that under our early Norman kings, indeed nearly down to the great charter, a Norman faction kept dominion in the English boroughs. Thus in the incorporation of London it was not till after a long struggle, that the Saxons were admitted to equality with the dominant caste. Suppose England at that time without a central government, and

* Postumius celebrated his triumph (B. C. 234) in spite of the senate's opposition: which Livy relates as a thing lawful, though unprecedented.

that the Londoners, having become strong by union, have made war on all their neighbours; and gradually conquered the whole island. It is evident that the government, which was liberal and expansive, while London was a city, has become a tyranny, and that London is an empire. A new and infinitely more extensive reform is now wanting, to put the inhabitants of all England on a par with those of the conquering city. The fruits of freedom are not to be expected from a country in a state of slavery. Who would lay the blame on *democracy*, if after this things went to rack and ruin? But so far were the Romans from being disposed to admit the Italians to equal rights, that they treated with the most bitter contempt the claims of their old federal allies, the Latins; who were indeed but one people with them. Mr. Keightley has well told this scene, having here, as elsewhere, given a judicious and spirited abridgment of Livy.

'Audience was given to them [the Latin deputies] on the Capitol, and nothing could be more reasonable than their demands. Though the Latins were now the more numerous people of the two, they only required a union of perfect equality,—one of the consuls, and one half of the senate to be Latins, while Rome should be the seat of government, and Romans the name of the united nation. But the senate exclaimed against the unheard-of extravagance of these demands. The gods were invoked as witnesses of this scandalous breach of faith, and the consul Manlius vowed, that if they consented to be thus dictated to, he would come girt with his sword into the senate-house; and slay the first Latin he saw there. Tradition said, that when the gods were appealed to, and the Latin prætor Annius spoke with contempt of the Roman Jupiter, loud claps of thunder and a sudden storm of wind and rain told the anger of the deity; and as Annius went off full of rage he tumbled down the flight of steps and lay lifeless at the bottom. It was with difficulty that the magistrates saved the other envoys from the fury of the people. War was forthwith declared, and the consular armies were levied.'—p. 139.

Their behaviour to the Samnites is equally unreasonable. Mr. Keightley well contrasts the conduct of the two nations.

'[After the capture of the Roman army at the Caudine Forks] the terms accorded [to the Romans] by Pontius, were: the restoration of the ancient alliance between Rome and Samnium: the withdrawal of all Roman colonies from places belonging to the Samnites: and the giving back all places to which they had a right. The arms and baggage of the vanquished army as a matter of course to be given up to the conquerors. How rarely has Rome ever granted a vanquished enemy terms so mild as these! Yet the Roman historians had the audacity to talk of the insolence of the victorious Samnites; and the Roman senate and people the baseness, meanness, injustice, and barbarity to put to an ignominious death the noble Pontius twenty-seven years after.'—p. 147.

if readers may remember, that Pontius had just dismissed two
 legions unhurt; that the Romans took the whole advan-
 of the treaty of which they would not ratify one article; and
 when they delivered to Pontius's will the few individuals
 had sworn to the treaty, he indignantly set them all free.
 like treachery the Romans afterwards behaved to the
 natives in Spain, and (as 'we hate those whom we have
 red') pursued their advantage with like implacability.
 the tale is straightforward. The Samnites soon understood
 the Romans would be satisfied with nothing but slavery; and
 a deadly struggle began. We could not have anticipated
 the Romans would be so successful; considering the rug-
 ness of the Apennines along the sides of which the Samnites
 , and the untameable heart of that free and simple people;
 e virtuous habits were afterwards the eulogy of the Roman
 . Their subjugation is, however, attributed to their want of
 central authority, which could watch against and promptly
 the machinations of Rome. It was not effected without the
 wide-spread carnage and desolation of the land. Of the
 ty with which the Roman gored and trampled his prostrate
 we may find an indication in Polybius's statement more than a
 ry later; that on taking a city, they not only stab every
 a creature whom they meet, but even hack the dogs and
 in pieces. A like statement is made by Thucydides con-
 ing the barbarians of Thrace.—And when at last Italy was
 ed to Rome, it was no longer the same Italy as it had been.
 : tracts had been half desolated; some confiscated by public
 but appropriated to themselves by Roman grantees; others
 it up at a low price; others allotted to Roman colonies.
 ruined agriculturists swelled the town mobs, and not least
 f Rome. The slave trade was stocked with captives from
 umerous and merciless wars, and actively supplied labourers
 e large, but desolate, estates. In fact it might have been
 en that slave culture would now, in spite of law, carry every
 before it; for besides the cheapness of slaves, no proprietor
 count on keeping free labourers; as they were perpetually
 d off to supply the armies. In the place of the old Italian
 nry were fierce and lazy barbarians, dreadful in insurrection,
 seless for work. But we are anticipating, and proceeding
 apidly. Before this, another implacable war against the
 r Gauls, had ended in the extermination of that people 'in
 y short time from the whole plain on each side of the Po,
 pt a few places close under the Alps:' (Polyb. ii. 35;)
 at luxuriant soil, under slave cultivation and cut up with
 re grounds, was unable to afford food for more than its own
 population.

uria was the longest to escape desolation; but this district

in common with all Italy suffered the plague of the Marsic war and that of Sulla; respecting which we cannot refrain from extracting a striking a passage from Niebuhr :

‘Those terrible ravages, which spreading from place to place, visited every region of Italy, and by which the citizens of the principal towns were entirely swept away, must also have proved destructive to monuments of every kind, especially to writings. In many districts the population was changed. Such was the final vengeance on Samnium: such the end of the persevering resistance opposed by Etruria to Sulla’s tyrannical and short-sighted resolution to do away with every thing that in the course of ages had been yielded to circumstances : such the end of her struggle to maintain the rights she had been rewarded with for standing aloof from the cause of Italy. The old Etruscan nation with her science and literature ceased to exist. The nobles, who had taken the lead in the common cause, fell by the sword. Military colonies were established in the large towns, and the Latin language became the only one prevalent. The greatest part of the nation was stripped of all landed property, and reduced to pine in poverty under foreign masters, whose oppression deadened every national recollection in the degraded generation that followed, and left them no other wish than that of becoming Romans altogether.

Thus did all Italy at length become Roman; but she had withered under the cruel grasp; and the metropolis with its enormous population, being permanently dependent for corn on Sicily and Egypt, was at the mercy of the winds and waves in a most imperfect state of navigation.

Matters were not so far gone, but were rapidly tending to this result, when Tiberius Gracchus brought forward his bills, of which the main object was to enforce the existing laws for cultivation by freemen: and now arose the intestine factions in Rome, the fault of which is so commonly thrown on ‘democracy.’* But the fault was in tyranny; the fault was, that the freemen of one city could vote away the wealth and the lives of half the world; that the illegal gains of office were so enormous, as to tempt men to buy them at any price: hence, force and bribery were alike used to gain the suffrages of the people. From this time and onward, hired bands of gladiators paraded the streets, or blockaded the forum; votes were publicly bought and sold; nay, on one occasion, Julius Cæsar passed an *ex post facto* law, to legalize his own bribery. Under that which was called a democracy, the executive had grown to a gigantic size; while, the

* Since this article was written, a number in the ‘Quarterly Review’ has been published, in which the writer attributes the whole fault of these factions to the ‘Ballot’; and speaks as though the project of Tiberius Gracchus was obviously wicked. He styles it simply ‘An Agrarian Law’ as if to insinuate, that it was a scheme for dividing private property.

the body had been perpetually degraded by the artifice of
 arches, who fed their bellies with corn, and their eyes with
 spectacles. Of universal suffrage we have certainly no par-
 admiration; but we believe, that the wildest advocate of it
 ourselves never dreamed of so absurd a government as that
 in the days of the Gracchi. Let us but conceive the
 of London and the environs monopolising the franchise;
 exclusion of all the gentry of all the rest of England;
 their votes determining, not only the ministers of state,
 any governors for all our colonies and more besides; but
 of the land. Such was the popular assembly of Rome,
 not decide who should be members of parliament, but the
 acts of parliament itself; and no one but the tribune could
 be a veto.

Tiberius Gracchus had touched the interests of the slaves
 it was to beard the lion in his den! But he went
 he demanded that the public lands, shamelessly usurped
 nobles, against right and against law, should be restored
 to uses. This was most legal, as most honestly intended;
 usurpations had been so systematically winked at, that the
 lands had long been bought and sold as property. The
 was therefore felt as exceedingly severe, and was probably
 especially considering the times. Moreover in scalfes
 believed to be essential to the welfare of the state, he
 exceeded his constitutional powers as tribune. But we
 and, this is a trifle; for it is as certain that those whose
 were touched, were resolved on his death, by fair or
 arms, as it is every way probable that he had none but the
 motives. Nasica, the high priest, his kinsman, a large
 holder and slave-holder, when the consul Mucius Scaevola
 to use illegal violence against that which had a legal re-
 set himself at the head of a mob of senators and knights;
 the bludgeons and broken benches, attacked Tiberius and
 hispecting friends, and slew three hundred, including the
 object of their hate.

is for the first time for centuries,' says Mr. Keightley, p.
 as blood shed in civil contest in Rome; a prelude to the
 ies which were soon to be of every-day occurrence. To
 ernal disgrace of the Roman aristocracy; and to their own
 te ruin, their avarice first caused civil discord; and their
 apt of law, divine and human, sprinkled the temple of
 Optimus Maximus with the sacred blood of a tribune, and
 to despise the majesty of office, and the sanctity of
 it?

have brought down our remarks to the crisis after which
 no power in Rome, but brute force carried everything;
 he sooner they were under a despotic rule, the better.

But the subject of the *ballot* is of too much interest at present, to let it pass wholly unnoticed. Cicero's testimony to its mischief in his third book of *Laws* (ch. 15—17) is very explicit. 'Who,' says he, 'does not perceive, that the law of ballot has destroyed the authority of the better classes? *The people, while free, never desired it; but when oppressed by the domination and violence of the powerful, demanded it. And now you will find that in the trials of powerful criminals, fewer are condemned by ballot, than used to be condemned by the voice.*' This result, he attributes to bribery; and we may well believe it. But we cannot help extracting Mr. Keightley's very curious remarks:

'The rule he (Cicero) gives is the true one. *Optimatus non plebi libera sunt* (suffragia). It is certainly unjust in a landlord, for instance, to require his tenant to vote against his conscience; but the latter should reflect *how seldom it is really a matter of conscience, and how likely it is that he does not think for himself in these matters*; and therefore how much more likely it is that the landlord, who *has a stake* in the country, may have its real interest at heart, than the orator or journalist to whom he pins his faith, who probably *has not a stake in it*.' —p. 315.

We apprehend that few tenants doubt, whether their landlords desire the prosperity of *their own stake*; but to have a pecuniary interest in a question, is not generally thought to help a man to an unbiassed judgment. But indeed, the argument is too lamentably weak to deserve notice; and we quote this chiefly to express our regret that Mr. K. has lowered his history in some very few places to the tone of a partizan. Yet we must do him the justice to say that he is never afraid of being energetic against oppression, nor slow to recognize and extol true patriotism.

To return to the ballot. It is wonderful that he does not see how exceedingly inapplicable is Roman balloting to our English question. If, indeed, it were proposed to extinguish debate in our houses of Parliament, to conceal the votes of the members; to enact that legislators, judges, and juries should all use the ballot; then it would be in point to show that this very matter promoted bribery at Rome, and will do so in England. Then he might urge that honourable members will prove treacherous to their constituents; that the offices of state will be set up to sale; that

* Moreover, if he has himself understood Cicero, he has not enabled his readers to understand. 'I have no objection to these regulations,' says Cicero in ch. 17, 'if they are meant to stop canvassing, as they generally are. *If the laws against canvassing can be enforced, let the people keep their ticket, as a protector of liberty, provided only it be shown to all the best and most respectable citizens, and be voluntarily offered; so that there may be liberty in the very act by which the people is able to give an honest gratification to good men.*'

all, in short, must go wrong, when the vigilant eye of the nation is withdrawn from our public men. And from this opinion we suppose that few supporters of the ballot would dissent. But the English question is, whether the vote should be secret which is given to a *non-official* person; who not only does not reap, as member of parliament, a harvest of gain by which he can reimburse himself for countless bribes, but is unavoidably put to very large expenses, for which but few can any way reimburse themselves. A Roman grandee, who was canvassing for the station of pro-consul of Sicily, or commander of the armies in Gaul, might possibly afford half a million sterling to buy votes; but will a candidate for a seat in our house of commons find it profitable so to squander? Unless this question can be answered in the affirmative, the whole matter stands on perfectly different grounds from that of the Roman ballot.

We desire our readers not to suppose that in anything of the above we are advocating either the ballot or democracy; we would only fain see things put on their right footing, and that history should not be, first viewed superficially, and then made to minister to party. We think it to be the same error which taxes Roman 'democracy' with the tumults of the last century of the republic, and American 'democracy' with the enormities of the slave-holding states; and that those who read history with so little discrimination, will read it only to be lead astray.

But we must not dwell longer on these topics. We think Mr. Keightley has acted wisely, in not permitting his scepticism concerning the early history to lead to the suppression of any part. He gives the common tales, in a poetical shape, with comments on them. To speak generally of his history, we find the narrative full and spirited, often eloquent, and generally just, as far as we are able to judge. The principal fault that strikes us, is in a certain weariness which the mind feels from the want of definite breaks and stops in the history. In English history, the series of kings, though an unphilosophical division, is highly convenient for memory, and for resting the mind; as is the clustering of reigns into dynasties: in the early Roman history it requires skill in the narrator to mark off the time, so as to make up for this want. We would, also, recommend, that in any new edition of *this* or *any* of his works, he would call in the aid of some cool judging friend, to cut out from his prefaces and advertisements disagreeable little traits of personal conceit, which would lead many persons to augur meanly of his productions. It would be ill-natured to quote proof that this is not said causelessly. But on the whole, we feel that his book is a most valuable introduction to Roman history, and one that was much wanted. Ferguson's history, with which alone this can be compared, has numerous merits; but makes not the least pretension

to throw light on the darker periods. We are sorry, that Mr. Keightley has allowed himself to be called away from completing his Roman History, by engaging in a History of England, which certainly was far less wanted; and the encouragement given him by the rapid sale of his first edition, seems to us to have put him under a sort of pledge to the public to make no needless delay;—for we cannot allow that he is at liberty to stop short at the death of Mark Antony, and maintain that the work is finished, because, the republic is then at an end. Every schoolboy wants to know somewhat about the Emperors of Rome, as well as about the republic; nor, indeed, is the lesson and moral of the tale complete, till we learn what fruits imperial Rome reaped from the barren or bitter laurels of republican Rome.

The History of Rome, in Dr. Lardner's 'Cabinet Cyclopædia,' is so different in character from the former, that they do not in the least interfere with one another. It is so deficient in narrative of facts, that it may be fairest to criticise it as if intended only as a supplement to existing histories. It is carried down to the founding of Constantinople, and includes not only a history of the constitution and manners of Rome, but also of the literature: and all this in two moderate volumes. We must in justice confess, that we read it with much interest and instruction; nor do we know any other single book in the language which would supply the same. But it is with regret that we complain of it as hastily got up, and full of petty faults. In appearance it would seem as though the first volume had been sent to the press a month too soon. The narrative is often most obscure* and the style crabbed. Our conviction is that too great condensation has been attempted: it should be rather three volumes than two.—In the early part, the conciseness is sometimes very perplexing:

Thus, p. 53, it is stated: '*We have already related how the Gauls forced their way into Italy; how by degrees, and constantly reinforced by new immigrations, they approached the Apennines, and, at last, extended their ravages,*' &c. &c. This seems to be the recapitulation of some ample narrative; but after much searching of the book we can find only the following short sentence. 'The Lombard branch [of the Etruscans] had long been crushed by the Gallic expeditions.'

So in p. 66. 'Upper Italy lay *already* desolate:' but what had

* To give one illustration out of fifty. A young friend of ours, on reading the following sentence from vol. i. p. 211: 'The prætor Valerius had collected a considerable number of vessels, took from the king Oricum, which he had previously conquered:' supposed that took was antique English for taken, that Oricum was the king's name, and that the vessels had been captured by Valerius from the aforesaid king. It should be: Valerius collected the vessels, 'and gained possession of Oricum, which the king had previously conquered.' Another thought it was a misprint for 'king of Oricum,' or king of Oricum.

desolated it, the reader has to guess; and indeed, what is meant by *Upper Italy*; for it can hardly mean Lombardy. The remarkable device of superseding consuls by military tribunes with consular power, for the sake of keeping the plebeians out of the consulate, is not narrated at all; though in one place 'military tribunes' are spoken of, in another we read of 'consular tribunes.' The whole series of important changes in the powers of the tribes comprehended between the laws of Lætorius and of the dictator Publilius are run through in a single short paragraph; in which no allusion is made to the law of Horatius and Valerius; but this law is afterwards given in a note, while the explanation in the text is, 'that the decision of the people should have *more weight*' than that of both the senate and the consuls—a vague ordinance indeed; and a strange version of, 'quod tributum plebes jussisset, populum teneret.'

Of the ballot no mention is made at all, although legal and constitutional history is the main subject of the book. There is often a sarcastic and flippant tone, and we think sometimes an unfounded judgment of characters; as of Spurius Cassius, Caius Gracchus and Cicero; against the last of whom the writer seems to be very unduly prejudiced. We find something beneath the dignity of history in antique phrases such as: 'to drive a trade,' 'to figure away,' 'to eschew Menander,' 'eavesdroppers,' 'the nick of time.' In other places, Latinized terms are used with a new meaning; as: 'the efficiency of the tribunes,' meaning the amount of their power: 'destined' to mean *designed*: 'spiritual' to mean *intellectual*, as in French: to 'signalize an abuse,' for, to *denounce* it. We dislike such words as 'succumb,' 'a heptera,' 'legate' for lieutenant, 'magnates' for grandees, 'gentes' for clans, 'a pentera,' and numerous other terms, unintelligible to English readers. But it is an ungracious task to amass petty remarks of this kind. A more serious objection would lie against the tone which he assumes concerning 'fate' and 'destiny'; which, coupled with the zealous applause given to the later Stoics, and the great similarity which he finds between their doctrine and that of the Christians (!), makes one fear that he is half a Stoic himself. But we find Mr. Keightley and Niebuhr use 'destiny' to mean 'predestination,' or God's Providence; and we are willing to give the benefit of the supposition to others besides, while we dislike the term. We hope for the author's credit, and for the improvement of the work itself, that it will come to a second edition; for the excellencies are sterling; the defects are in detail and susceptible of amendment.

Dr. Taylor's excellent volume begins from Constantine the Great, and ends with the fall of Constantinople by the Ottoman arms. To review it would therefore carry us far beyond the bounds of any thing that could be contemplated in the present

article: but we have set it by the side of the others, as being kindred in subject and character.

In conclusion, we will venture to recommend more zeal for the pure English language, in writing Roman history, if persons wish to be interesting and intelligible to the unlearned. Greek writers, like the modern Germans, improved their language by resolving to use it for all purposes; but we spoil ours by flying to the foreigner for help the moment a difficulty arises. Just as our Indian travellers annoy their readers by Soobah, Brinjarria, Nair, Vakeel, Musnud, &c., so do our historians of Rome by such words as Rogation, Gentes, Gentiles, Myth, Curia, Comitæ, Plebiscit, Jurisconsult, Magnates, Feclal, &c., &c. We know it will be alleged that the English and Latin words in some cases do not quite coincide. Most true: the Roman *Rex* had not the same rights as the English *King*; but who therefore commits the foppery of leaving the word untranslated? Nay, a false idea is conveyed by Intercession, Legate, and others. We have to complain of both the works before us, for this offence; and we are sorry to say, it has of late become very popular. Fully allowing that there are cases where it cannot be avoided, we wish that it should be regarded as an evil, and admitted as seldom as possible. The Greeks freely translate all the Roman titles, saying *μεσοβασιλεὺς* (mid-king) for the Interrex, in English, Regent; *δημαρχος* (headman of the commons) for the Tribune of the Plebs; *ἐκκλησίαι λοχίτιδες* (assemblies of the classes) for the Comitæ Centuriata, and so on: and there are comparatively few cases where it is an object to do the same, in which we cannot do it. But we think a particular protest is needed against the custom introduced by the translators of Niebuhr, of rendering 'gens,' a house, when we have a far more proper word *clan*; nor do we admire 'burgher' for burgess, 'myth' for legend, 'a mythical epos' for a legendary poem. A like decided disapprobation, we think, is deserved by the words 'legate' (which in English means a papal ambassador, not a lieutenant-general nor a delegate), 'rogation' for bill, and 'intercession' for interposition. Nor is there the slightest occasion for Latin words such as *dumviri*, *quinqviri*, &c., instead of, a board [or Commission] of two, and of five: nor do we see why assembly or parliament is not quite as good as *comitia*. But not to go farther into detail, let it suffice to have pointed out the principle, that a historian ought not to injure the interest of his subject to the unlearned, by increasing needlessly the number of technical terms, thereby putting a formidable difficulty in the way of the history becoming truly popular.

Art. V. *The Poetical Works of Robert Southey.* Collected by Himself. In 10 vols. Vols. I.—IX. London: Longman and Co. 1838.

IN notifying the commencement of this beautiful edition of Mr. Southey's works to our readers, we intimated our intention of reviewing the whole on its completion. That period is now so near at hand (indeed, the work will be complete on the day that this number of our review appears), that we no longer hesitate to redeem our pledge.

Before we proceed to speak of the attractions of this edition, we shall venture to offer a few remarks on the merits and faults of the author. Those remarks will, for various reasons, be very few and very brief; partly, because his poetical character has been so often discussed before; partly, because its principal peculiarities must be already familiar to our readers; and, partly, because we doubt whether, at present, it would not be a task of almost insuperable difficulty to estimate Mr. Southey's precise merits, or hold the critical balances even; and that, for two reasons.—First, his partizans and his enemies have suffered their views of his political character and history (we are far from saying, consciously) to bias their estimate,—to heighten their eulogy, or to edge their sarcasm. We are fully alive to the melancholy fact, that this is far enough from being the only instance in which politics have been suffered to run riot in the quiet retreats of literature, or in which the bias of party has now mollified and now knit the brow of the critical Rhadamanthus. But we do not suppose there ever was a case in which a poet was so much affected by his political history as Mr. Southey has been. His very worst productions have had their unqualified panegyrists—his very best, almost as unqualified satirists.—The second reason, why it is, perhaps, impossible to form a correct estimate of Southey's genius, is that the daring, and in our eyes, most injudicious innovations which distinguish the structure and conduct of many of his larger poems, and still more his versification, have given too great a shock to our associations to permit us rightly to appreciate the degree of genius by which these efforts have been accompanied; they would certainly, however, lead the generality of readers rather to underrate than overrate that genius.

Owing to these causes, it has been too much the custom to regard this poet's productions—which are certainly very varied, and display great versatility of genius—too much in the mass, and to praise or condemn him without due discrimination. It has been entire eulogy, or almost unqualified condemnation; whereas it appears to us, that there seldom was a poet whose best efforts deserve more praise, or whose worst deserve more
censure

It appears to us, that Southey has never done himself justice: ~~has never reached that reputation which the powers with which nature has gifted him, are fully capable of achieving; and that because he early failed in perceiving the true bent of his genius, and those species of poetical compositions in which he is so well fitted to excel.~~ It is as a *descriptive* poet,—it is in his shorter effusions (always excepting his ‘youthful crudities’ and those unspeakable inanities which he has produced in his character of laureat, and by which he has so well maintained the ancient and professional dulness of that class of poets),—it is in his justly celebrated ballads that his genius is most seen; nor do we ever turn to his ‘Joan of Arc,’ his ‘Madoc,’ his ‘Roderic,’ his ‘Thalaba,’ or his ‘Curse of Kehama’ (on which, with an author’s so often ill-judged estimate of his own efforts, he appears to rely principally for his fame,) without regretting that ambition should ever have induced him to neglect his proper domain, and to aspire after a wider and to him, we are convinced, unattainable empire. In these his longer poems almost the only merit they have is the richness and beauty of the descriptions; more especially of external nature. So great, indeed, is the beauty of many of these descriptions, that, had he attempted a poem which would have given full scope to his powers (like the ‘Task’ of Cowper for instance), in which, while there should be great variety, he need select only such topics as he was qualified to treat well, we have little doubt that his success would have been equal to that of almost any of our great descriptive poets. The reader would not have looked for that which he now naturally expects to find in the abovenamed ‘Epics,’—for though Mr. Southey rejects the title of ‘Epic,’ they must be critically regarded as such;—he would not have looked for a connected, well-woven, intertexture of *probable* incidents; strongly conceived and well-sustained characters; that intimate knowledge of human nature, and that intensity of emotion which can alone qualify the epic or dramatic writer, to forget or lay aside his own individuality, and to assume that of the creations of his own fancy. His genius would have had free play; might have expatiated at will where it was strong, and have sequestered itself from those walks of art in which it must appear to disadvantage. In a word, we regard Mr. Southey’s *works* as a descriptive poet, very great indeed,—as an epic poet, very low. In his epic poems, we look in vain for those qualities which have always been regarded, and always will be, as the highest in that very difficult species of composition. We can see nothing of artful fable, of that combination of invention and judgment which reconciles apparent impossibilities,—the most daring creations of fancy with a just regard to the laws of poetic probability; still less, do we see of that power of strongly defining character, and expressing passion, which are no less required in the epic and dra-

matic poet;—that power of self-oblivion—of thinking with the mind and feeling with the heart of the characters represented to us. When Mr. Southey in his lighter and shorter pieces speaks in his own person, and from the prompting of his own feelings, we generally find — though he is habitually apt to be too copious and diffusive—that freshness, warmth, and spontaneity, that vivacity of thought, sentiment, and diction which are ever found in the true poet; nor is there any reader we should conceive but must at once detect the difference of manner and style, when he compares these with the long, and to us inexpressibly heavy pages of ‘*Madoc*’ or ‘*Roderic*.’ It might, at first, be thought that he who could give simple and earnest expression to his own thoughts and feelings would be equally successful in giving utterance to those of fictitious characters—of the combinations of intellect and passion which fancy has called into existence. But fact and experience plainly prove, that this would be a rash conclusion; that he who is quite equal to the one may be utterly unequal to the other; and that the interval is great between the descriptive, and the epic or dramatic poet. The ‘*Seasons*’ of Thompson is a descriptive poem of the highest order; his tragedy takes comparatively low rank. Gray and Collins are lyric poets of great merit;—we have not the slightest reason to believe that they could have produced a drama even of second-rate excellence. And as fact and experience are opposed to this conclusion, so it requires no great sagacity to detect the reason. The epic or dramatic poet not only requires greater variety, flexibility, and compass of powers, but, even, where the powers are the same (as to a great extent they must be), they are demanded in a higher degree; there must be greater richness of invention, greater vividness of conceptions, above all, greater intensity of feeling, and activity of sympathy. In this last peculiarity more than any thing else, we apprehend, consists the secret of great dramatic power. Most men in moments of real feeling can give utterance to their own emotions; but how very few are those who can attain such vivid conceptions of the emotions which fill another’s bosom as to give adequate expression to them!

This is the *principal* reason, we conceive, why ‘*Madoc*’ and ‘*Roderic*’ appear so wearisome. The poet is literally ‘building the lofty’ verse; and, as we watch the slow accumulation of sentiments, images, and reflections, the idea of toilsome fabrication is the one chiefly suggested. They do not seem to be the natural out-pouring of self-prompted genius, but to be dug from the quarry and shaped and hewn, and raised to their places, by mechanical appliances. We do not know that we can do better than request the reader to peruse a few pages of ‘*Joan of Arc*,’ or of ‘*Madoc*,’ and then one or two of our poet’s shorter and lighter pieces. The difference, we cannot but think,

must strike the most ordinary reader; if he do not perceive it, we have nothing more to say; it is an appeal to every one's consciousness, and there we must leave it. We have no doubt, however, that ninety-nine readers out of every hundred, will sympathise with us.

We have said that Mr. Southey's epics are deficient in all the great requisites which the concurrent voice of all critics and all readers has demanded in this species of composition; in a well-constructed fable—a fable which shall not wantonly violate poetic probability; in discrimination of character; in the exhibition of passion. Of the two last, we have already spoken. As to the first, no attentive reader of Mr. Southey can fail to perceive his deficiencies; his gross inconsistencies—his long and needless episodes—his wanton accumulation of improbabilities—his 'passages that lead to nothing.' As his episodes even when complete often have nothing whatever to do with the main action, so there is not wanting an instance (we believe, even in Mr. Southey *unique*,) in which what any reader would take for the main action is *incomplete*; after entangling our interest in a mesh of incidents, he leaves us to find our way out, how we please. This is the case in 'Madoc,' nor do we know of a more striking proof of the disorderly ill-compacted manner in which our poet's fictions are framed. In the first part of the above poem, by far the principal interest is suspended on a train of events left in progress,—unfinished,—and to which not the slightest allusion is made in the second and concluding part of the poem. As to 'Thalaba' and 'Curse of Kehama' a defence has been sometimes set up on the ground, that the poet had expressly availed himself of all the license of oriental fiction and all the monstrous machinery of oriental mythology. He appears, therefore, to have escaped beyond the empire of criticism; to have absolved himself from the necessity of preserving probability, because, in truth, there was no probability to be preserved. But this is no adequate defence; for amidst the most wild and wonderful creations of fancy—amidst the employment of magic, necromancy, and all sorts of preternatural agencies, celestial and infernal, the laws of poetic probability still pursue their claim, and forbid the needless accumulation of childish extravagancies, or the wanton multiplication of prodigies: while amidst those which are introduced, it demands keeping—coherence—consistency. If it be otherwise, the prime difficulties of art vanish at once, and the chief merits of the artist with them. The only feeling that is excited in the reader is that of staring wonder, and the only merit such composition can possess, so far as the fiction is concerned, is in much upon a level with that of a good magic-lantern.

As we are now speaking of 'Thalaba' and the 'Curse of

'Kehama,' this may be no unfit opportunity of offering one or two remarks on the singular metre, or as some would call it the mockery of all metre, in which these poems are composed. That these daring modes of versification are often employed by Mr. Southey with great effect; that in the management of them he has frequently displayed a command over language truly wonderful, and not seldom succeeded in giving an imitative character to the expression—an adaptation of the sound to the sentiment it embodies—which none of our regular metres could have secured, we are ready to admit. Still, upon the whole, these measures exhibit a deficiency of harmony, and by their great irregularity, are continually deceiving and teasing the ear—balking expectation; and thus their very variety, which at first would seem to obviate every such result, is the very cause of their wearying us. Mr. Southey, indeed, tells us, that 'one advantage this metre assuredly possesses; the dullest reader cannot distort it into discord: he may read it 'prosaically, but its flow and fall will still be perceptible.' We confess, we have arrived at just the opposite conclusion; the want of the regular recurrence and uniform march of the ordinary metres, appears to us to render it far more difficult to read it well: and the changes are often so varied, so frequent and abrupt, that, we believe, they would balk the most practised ear.

It is not unworthy of remark, that the most musical lines, and those which often alone sustain the rhythm and harmony of the whole stanza, are the regular tensyllable verse, so frequently introduced. Many stanzas (in our estimation, nearly all the most perfect) consist almost wholly of heroic verse. Take the very first in 'Thalaba.'

'How beautiful is night!
A dewy freshness fills the silent air;
No mist obscures, nor cloud, nor speck, nor stain,
 Breaks the serene of heaven:
In full-orb'd glory yonder moon divine
 Rolls through the dark blue depths.
 Beneath her steady ray
 The desert-circle spreads,
Like the round ocean, girdled with the sky.
 How beautiful is night!"

Upon the whole the success of this experiment has been far from being great enough to lead us to wish that it may be repeated either by Mr. Southey or any poets who may follow him. It is but just, however, to Mr. Southey, to say that he disclaims any preference abstractedly for these irregular metres over the regular blank verse, and that he adopted them in these two poems, on account of a supposed adaptation to the subject. Of this, there may well be ground for difference of opinion. Still it is a satisfaction

to know that his opinions with regard to the most excellent species of English verse are much like those of other poets. In his preface to his fourth edition of 'Thalaba' (we presume that he would say the same of the versification of the 'Curse of Kehama') he observes, 'let me not be supposed to prefer the rhythm in which it is written, abstractedly considered, to the regular blank verse; the noblest measure, in my judgment, of which our admirable language is capable. For the following poem I have preferred it, because it suits the varied subject: it is the *Arabesque* ornament of an Arabian tale.'

We have already expressed an opinion, that Mr. Southey's great merit consists in description, and that he is by nature fitted to be a descriptive poet of the highest order. We must confess, however, that even his descriptions (exquisitely beautiful as they often are) are very frequently too diffuse, and copious, and are thus, in some measure, infected with that taint of tediousness, that 'langweiligkeit,' as the Germans would call it, which attends us in reading even the most pleasing of his longer poems. They want compression—concentration. We rarely meet with those strong and pregnant metaphors which convey in a single word what many poets would express in several lines; nor do we often find, that he gives the impression of a scene by judiciously seizing two or three prominent circumstances as representatives of a number of associated circumstances (and it is in this way that the greatest poets have chiefly manifested their descriptive power), but by minute and elaborate painting, in which the variety of almost equally attractive objects leaves the imagination of the reader nothing to concentrate itself upon, and little or nothing to supply. We do not know that we can illustrate our meaning better, than by citing the following lines from the fifteenth section of 'Madoc.'

'And hard by Bangor now,
Travelling the plain before them they espy
A lordly cavalcade, for so it seem'd,
Of knights, with hawk in hand and hounds in leash,
Squires, pages, serving-men, and armed grooms,
And many a sumpter-beast and laden wain,
Far following in the rear. The bravery
Of glittering bauldricks and of high-plumed crests,
Embroider'd surcoats and emblazon'd shields
And lances whose long streamers play'd aloft,
Made a rare pageant, as with sound of trumpet,
Tambour and cittern, proudly they went on;
And ever, at the foot-fall of their steeds,
The tinkling horse-bells, in rude symphony,
Accorded with the joy.'

Another circumstance, which we apprehend I added to the

liffuseness and the consequent tediousness of much of Mr. Southey's poetry, is the habit in which he has indulged, much beyond any other poet, as far as we can recollect, of repeating what he deems emphatic words or phrases twice or even thrice over,—or even whole lines. If this be supposed to add to the energy of the sentiment, or to indicate profound emotion on the part of the poet, we apprehend that it is a great mistake. The expedient very rarely fails to produce (at least upon our minds) a cold, formal, constrained, and artificial effect. We do not know that we can give a stronger illustration of our meaning than by citing the following stanza, from his strange ode, called 'The Warning Voice.' We acknowledge that it is an example of extreme depravity of taste even in Mr. Southey. It looks very much, not as though the poet was under the influence of poetic inspiration at the time he wrote, but as though he was lashing and scourging himself into a sort of dithyrambic fury.

Woe ! woe !

Woe to the city where faction reigns !

Woe to the land where sedition prevails !

Woe to the nation whom hell deceives !

Woe ! woe !

They have eyes, and they will not see !

They have ears and they will not hear !

They have hearts, and they will not feel !

Woe to the people who fasten their eyes !

Woe to the people who deafen their ears !

Woe to the people who harden their hearts !

Woe ! woe !

The vials are charged ;

The measure is full,

The wrath is ripe !

Woe ! woe !

Bow, wow, wow, we imagine we hear some critic of the *cynic* school exclaim, after listening to this burst of detestable fustian.

There are very few poets whose reading has been so extensive as that of Mr. Southey, and fewer still who have made so profuse a use of it. He seems to have carefully marked in his own wide and multifarious studies every thing that could by possibility be turned to the purposes of poetical effect, or be made the groundwork of picturesque description ; and innumerable are the instances in which he has given us in his copious notes (and often as it appears to us, with superfluous honesty) the rude germ of some of his richest and most fanciful descriptions. Much as he has observed nature, he appears to us to have been far more conversant with books. While in the generality of poets, nature has occupied the first place, and books the second ; in him, the matter seems to have been reversed : and books seem to have

done more for him than nature. It must be confessed, that he must have read them with a most attentive eye, and that the manner in which he has made use of them indicates great vividness of conception; for, probably, there is no other instance on record in which a poet, from books alone, has been enabled to give so natural and life-like a picture of scenery, manners, and costume on which the poet's eye has never rested, as Mr. Southey has given in his 'Thalaba' and 'Curse of Kehama.' We question whether there ever was an imagination which has been so much stimulated by mere reading.

At the same time, if this enhances his merit, in one respect, it diminishes it in another, for there are few great poets, we think, who have drawn so little upon their own pure fancy. Great as Mr. Southey's merit is in working up some rude and often trivial thought of one or other of his favourite authors, it is comparatively rare that he does not refer us to some remote hint—some obscure passage in some ancient or foreign author, which, in the first instance, served to stimulate his imagination—some nucleus around which his fancy has proceeded to drop its crystallizations. His obligations are, however, in general so very slender, that we could well have spared the mention of them. His notes, indeed, are beyond all precedent voluminous, and occupy, we imagine, nearly three volumes out of the ten of the present edition.

The diction of Mr. Southey displays a ready and copious command over all the treasures of our various and powerful language. It is, indeed, occasionally too familiar, and occasionally too learned; such words as '*alb*,' '*striated*,' '*thuribule*,' though they form a part of our scientific vocabulary, are not *poetical*. His faults, however, in this kind are rare. His diction is generally distinguished by great purity, dignity, and elegance.

Whatever deductions may be made from Mr. Southey's merits on the score of deficiencies of judgment and of taste;—however we may regret that his powers have been misdirected, and sometimes wasted;—however we may lament that his very facility in composition appears to have been a temptation to him, and vainly wish that he had written about half as much, and been twice as long about it, none can deny him powers of a very high order; and so great in particular are his powers of description, and that in every department of nature, as well as in all the more quiet and placid scenes of human life—such his skill in expressing the more gentle and tender emotions, that we are convinced, had he concentrated his powers on the production of some great poem descriptive of nature and of common life, he might have achieved a work which would have taken rank with the *Iliad* of Homer.

To give extracts from Southey's longer poem, *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner*, a vindication of the praise we have bestowed, would be very su-
rial. They

been long before the public, and extensively read. Yet we not refrain from giving two or three short passages, rather by way of enriching our own pages, and of reviving the recollections of some of our readers who have not looked into these poems for some time, than as at all necessary to substantiate our criticisms. The extracts we shall give, shall be the least hackneyed. We have been so often cited, that to cite them again would look most ridiculous. Madoc on the sea-beach revolving with Cadogan, the possible discovery of the western world; the gorgeous description of the submerged city of Baly; the meeting of Kailyal and her departed mother in the divine retreat of Mount Meru, the beginning,

‘They sin, who tell us love can die;’

these kindred lines apostrophizing the souls of departed souls, beginning,

‘Innocent souls! thus set so early free,’

it be well known to most of our readers.

But the following will nearly match them. Let us take the description of perfect solitude, as uttered by the lips of Madoc, the lonely dweller in the gorgeous but life-deserted ice of Shedad. It is true, that the whole episode of which forms a part (as is so often the case in Mr. Southey's tales), little enough to do with the progress of the story. But of this we are not speaking; we are looking at it as an insulated description, and as such we think it impossible for any susceptible mind to read it without a strong feeling of its beauty.

‘Oh! who can tell the unspeakable misery
Of solitude like this!

No sound has ever reach'd my ear
Save of the passing wind,

The fountain's everlasting flow,
The forest in the gale,

The pattering of the shower,
Sounds dead and mournful all.

No bird hath ever closed her wing
Upon these solitary bowers,

No insect sweetly buzz'd amid these groves,
From all things that have life,

Save only me, conceal'd.

His tree alone, that o'er my head
Hangs down its hospitable boughs,

And bends its whispering leaves
As though to welcome me,

Seems to partake of life;

I love it as my friend, my only friend!

Or take the following description of Thalaba's life in the tent of Moath, with his fair daughter Oneiza. We wish we could find room for the whole.

'Tis the cool evening hour :
The tamarind from the dew
Sheathes its young fruit, yet green,
Before their tent the mat is spread,'

' Yet through the purple glow of eve
Shines dimly the white moon:
The slacken'd bow, the quiver, the long lance
Rest on the pillar of the tent.
Knitting light palm-leaves for her brother's brow,
The dark-eyed damsel sits ;
The old man tranquilly
Up his curl'd pipe inhales
The tranquillizing herb.
So listen they the reed of Thalaba
While his skill'd fingers modulate,
The low, sweet, soothing, melancholy tones.'

She called him brother ; was it sister-love
For which the silver rings
Round her smooth ankles and her tawny arms
Shone daily brighten'd ? For a brother's eye.
" Were her long fingers tinged,
As when she trimm'd the lamp,
And through the veins and delicate skin
The light shone rosy ? That the darken'd lids
Gave yet a softer lustre to her eye ?
That with such pride she trick'd
Her glossy tresses, and on holy-day
Wreathed the red flower-crown round
Their waves of glossy jet ?
How happily the days
Of Thalaba went by !
Years of his youth, how rapidly ye fled !"

The following lines are part of the description of the 'Retreat' of Ladurlad and Kailyal, in the 'Curse of Kehama.' We wish we could find space for the magnificent picture of the Banian tree by which it is preceded.

' A brook, with easy current, murmur'd near ;
Water so cool and clear
The peasants drink not from the humble well,
Which they with sacrifice of rural pride,
Have wedded to the cocoa-grove beside ;

Fed by perpetual springs, a small lagoon,
 Pellucid, deep, and still, in silence join'd;
 And swelled the passing stream. Like burnish'd steel
 Glowing, it lay beneath the eye of noon;
 And when the breezes in their play,
 Ruffled the darkening surface, then with gleam
 Of sudden light, around the lotus stem
 It rippled, and the sacred flowers that crown
 The lakelet with their roseate beauty, ride
 In easy waving rock'd from side to side;
 And as the wind upheaves
 Their broad and buoyant weight, the glossy leaves
 Flap on the twinkling waters, up and down.

The following passage in which Madoc makes the unexpected discovery of the child of his slaughtered brother Hoel, (dwelling with his mother in the lonely mountain-hut,) closes with an image of great sweetness and beauty.

‘When Madoc came,
 A little child was sporting by the brook,
 Floating the fallen leaves, that he might see them
 Whirl in the eddy now, and now be driven
 Down the descent, now on the smoother stream
 Sail onward far away. But when he heard
 The horse's tramp, he raised his head and watch'd
 The prince, who now dismounted and drew nigh.
 The little boy still fix'd his eyes on him,
 His bright blue eyes; the wind just mov'd the curls
 That cluster'd round his brow; and so he stood,
 His rosy cheeks still lifted up to gaze
 In innocent wonder. Madoc took his hand,
 And now had ask'd his name, and if he dwelt
 There in the hut—when from that cottage-door
 A woman came, who seeing Madoc stopt
 With such a fear,—for she had cause for fear,—
 As when a bird returning to her nest,
 Turns to a tree beside, if she behold
 Some prying boy too near the dear retreat.’

The following is a brief but beautiful description of a country so reclaimed by civilization :

‘Flourishing
 He left the happy vale; and now he saw
 More fields reclaim'd, more habitations rear'd,
 More harvests rising round. The reptile race,
 And every beast of rapine, had retired
 From man's asserted empire; and the sound
 Of axe and dashing oar, and fisher's net,

And song beguiling toil, and pastoral pipe
 Were heard, where late the solitary hills
 Gave only to the mountain-cataract
 Their wild response.'

Nor must we omit the following lines descriptive of the evening in India :

' Evening comes on : arising from the stream
 Homeward the tall flamingo wings his flight ;
 And where he sails athwart the setting beam,
 His scarlet plumage glows with deeper light.
 The watchman, at the wish'd approach of night,
 Gladly forsakes the field, where he all day,
 To scare the winged plunderers from their prey,
 With shout and sling, on yonder clay-built height,
 Hath borne the sultry ray.
 Hark ! at the golden palaces,
 The Brahim strikes the hour.
 For leagues and leagues around, the brazen sound
 Rolls through the stillness of departing day,
 Like thunder far away.'

The pieces, however, which in our opinion are most imbued with genius, or at all events with that originality, vigour, and spontaneity which peculiarly express genius, are the metrical ballads and other light pieces. Here usually the appearance of effort—the not infrequent affectation—the redundancy and diffuseness—the elaborated common-place—the too often fruitless strivings after effect, which are found in the longer poems, are found no more ;—all is simplicity, freshness, facility, nature. Our poet may perhaps despise us for the expression of such feelings, but we deliberately declare, that if we might save about forty pages of beautiful description from 'Madoc,'—about twice as many more from 'Roderic'—and a somewhat larger portion of 'Thalaba' and the 'Curse of Kehama,' we would sooner part with the whole of the rest of those poems than with the ballads of 'St. Michael's Chair,' 'The Inchcape Rock,' 'The Well of St. Keyne,' 'The Old Woman of Berkeley,' 'The True Ballad of St. Antidius, the Pope, and the Devil,' 'Queen Mary's Christening,' 'The Pious Painter,' and 'The Battle of Blenheim,' and we confess we should be quite as loath to part with the 'March to Moscow' and the 'Cataract of Lodore.' At the close of the sixth volume is a ballad called the 'Young Dragon,' in four parts, (composed as late as the year 1829,) which the poet seems to have read at his own fire-side. The following little 'epilogue' to this piece is one of the most beautiful light poems which has ever fallen from Southey's pen :

'I told my tale of the Holy Thumb
That split the dragon asunder,
And my daughters made great eyes as they heard,
Which were full of delight and wonder,

With listening lips, and looks intent,
There sate an eager boy,
Who shouted sometimes, and clapt his hands,
And could not sit still for joy.

But when I look'd at my mistress's face,
It was all too grave the while;
And when I ceased, methought there was more
Of reproof than of praise in her smile.

That smile I read aright, for thus
Reproachingly said she,
'Such tales are meet for youthful ears,
But give little content to me.

From thee far rather would I hear
Some sober, sadder lay,
Such as I oft have heard well pleased
Before those locks were grey.'

'Nay, mistress mine,' I made reply,
'The autumn hath its flowers,
Nor ever is the sky more gay
Than in its evening hours.

Our good old cat, Earl Tomlemagne,
Upon a warm Spring day,
Even like a kitten at its sport,
Is sometimes seen to play.

That sense which held me back in youth
From all intemperate gladness,
That same good instinct bids me shun
Unprofitable sadness.

Nor marvel you if I prefer
Of playful themes to sing,
The October grove hath brighter tints
Than Summer or than Spring.

For o'er the leaves before they fall,
Such hues hath nature thrown,
That the woods wear in sunless days
A sunshine of their own.

Why should I seek to call forth tears?
The source from whence we weep
Too near the surface lies in youth;
In age it lies too deep.

Enough of foresight ead, too much
 Of retrospect have I ;
 And well for me that I sometimes
 Can put those feelings by.

That I can sport in tales which suit
 Young auditors like these,
 Yet, if I err not, may content
 The few I seek to please.

I know the eyes in which the light
 Of memory will appear ;
 I know the lips which while they read
 Will wear a smile sincere.

The hearts to which my sportive song
 The thought of days will bring,
 When they and I, whose winter now
 Comes on, were in our Spring.

And I their well-known voices too,
 Though far away, can hear,
 Distinctly, even as when in dreams
 They reach the inward ear.

'There speaks the man we knew of yore ;'
 Well pleased I hear them say,
 'Such was he in his lighter moods,
 Before our heads were grey.

Buoyant he was in spirit, quick
 Of fancy, blithe of heart,
 And care and time and change have left
 Untouch'd his better part.'

Thus say my morning friends who now
 Are in the vale of years ;
 And I, save such as thus may rise,
 Would draw no other tears.'

On the whole, we regard Mr. Southey as a poet of more genius than taste—of more learning than judgment—of great but sadly mis-directed powers. His fancy and imagination are active rather than beautiful ; luxuriant rather than strong. He has ever been attracted by an extravagant and almost childish admiration of external pomp, glitter, and magnificence, with but little apparent sensibility for the morally sublime. He delights in the most absurd and grotesque combinations—in the accumulation of all kinds of *material* prodigies, marvels, and horrors however incongruous, impossible, or disgusting. He seems never to have lost the child's love of outward gauds and glittering colours, or the *fee-faw-fum* taste as to the sublime and the terrible. In a word, with an almost unrivalled facility in brilliant description, he has the

smallest possible qualifications for writing epic poetry, or any fictions constructed on similar principles and involving like conditions. Hence, in attempting such compositions, he has ever placed himself under the most disadvantageous circumstances; nay, his very fancy, perverted from its proper uses, and employed in decorating gross absurdities, has tended in some respects only to render his errors and failures the more glaring. Rightly to appreciate his genius, as displayed in his longer poems, we must abstract our minds from the vices of the story; and selecting the finest descriptive passages, read them detached and insulated, look at them just as we should at the series of paintings in a picture gallery.

But it is time that we should say a few words of the present edition of the works of this voluminous and versatile poet. Its external attractions are great. Each volume is accompanied by two engravings in the highest style of art, while every thing in the *getting up*, as the publishers call it, corresponds in elegance. The first volume contains 'Joan of Arc,' and the 'Vision of the Maid of Orleans.' The second, a great variety of miscellaneous poems, and amongst the rest the notable 'Wat Tyler.' The third also contains miscellaneous poems, and amongst the rest the well-known 'Devil's Walk' and 'Cataract of Lodore,' as well as the laureate effusions. The fourth contains 'Thalaba;' the fifth 'Madoc;' the sixth (which we apprehend will be most frequently opened) the 'Ballads and Metrical Tales;' the seventh, 'The Tale of Paraguay,' 'All for Love,' and 'The Pilgrim to Compostella;' the eighth, 'The Curse of Kehama;' and the ninth, 'Roderic.'

The first volume contains a general preface to this new edition, giving an account of Mr. Southey's reasons for thus judiciously becoming his own Editor. The grounds which he has assigned for including all his published poems, not excepting what he calls 'the crude compositions of his youth,' (though for our own parts, we know of nothing more crude than his laureate odes,) must be admitted; still we confess we have doubts, whether the fear of pirated editions, notwithstanding the itching curiosity of the public for what is suppressed, be not at this time of day very superfluous. He must be an adventurous bookseller who would now publish 'Wat Tyler,' or the 'Vision of Judgment,' alone. A portion of the general preface we shall extract.

At the age of sixty-three I have undertaken to collect and edit my Poetical Works, with the last corrections that I can expect to bestow upon them. They have obtained a reputation equal to my wishes; and I have this ground for hoping it may not be deemed hereafter more than commensurate with their deserts, that it has been gained without ever accommodating myself to the taste or fashion of

the times. Thus to collect and revise them is a duty which I owe to that part of the public by whom they have been auspiciously received, and to those who will take a lively concern in my good name when I shall have departed.

The arrangement was the first thing to be considered. In this the order wherein the respective poems were written has been observed, so far as was compatible with a convenient classification. Such order is useful to those who read critically, and desire to trace the progress of an author's mind in his writings; and by affixing dates to the minor pieces, under whatever head they are disposed, the object is sufficiently attained.

Next came the question of correction. There was no difficulty with those poems which were composed after the author had acquired his art (so far as he has acquired it), and after his opinions were matured. It was only necessary to bear in mind the risk there must ever be of injuring a poem by verbal alterations made long after it was written; inasmuch as it must be impossible to recall the precise train of thought in which any passage was conceived, and the considerations upon which not the single verse alone, but the whole sentence, or paragraph, had been constructed: but with regard to more important changes, there could be no danger of introducing any discrepancy in style. With juvenile pieces the case is different. From these the faults of diction have been weeded, wherever it could be done without more trouble than the composition originally cost, and than the piece itself was worth. But inherent faults of conception and structure are incurable; and it would have been mere waste of time to recompose what it was impossible otherwise to amend.

If these poems had been now for the first time to be made public, there are some among them which, instead of being committed to the press, would have been consigned to the flames; not for any disgrace which could be reflected upon me by the crude compositions of my youth, nor for any harm which they could possibly do the reader, but merely that they might not cumber the collection. But, '*necesse est missa reverti*.' Pirated editions would hold out as a recommendation, that they contained what I had chosen to suppress, and thus it becomes prudent, and therefore proper, that such pieces should be retained.

Most of the other volumes contain some prefatory matter. This matter is usually very interesting, and it is now and then enlivened by anecdotes told in that elegant prose style on which after all Mr. Southey must principally rely for his fame with posterity. The following anecdotes in his preface to '*Madoc*,' are too good to be suppressed.

* This poem was the means of making me personally acquainted with Miss Seward. Her encomiastic opinion of it was communicated to me through Charles Lloyd, in a way which required some courteous acknowledgment, and an invitation to Lichfield, where accordingly, I paid her a visit, when next on my way to London, in 1807. She re-

sided in the Bishop's palace. I was ushered up the broad brown staircase by her cousin, the Rev. Henry White, then one of the minor canons of that cathedral, a remarkable person, who introduced me into the presence with jubilant but appalling solemnity. Miss Seward was seated at her desk. She had just finished some verses to be inscribed on the blank leaves of the poem *Madoc*, and the first greeting was no sooner past than she requested that I would permit her to read them to me. It was a mercy that she did not ask me to read them aloud. But she read admirably herself. The situation in which I found myself was so ridiculous, and I was so apprehensive of catching the eye of one person in the room, who was equally afraid of meeting mine, that I never felt it more difficult to control my emotions, than while listening, or seeming to listen, to my own praise and glory. But, bending my head as if in a posture of attentiveness, and screening my face with my hand, and occasionally using some force to compress the risible muscles, I got through the scene without any misbehaviour, and expressed my thanks, if not in terms of such glowing admiration as she was accustomed to receive from others, and had bestowed upon my unworthy self, yet as well as I could. I passed two days under her roof, and corresponded with her from that time till her death.

Miss Seward had been crippled by having repeatedly injured one of her knee-pans. Time had taken away her bloom and her beauty, but her fine countenance retained its animation, and her eyes could not have been brighter nor more expressive in her youth. Sir Walter Scott says of them, 'they were auburn of the precise shade and hue of her hair. In reciting, or in speaking with animation, they appeared to become darker, and as it were to flash fire. I should have hesitated,' he adds, 'to state the impression which this peculiarity made upon me at the time, had not my observation been confirmed by that of the first actress on this or any other stage, with whom I lately happened to converse on our deceased friend's expressive powers of countenance.' Sir Walter has not observed that this peculiarity was hereditary. Describing in one of her earliest letters a scene with her mother, she says, 'I grew so saucy to her, that she looked grave, and took her pinch of snuff, first at one nostril and then at the other, with swift and angry energy, and her eyes began to grow dark and to flash. 'Tis an odd peculiarity; but the balls of my mother's eyes change from brown into black, when she feels either indignation or bodily pain.'

Miss Seward was not so much over-rated at one time, as she has since been unduly depreciated. She was so considerable a person when her reputation was at its height, that Washington said no circumstance in his life had been so mortifying to him as that of having been made the subject of her invective in her monody on Major André. After peace had been concluded between Great Britain and the United States, he commissioned an American officer, who was about to sail for England, to call upon her at Lichfield, and explain to her, that instead of having caused André's death he had endeavoured to save him; and she was requested to peruse the papers in proof of this, which he sent for her perusal. 'They filled me with contrition,' says Miss Seward, 'for the rash injustice of my censure.'

Here we must close our remarks. We take leave of Mr. Southey with unfeigned respect for his genius. Whatever the defects of his poetry may be, its beauties are such, that this edition can hardly fail to find a place in the library of every man fond of elegant literature.

Art. VI. *Papers Relating to the Measures adopted by the Legislatures of Barbadoes, Montserrat, Nevis, Virgin Islands, St. Christopher, and St. Vincent, for the Abolition of the Apprenticeship on the 1st of August, 1838. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, June 26, 1838.*

THE cause of humanity has triumphed! The Abolitionists of Great Britain have succeeded in their truly noble effort. This nation is called upon to offer devout thanks to God, on account of the unexampled success which has been granted to the labours of those, who nine months ago entered on a course of peaceful agitation to effect the extinction of the vile system of negro apprenticeship. The freedom of half a million of their fellow-creatures has been given them as their reward. The glorious results of their exertions are calculated to rebuke the timidity of those who counselled peace and foretold defeat, and to humble and instruct the men, who from their high places looked down with scorn upon the gathering of 'the sacramental host,' declaring in their pride and power their determination to 'stifle' the holy excitement. When these lines shall be read, negro apprenticeship will have ceased in the islands of Tortola, Montserrat, Nevis, the Bahamas, Tobago, Dominica, St. Christopher, St. Vincent, Grenada, Barbadoes, and Jamaica; and we believe also in Honduras, St. Lucia, Trinidad, and British Guiana.

With what rapture will the First of August be hailed in the West Indies! On that auspicious day, thousands of husbands will be restored to their wives—mothers will be free to nurse and provide for their children, and old and young will rejoice together in the termination of a system which made them the victims of a cruel mockery, and an insatiate avarice. And here we may well pause for a moment, to inquire by what means this victory has been obtained. Through a willing government, kindly and promptly co-operating with a generous and humane public? No. By the authority of the legislature, exerted in obedience to the expressed will of every constituency in the kingdom? No. Appeals to government there have been, but they have been disregarded and resisted. Petitions to parliament, urgent and endless there have been, but they have been set aside with indiffe-

rence and disgust. Prayers have been offered at the foot of the throne—the sympathy of a maiden queen has been invoked—but our young sovereign has never been advised by those about her person, to reap gratitude and glory, by granting the wish of her loyal and loving people. The victory has been achieved by the unaided power of truth—by the irresistible might of public opinion, brought to bear upon the fears and interests, and we believe upon the consciences too in many cases, of the far-off colonies themselves. The work has been prosecuted in the belief that so just a cause could not but prosper if espoused by such a nation as this, and in reliance upon Him, who, when forgotten and set at nought by rulers and legislators, is able to accomplish, by the humblest instruments, his benign purposes, and cause even the wrath of wicked men to contribute ultimately to his praise. In the most unpromising seasons we have been hopeful and assured; and though recent events have in some respects exceeded even our anticipations, we have looked with confidence to see that day of freedom which now dawns upon the dwelling of the negro, and gladdens the banks of the Essequibo and the islands of the greater and lesser Antilles. Most justly did Lord Brougham observe upon a recent occasion, when describing the feelings with which he had pursued his anti-slavery labours, that ‘even when his mind had been most depressed by the prospect before him, and the circumstances around him, he had never for an instant felt a doubt of the ultimate success of the cause. At all times he had had to support him, the public mind of the country. At all times he had marked the question as gloriously distinguished from all others. It lulled and laid asleep for the occasion, every difference of political opinion, every religious or sectarian animosity, every feeling of a factious or violent character; while humanity, and sound policy, and the Christian principle of the country, were all aroused and called into full and active energy. This it was that had kept up his spirits and sustained his mind, even when outnumbered by the representatives of the people in the ratio of three and four to one.’

Let us advert to the state of the population in the slave colonies in the month of July, 1834. We have with much care compiled from official sources the following table, which will exhibit the total number of slaves for whom compensation was received, and also show the manner in which they were divided, and the number belonging to each class :

	Prædials.	Non-Prædials.	Children under six years.	Aged and Non-Effective.	Total.
CHARTERED COLONIES.					
Jamaica.....	218,456	36,384	39,013	16,767	311,070
Barbadoes.....	52,193	14,445	14,732	1,780	83,150
Antigua.....	20,368	2,982	4,327	1,444	29,121
Grenada.....	16,940	2,069	3,320	1,309	23,638
St. Vincent. . . .	15,309	2,805	2,963	1,189	22,266
St. Christopher....	12,601	3,066	3,198	915	19,780
Dominica.....	10,465	1,199	2,113	398	14,175
Tobago.....	8,266	812	1,479	1,032	11,589
Bahamas.....	4,290	3,444	2,053	299	10,086
Nevis.....	5,299	1,926	1,261	329	8,815
Montserrat.....	4,510	516	1,145	230	6,401
Virgin Islands....	3,416	902	749	68	5,135
Bermuda	18	3,296	606	106	4,026
CROWN COLONIES.					
British Guiana....	63,282	6,297	9,893	3,352	82,824
Mauritius—.....	34,424	22,275	7,612	2,302	66,613
Cape of Good Hope		30,010	5,732		35,742
Trinidad.....	13,773	3,766	2,246	872	20,657
St. Lucia.....	8,723	1,605	1,957	1,006	13,291
Honduras.....	810	778	224	90	1,902
Total..	493,143	139,027	104,623	33,488	770,281

To the above may be added the free coloured population in 1834, say..... 165,000
Whites, say..... 130,600

Total amount of population in the above colonies.. 1,065,281

Such was the state of the slave colonies on the 31st of July, 1834. On the 1st of August, 1834, the children of slaves under six years of age were declared free, leaving 665,648 above that age in the relation of apprentices. Of these, 139,027 being classed non-prædials, were entitled to their freedom on the 1st of August, 1838, leaving the various descriptions of prædials, amounting to 526,621, to remain in servitude till the 1st of August, 1840. The friends of the negro, aware, from the best authority, of the grievous and oppressive character of the apprenticeship, resolved to make a great effort to effect the emancipation of the prædial apprentices on the day fixed for the freedom of the non-prædials. Their labours, their defeats, and their successes, are alike with-

out a parallel in the annals of philanthropic exertion. During the short space of eight months, three meetings of delegates, and five immense public meetings were held in the metropolis, besides innumerable public meetings and lectures in every part of the kingdom. Thus much of their labours. In the cabinet and the legislature (with one exception, the majority of three, upon the motion of Sir Eardley Wilmot,) they met with successive defeats, and were at last doomed to see the question dismissed for the present Session, by the adoption of Lord Glenelg's Bill, and the virtual revocation, by ministerial agency, of the decision of the Commons on the 22nd of May. The treatment experienced by the abolitionists at the hands of the Government, and the representatives of the people, we believe to be without an example. Long ought it to be referred to, to guide the electors of this empire in their future choice of those who shall be raised to a position in which they may, if disposed, overrule the will of the people, however reasonable and righteous their demand, and however strongly fortified by the previous payment of their money for the thing for which they pray. Deeply shall we lament, if, in the general rejoicing which the overthrow of the apprenticeship will occasion, the heartless and wicked conduct of her Majesty's ministers, and their pliant majorities, is suffered to pass into oblivion. Their speeches, their votes and their Acts, should be placed in imperishable record, side by side with the high achievements of the indomitable champions of the oppressed, that posterity may be warned from placing dependence on men, however high their professions, and encouraged at the same time to attempt great deeds, even when forsaken by the men they have appointed, and paid, and vested with the power to accomplish them.

In the midst of disaster and defeat at home, the work of mercy commenced and proceeded abroad. In the month of December, 1837, the island of MONTSERRAT set the example of voluntary emancipation, by passing an Act, the clauses of which are to the following effect:

‘ 1.—Repeals Abolition Act, and all Acts auxiliary thereto, on the first day of August next. 2.—Apprenticeship to cease and determine, and all classes of labourers to be free on the said first day of August, 1838. 3.—Persons discharged from apprenticeship entitled to relief. 4.—Owners or directors of plantations to provide for diseased, aged, and infirm persons on their estates. Penalty of £5 for each offence, recoverable before any two or more justices; justices to issue warrant to bring offenders before them: If offenders convicted, and penalty not forthwith paid, to be committed to common gaol not exceeding twenty days. Penalties, when recovered, to be paid into the public treasury. In case any dispute arise as to the right of any party claiming to be maintained, then two justices, with the aid of a medical man, are to make a binding decision. 5.—If further compensation awarded

beyond £20,000,000 to be paid to the persons suffering pecuniary loss by the abridgment of the term of apprenticeship. 6.—Suspended clause.’

In April, of the present year, an Act of Emancipation on the 1st of August, passed the legislature of Nevis and the Virgin Islands. The following is an extract from a private letter to the Governor, dated Tortola, 13th of April, 1838.

‘The General Emancipation Bills passed yesterday after a strong opposition.

‘The news of the Bill having passed spread like wild-fire, and I was delighted on riding out last evening at the hearty salutations of the negroes.

‘It is already evident that *these measures will prove highly beneficial*, as the people will quietly and contentedly slide into the new state of things, being aware a boon has been granted them. *I do not think a single planter who has any tact will lose a man who is worth keeping.*’

ST. CHRISTOPHER next followed. The letter of the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Henry Macleod, to Lord Glenelg, will show the steps which led to the event. The part we have printed in italics is amusing.

‘Government House, May 18, 1838.

‘My Lord,—As it is impossible to communicate through Sir Wm. Colebrooke by this packet (which is hourly expected here), I have the pleasure to announce that the Legislature of this colony have resolved to abolish the apprenticeship system on the 1st of August next; and I have the honour to inclose the duplicate of a despatch I have addressed to his Excellency on the subject.

‘I have, &c.,

(signed)

H. MACLEOD, Lieutenant-Governor.

(Enclosure.)

‘Government House, May 18, 1838.

‘Sir,—My correspondence will have shown your Excellency that although I had hitherto failed in my attempts with the legislature for the abolition of the apprenticeship system in August next, I was still led to think it would eventually be adopted. Having pressed the matter, *I was asked for a dissolution, that the members might take the opinion of their constituents.* Your Excellency will think with me that in a small island like this, and where fifteen members for the rural parishes in the absence of the proprietary body are returned by thirty-five voters, it was not necessary; and I was also aware that one great object was to throw out four members who support the government. Knowing like wise that parties at the time were nearly balanced on the question, I thought it politic neither to risk the loss of those I could depend upon, nor fair on these gentlemen not to have a voice in a popular measure, throughout which they have supported me. I did not therefore consent; but finding there was a great inclination, particularly in the

council, to reconsider the subject, I prorogued, and yesterday again submitted the abolition of the system on the 1st of August next, which I have great satisfaction in announcing for the information of Her Majesty's government was carried *unanimously in the Council, and with hardly a dissentient voice in the Assembly.*

ST. VINCENT. Copy of a despatch from Lieutenant-Governor Tyler to Lord Glenelg:

Government House, St. Vincent, May 12, 1838.

'My Lord,—It is with no ordinary feelings I fulfil the gratifying duty of transmitting to your Lordship direct by the mail, which leaves this evening, the copy of a Bill for abrogating the apprenticeship of prædial labourers in this colony, which passed the legislature yesterday.

Your Lordship, on reference to my correspondence with his Excellency the Governor-in-chief on the 25th and 26th of April, will observe, I anticipated such a measure; I was not mistaken; its attainment, I am proud to say for the honour of the colony, has been accomplished, as your Lordship will see by the inclosed address from the Council and Assembly, spontaneously and unanimously, with *a perfect confidence in its results.*

To his Excellency George Tyler, Lieutenant-Governor, &c. &c. &c.

Sir,—We, the Members of Her Majesty's Council, and the Speaker and Members of the House of Assembly, respectfully approach and place in the hands of your Excellency a Bill, intituled, 'An Act to abrogate the Apprenticeship of Prædial Labourers in the Island of St. Vincent and its Dependencies.'

In passing this most important measure, the two branches of the legislature are not insensible of *the difficulties, the sacrifice, and inconvenience which will fall with much severity on persons in all professions, circumstances, and situations*; but, actuated by a spirit of benevolence and an enlarged philanthropy, they are of opinion they have not granted the boon of emancipation upon any conditions *inconsistent with the character, the safety, and the true interests of the country.*

The Lieutenant-Governor replied in the following terms:

'The Lieutenant-Governor, in congratulating the Honourable Board of Council and the Honourable House of Assembly on the measure of emancipation which they have spontaneously and honourably granted to the prædial labourers by the Bill now before him, cannot but express his firm conviction that this instance of their liberality will *best insure the permanent welfare of the colony*; that, by cheerfully meeting the end which could not be indefinitely postponed, they have adopted the *safest and most certain means to encourage that confidence and willing intercourse*, which, by directing the energies to industrious exertion, will *convert our rural population into a faithful and happy peasantry.*

It is difficult to perceive how a measure confessedly consistent with the 'safety and true interests of the colony,' calculated to encourage confidence and willing intercourse, and to 'convert a slave

population into a faithful and happy peasantry,' can be fraught with 'difficulties, sacrifice, and inconvenience to persons in all 'professions, circumstances, and situations.' The following are the provisions of the Act :

- ' 1.—Terminates the apprenticeship on the 1st of August, 1838. 2.—Renders unlawful the eviction from their habitations of labourers willing to work for wages (unless for ill conduct*) before the 1st of August, 1839; also of persons who from disease are incapable of earning their subsistence. 3.—Makes it imperative on masters to give food, &c., to those not able to earn their subsistence until parochial laws are made. 4.—Provides for the settlement of disputed claims. 5.—Mode of proceeding of justices and appropriation of penalties.'

BARBADOES, with fifty-four thousand prædial apprentices, quickly followed the good example of the islands we have named, and left all eyes directed to Jamaica. On the 11th of April, Lord Glenelg's Act to amend the Act for the Abolition of Slavery, received Her Majesty's assent, and was almost immediately sent out to Jamaica, accompanied by a despatch from Lord Glenelg, explaining the provisions of his Act and concluding as follows:

' Although in pursuance of the instruction which I have addressed to you, you will give immediate effect to this law. I think it desirable that you should at an early opportunity convene the legislature of the colony under your Government, and communicate to it the intelligence that Parliament has found it necessary to pass this Act in furtherance of the great measure for the abolition of slavery. You will further explain to them the course which her Majesty's Government have felt it their duty to adopt, in resisting the demand for the early abolition of negro apprenticeship by the authority of the Imperial Parliament, you will at the same time impress upon their most serious attention, *how deeply seated, and how generally prevalent throughout the population of this kingdom, is the solicitude for bringing, if possible, to an early close the system of apprenticeship, established by the Act of 1833.* You will point out to them the obvious, but weighty motives which recommend that this consummation should be effected by the spontaneous act of the legislatures of the respective colonies, due preparation being first made for those amendments of the colonial code which must accompany or precede the change. You will suggest the policy and expediency of their anticipating by *wise and humane enactments* the wishes and desires of the people of this country, on a subject on which so deep and general an interest is felt. By such a course they would avoid the serious embarrassment and inconveniences which may be apprehended from *the effect on the minds of the negroes from the repeated discussions and continued agitation of this question during the*

* Much will depend upon the persons authorized to decide upon ~~all~~ cases of 'ill conduct.'

remaining term of the apprenticeship, if it should not be abridged, and they would conciliate the gratitude and good-will of the labouring population, in whose disposition to work for fair remuneration and on equitable terms, the proprietors will be hereafter in a great measure dependent. I am persuaded that no exertion will be wanting on your part to allay excitement, and to produce good will and harmony among the different classes of the community, an object in which the interests of all are most deeply concerned.'

On the 16th of July we were in possession of Jamaica papers with the intelligence of the steps taken on the arrival of the new law and the despatch of the Colonial Secretary. The House of Assembly was convened on the 5th of June, and the proceedings of the two branches of the legislature opened by a speech from the Governor, his Excellency Sir Lionel Smith. We give the important passages. We have been informed by one present on the occasion, that the speech was delivered with a firm and decided tone, sufficiently indicative of his Excellency's determination to be trifled with no longer. One extract will be found worthy of a careful perusal.

'I have called you together at an unusual season, to take into your consideration the state of the island under the laws of apprenticeship for the labouring population.

'I need not refer you to the agitation on this subject throughout the British empire, or to the discussions upon it in parliament, where the honourable efforts of the ministry were barely found sufficient to preserve the original duration of the law, as an obligation of national faith.

'General agitation, and parliamentary interference, have not, I am afraid, yet terminated.

'A corresponding excitement has been long going on among the apprentices themselves; but still they have rested in sober and quiet hopes, relying on your generosity, that you will extend to them that boon which has been granted to their class in other colonies.

'In this posture of affairs, it is my duty to declare my sentiments, and distinctly to recommend to you the early and equal abolition of apprenticeship for all classes. I do so, in confidence, that the apprentices will be found worthy of freedom, and that it will operate as a double blessing, by securing also the future interests of the planters.

'I am commanded, however, to inform you, that her Majesty's ministers will not entertain any question of further compensation.

'But should your views be opposed to the policy I recommend, I would entreat you to consider well, how impracticable it will become to carry coercive labour. Always difficult, it would, in future, be in peril of constant comparison with other colonies made free, and with those estates in this island made free by individual proprietors.

'As governor, under these circumstances, I never shrink from any of my responsibilities, I PRONOUNCE IT PHYSICALLY IMPOSSIBLE TO

MAINTAIN THE APPRENTICESHIP WITH ANY HOPE OF SUCCESSFUL AGRICULTURE.

‘Jamaica is in your hands—she requires repose, by the removal of a law, which has equally tormented the labourer, and disappointed the planter; a law by which man still constrains man in unnatural servitude. This is her first exigency. For her future welfare, she appeals to your wisdom to legislate in the spirit of the times, with liberality and benevolence towards all classes.’

The reply of the council is dignified, liberal, and conciliating. They say,—

‘Being aware of the agitation on this subject throughout the British empire, and of the discussion on it in parliament, we duly appreciate the honourable (?) efforts of her Majesty’s ministers, to preserve the original duration of the law as an obligation of national faith.

‘We feel confident that the hopes of the apprentices will not be disappointed, and that the wisdom and generosity of the legislature of Jamaica, will not hesitate to extend to them that boon which has been granted to their class in other colonies.

‘We cordially concur in your Excellency’s wise and humane recommendation, of an early and equal abolition of the apprenticeship of all classes, and feel pleasure in recording our perfect conviction, that the apprentices will be found worthy of freedom in every respect, and will so conduct themselves in their altered condition, as to insure the future interests of the planters.

‘Coercive labour has, at all times, been obtained with difficulty; but under the present peculiar circumstances of this island, we fear it might be impossible to maintain the apprenticeship with any hope of successful agriculture.

So, then, it is manifest at last, that the abolitionists have been all along right in their judgment of the character of the negro, the true interests of the planters, and the policy most likely to promote the welfare of the colonies. The council of Jamaica being judges, the negroes are ‘*worthy of freedom in every respect*, and will so conduct themselves, as to INSURE THE FUTURE INTERESTS OF THE PLANTERS!’ The whole tone and tenor of this reply will appear most extraordinary to those who are acquainted with the history and past conduct of the chief actors in this novel scene.

The reply of the assembly savours strongly of haughtiness and petulance, and shows clearly, that their *voluntary* act was *not* *compulsion*.

On Thursday the 7th of June, a bill for the termination of apprenticeship on the 1st of August, 1838, was brought in by Mr. Guy, of St. George’s, and referred to a Committee. On the 6th it was passed ‘*without the voice of a single member being raised against it.*’ After this the friends of humanity need never dis-

spair, how violent soever may be the opposition of the parties interested in the continuance of the evil they seek to remove. Let the advocates of negro freedom, in America and every other place gather courage from the contemplation of the events which have transpired in Jamaica, and persevere in the use of those moral means which have so signally triumphed in the most contumacious and rebellious colony of the British crown.

We have been greatly edified and amused by the perusal of the three days' debates in the House of Assembly, and, especially, with the singular zeal displayed in behalf of immediate abolition. Some honourable members desired it by the following Sunday, while others would have bestowed it on the day of her Majesty's coronation. The majority, however, deemed the 1st of August the most appropriate period, and thus the day prescribed by the people of this country will be literally observed, according to their wishes.

The bill, as it has passed the House of Assembly, consists of three clauses; the first declares the apprenticeship at an end on the 1st of August next; the second repeals all acts relating to apprenticeship; and the third recites the clause in the supplemental abolition act which passed during the previous session, authorising the proprietors to serve notices on labourers to quit.

We confess we should have preferred a simple declaratory Act abolishing slavery on the 1st of August, to the one adopted by the assembly. We think the provisions annexed to the abolition clause detract from its beauty and grandeur. Measures for the protection of the negroes in the occupation of their houses, and for the maintenance of the aged and infirm, might have been subsequently and separately enacted.

Amongst the motives which led to the passing of this act by the Jamaica House of Assembly, we think the following were the principal. A wish to avoid the infraction of their charter by carrying into effect the provisions of the odious bill of Lord Glenelg, and to escape the degradation and subjection consequent thereon. A conviction of the utter impossibility of making the apprenticeship work beyond the 1st of August, and their knowledge of the determination of the people of England to continue their agitation, and renew their appeal for parliamentary interposition. And lastly, their belief in the fitness of the negro for entire freedom, and his disposition to cultivate the soil as a paid labourer. The minds of the legislators of Jamaica and the planters generally were no doubt considerably influenced by the wise and seasonable letter of the Marquis of Sligo, addressed to the members of the Assembly on the 31st of March, last, which we greatly regret our limits do not permit us to quote. After adverting to the trying circumstances under which he assumed the administration of affairs in the island, and to the

manner in which his conduct had been regarded by the government and people of England, his Lordship enforces with great earnestness the immediate extinction of the apprenticeship.

The packet which announced the abolition of the apprenticeship in Jamaica, brought also the intelligence of the adoption of a similar measure in the island of Granada. This cheering information arrived very providentially on the morning of the day on which Lord Brougham moved in the House of Lords 'that an humble address be presented to Her Majesty, praying that Her Majesty would be graciously pleased to issue an order in council forthwith, to put a period, under proper provisions and regulations, to negro apprenticeship, in the unchartered colonies of the crown.' His Lordship argued the want of power in the crown colonies to effect the general emancipation of the apprentices, and showed that in some of them there were peculiar and pressing reasons for the immediate intervention of imperial authority. 'The crown was to them what the House of Assembly and the Legislative Council were to Jamaica and Barbadoes.'

*'It was in the savannahs of Trinidad, and upon the alluvial soil of Guiana, that human life was most prodigally wasted in ministering to European avarice, and it was there that it behoved the mother country to interpose to put a stop to the inhuman deaths, to the diseases which were felt to be more cruel than death, to the fatal contamination which the necessity of labouring on those fatally unwholesome plains inflicted on those wretched victims of our pride. But the voice from Mauritius, which pierced their ear, and rended the silence of that eastern sea, was aggravated in its tones of pity, and fell still harsher upon their ears, from this hard addition to the lot of the slave, that three out of four of those who have cultivated the plains of Mauritius, all suffering worse torments than even those which were inflicted upon the negroes of Guiana and of Trinidad, had never in their lives been made legally slaves at all. They had been transported thither, not only against the law of nature, but after the law of this land had made transportation of the slave a capital crime; and 30,000 capital felonies had been committed in conveying 30,000 of these victims of their weakness, and planting them under the unwholesome climate, and upon the unwholesome soil of that Mauritius. If ever there had been a signal neglect of duty upon the part of a legislature, it was there, in not having at once broken through the fetters of a mere legal infirmity, and passed a new law to prevent the recurrence of those monstrous outrages; but in prying, on the contrary, the frightful sum of 20,000,000*l.* sterling as compensation to those capital felons, instead of giving them their deserts upon the gallows.'*

His Lordship's eloquent exposure and denunciation of the 'felons' of Mauritius were richly merited, as was also his impeachment of the gross misconduct of the government in respect of that colony. The profound silence of the Colonial Secretary

the subject was significant. The bold charges of Lord Balmains were allowed to pass without notice. The first Lord Treasurer and his colleagues tacitly pleaded guilty to the indictment. We could have wished that the noble orator had been even more severe in his rebuke of the patrons and the paymasters of the felon flesh-factors of Mauritius. Hereafter we shall feel it our duty to drag to light some of the dark doings of those who have for years been among the most shameless and successful traffickers in the bodies of men, and who are now engaged in kidnapping, from the plains of India, thousands of fresh recruits to plant the sugar-cane upon the graves of the tens of thousands they have immolated. His Lordship pointed out most fully the benefits already derived from the free system in Mauritius, and the danger of procrastination on the part of the Government, after what had taken place in the chartered colonies. 'A month's delay might be mischievous, a month's might be ruinous, a year's might be fatal.'

By all these considerations (concluded the noble Lord) by the fortitude which this country has ever held for fortitude in war, and for clemency to fallen foes—by the patience which this country has ever displayed under its burdens and its sufferings, however is as nothing when compared with the almost miraculous patience of the negro under the multiplied and monstrous outrages inflicted upon him—by the character which your lordships have ascribed for justice, mercy, and religion—the Christian religion above other religions, which, whenever alluded to, to point a sentence or a period, is so loudly and even pharasaically professed—for I will never cease to call it, if, with the gospel on your lips, now that your hearts are strangers to its spirit—by the groans of millions of bondsmen, echoed by twenty-four millions of free citizens, all for justice at your lordships' hands—by all these appeals to feelings, your principles, and your religion, I claim from your lordships an assent to my motion.'

Lord Glenelg stated in reply, that the Government deemed it proper course to oppose the motion of his noble friend, and leave the crown colonies to act as the chartered colonies had done.

The legislatures in the Crown colonies, although not composed or constituted like those of the chartered colonies, yet were as competent and to legislate, and as independent in their acts as to internal administration, as were the legislatures of the chartered colonies themselves. It was unnecessary for him, however, to dwell on this part of the subject, because in point of fact the Crown colonies were now taking the same course as the chartered colonies were at that moment pursuing. In the present year special letters had been sent out to the governors of the crown colonies directing them to bring the subject of the consideration of their local legislatures, and to state to them the reasons why her Majesty's government wished such a measure to be introduced.

'In TRINIDAD the legislature had been convened and met the day before the mail that brought the intelligence which had been already alluded to came away. There had been a message from the governor urging the consideration of this subject, and it had been fixed to be taken into consideration the day after the mail left. It was, however, from the information he had received, fully expected that this Assembly would pass an Act of the same description as had been enacted by those of the other colonies which had been enumerated.

'From ST. LUCIA, the information he (Lord Glenelg) had received to-day, was that the Governor intended under the authority sent him from home to propose the same course, and no doubt was entertained as to the issue.

'To GUIANA the same authority had been given—conveyed also in the strongest terms. He would not trouble the House by reading the despatch, but though to-day he had received no official communication on the subject, still he had seen a private letter from a source which could not be questioned, which stated that no doubt existed but that by the court of policy the measure would be sanctioned.

'As to MAURITIUS he could only say, that there had not been time for information to arrive, but he must add, that the same authority had been repeated by him (Lord Glenelg) to that colony, in equally strong terms as to the other colonies, and that he had no reason to doubt that this instruction or authority would be there received and acted upon as it had been elsewhere. In short, he entertained no doubt but that in the Mauritius the prædial apprentices would be free from the 1st of February, 1839, and with respect to the other three Crown colonies the information he had received left no doubt but two out of the three had accomplished the work of freedom, and that the third was not very far from adopting the same course.

'Under these circumstances, he should say that in all probability the work was complete; that the powers of these colonies was perfect; and further, that it was more than possible that all these Crown colonies had accomplished the same acts which the chartered colonies had already accomplished. Thus, he conceived that the question had been satisfactorily settled, and without the necessity of the painful alternative suggested by his noble and learned friend. In fact, when the house met again, he had no doubt but that the complete and unqualified termination of apprenticeship would have taken place.'

Lord Brougham finally withdrew his motion. In the course of the debate he took the opportunity of lifting from the brow of Lord Glenelg the laurel which his lordship, with singular complacency, had assumed, and generously gave the credit of having accomplished the abolition of the cruel system, to those who had laboured upon the highest principles, and with a resolution to which it was owing entirely, that Government had taken any steps towards redressing the wrongs of the apprentice, or enforcing the provision of the Act of 1833.

We have thus endeavoured, with as much brevity as we deemed consistent with the importance of the subject, to present the present

position of the great question of Negro Emancipation before the readers of this journal, and we must now hasten to conclude an article which has already extended itself beyond the limits of the space assigned us. Our duty, however, requires that we call upon every friend of liberty to continue at his post. The present posture of affairs demands wakefulness and foresight. The good obtained must be secured. The evil threatened must be averted. Such laws as the one recently passed in St. Vincent must be exposed and condemned. The Colonial Office, somewhat roused, must be quickened and kept alive by the unceasing activity of the anti-slavery Societies of the country. Though there may be now less need for declamation, there is unquestionably far greater necessity than ever for the exercise of all the legal acuteness and deliberative talent, which are to be found amongst the promoters of colonial reform. Attention must be turned to the laws of every colony in which emancipation is about to take place, and a vigorous and well directed effort must be made to effect an entire revision of their codes. We rejoice to perceive that the two London Committees are impressed with the importance of this business. Believing that it is the intention of the planters to reduce the emancipated negroes to the condition of serfs, and to establish a system of magisterial despotism through the means of vagrancy and emigration laws, contracts for labour, police regulations, &c., &c., 'they recommend the appointment of a competent and impartial tribunal in this country, with a view to the immediate inspection of all laws proposed to be passed as accompaniments to the Abolition of Negro apprenticeship:—the complete revision of all colonial laws affecting the constitutional rights and privileges of the coloured classes; and the final establishment of such just and equal principles of government, as shall be authoritative and binding on all future colonial legislation.'

If these things be done, and the efforts of the friends of personal freedom be seconded by enlarged and liberal plans of usefulness on the part of the friends of education and religion, we see no reason to doubt that in a few years the British colonies in the West Indies will be found peopled by communities as free, and prosperous, and happy, as any on the face of the earth. Then will be realized the promises annexed to obedience—then every yoke is broken, and every burden is undone—when the finger of scorn is no longer put forth, and men speak truth instead of vanity and lies—then shall the light break forth as the morning, and the darkness be as the noon-day. Then shall the old waste places be built, the foundations of many generations be raised up, and our righteousness shall be before us, and the glory of the Lord shall bring up the rear.

We had intended to refer to the probable effects of emanci-

pation upon the question of slavery in the United States and elsewhere; to the revival of the slave-trade by Messrs. Gladstone and Co.; and to the success which has attended the exposure of the execrable traffic in Hill Coolies; also to the extent and character of the African slave-trade at the present time; but we are compelled to defer the consideration of these topics. We hope hereafter to give them due consideration, and in the mean time we rejoice with all who love truth and justice, in the issue of a struggle, upon which the historian will dwell as the noblest and brightest feature of the age in which we live.

Brief Notices.

The Despatches and Correspondence of the Marquis Wellesley, K.G., during his Lordships Mission to Spain as Ambassador Extraordinary to the Supreme Junta, in 1809. Edited by Montgomery Martin. 8vo. London: John Murray, 1838.

Mr. Martin's edition of the Marquess Wellesley's Indian Despatches will prepare the public to receive with distinguished favour this supplement to that work. It is marked by the same features, and is entitled to similar praise. The Despatches and Correspondence are arranged chronologically, and throw much light on the condition of Spain when England commenced her interposition on its behalf. The future historian will avail himself largely of these documents; and such readers of the present day as are interested in the struggles and rescue of the Peninsula, will not fail to avail themselves of the information they supply. Few literary men deserve so well of their countrymen as Mr. Martin, and we shall be glad to find that his labours are duly acknowledged.

The Arabian Nights Entertainments. A new Translation, with copious Notes by William Lane. Illustrated with many hundred Wood-cuts, engraved by the first English Artists, after original designs by William Harvey. Parts I. & II. Knight & Co.

We hail the appearance of this new translation of one of the most entertaining, and even instructive books, to be found in any language. If the whole of the translation be characterized by the same purity, taste, and simplicity, with which these two numbers are marked, the public will have abundant reason to be satisfied. Of its accuracy, indeed, we do not pretend to be sufficiently competent judges; but of its elegance and simplicity there can be no doubt, and they afford a sort of internal evidence or proof of fidelity, of which the ignorant can judge. But on the score of fidelity, the reader may rest quite satisfied. The task has been committed to the hand of Mr. Lane, the well-known writer of the elaborate work on the Modern Egyptians, and one of the first Arabic scholars of this or any age. We have, indeed, heard it regretted that a new translation was ventured on at all; not because

old was considered more accurate than this, for that is ridiculous, because it has the charm of association belonging to it; this charm, however, is no sufficient reason for preferring an intrinsically inferior translation. 'The version which has so long amused us, not made immediately from the original Arabic, but through the medium of a French translation, is extremely loose, and abounds with such errors greatly detract from the most valuable quality of the work, which is that of presenting a series of most faithful and minutely detailed pictures of the manners and customs of the Arabs.'

We have much pleasure, too, in saying that many of the indelicacies of the old translation are here suppressed. We trust that the same, or in a greater measure of discretion will be exercised in this respect; there is there any circumstance in our opinion which will tend so much to give this translation an advantage over the old one. The engravings with which the whole work is so exquisitely and profusely illustrated, are equally distinguished by originality in the conception and fidelity in the execution. We shall report progress from time to time, as the work is proceeding, and give a fuller account of the whole when it is completed.

e. Saints' Everlasting Rest; or a Treatise on the Blessed State of the Saints in Heaven. By Richard Baxter. Edited by the Rev. William Brown; M.D. Two volumes, 12mo. Edinburgh: Oliphant and Son. 1838.

The following extract from Dr. Brown's preface will best describe the character of this abridgment:—'I have endeavoured to perform the same service as I some years ago attempted for our Author's REFORMED PASTOR, of which several Editions have appeared, with an introductory Essay by the present Bishop of Calcutta. It is not properly an Abridgment. It is only, indeed, about three-fifths of the size of the original; but this reduction of bulk has been effected chiefly by the omission of the extraneous and less useful parts of the work; so that, while I have attempted to free it from the defects, I trust it will be found to possess all, or nearly all, the excellences of the original. I have also corrected, but not modernized the language: that of the Author, though vigorous, is often remarkably careless; but I have not so altered it as to change its venerable, powerful, and impressive character. In regard to the arrangement, I trust, that, in consequence of the omission of extraneous matter, the employment of a more distinct notation, and some small transpositions, it will be found much more luminous than even the original.'

et as Privata. The Book of Private Devotion, a Series of Prayers and Meditations; with an Introductory Essay chiefly from the Writings of Hannah More. London: Ward and Co. 1837.

This is an interesting Manual of piety; it is one of the best we have seen. It is beautifully got up, and is so compact that it may be carried without inconvenience in the waistcoat pocket.

Distinguished Men of Modern Times. 4 vols. (Library of Entertaining Knowledge.) London: Charles Knight. 1838.

A republication of the Memoirs which appeared some time since in the Gallery of Portraits. They are necessarily brief, and barren of detail, but constitute a valuable collection, and may serve to stimulate further inquiry. Men of all classes and parties; philosophers, poets, philanthropists, senators, statesmen, and generals, are included. An extensive acquaintance with such men cannot fail to exercise a beneficial influence on the mind, and we recommend our young readers, especially, to avail themselves of the introduction proffered by these volumes. The Memoirs are, for the most part, written in a good style, and it will be difficult to find in any other publication so much interesting information within so narrow a compass.

Beauties of the Country; a Description of Rural Customs, Objects, Scenery, and the Seasons. By Thomas Miller, Author of 'A Day in the Woods.' With Twenty-six Illustrations. London: John Van Voorst. 1837.

This book is well printed, and prettily embellished. It is intended to picturize each month, by a wood-cut and a vignette. They are on the whole successful. We cannot praise very highly the work itself. There is too constant an attempt at fine writing—allusions to classic names and personages, which cannot be familiar to the parties for whose benefit the book is evidently written:—and extracts from writers, both prose and poetic, so abound as to be unpleasant, especially if often read before. If a little more solid, useful information had been vouchsafed, in a less ambitious style, the value and interest of the work would have been much increased. The design of the writer is good, and his spirit commendable: and we shall be happy to see, in a future edition, if such a measure of success await him, that he has taken our hint in good part.

The Blessedness of the Righteous. By John Howe, M.A. London: James Nisbet. 1838.

Howe is a great favorite with us, and we rejoice at every effort to give increased circulation to his writings. The present volume is an abridgment of one of his most valuable works, which has not hitherto been as popular as it should be. The size of the work is reduced about one-third, by the omission of scholastic disquisitions, and those digressions in which Howe's genius not infrequently indulged. Obsolete words, and those which have acquired a low and vulgar sense, have been supplanted by others, such as Howe himself would probably have employed had he lived in the present day. The abridgment will be acceptable to many, and may serve, we hope, to introduce Howe to the acquaintance of some new readers. The title-page contains no intimation of the work having been abridged. This is getting into fashion with publishers, but it is scarcely honest, and ought not to be tolerated.

L'Echô de Paris: a Selection of Familiar Phrases, which a person would daily hear said around him, if he were living among French people. By Mr. A. P. Lepage, Professor of the French language in London. London: Effingham Wilson. 1837.

The great difficulties which any student of a foreign language has to encounter, are its idiomatic forms and proverbial phrases. This cheap little volume removes most of these difficulties, gives numerous specimens of French idioms and adages,—and supplies a copious French and English Vocabulary of the words contained in the work. It will be found an admirable and useful companion to those of our readers who anticipate a visit to the Continent. It is well adapted for schools and families, where the elements of the language have been acquired, and where familiar conversation is adopted as the means of attaining a felicitous pronunciation.

Medical Portrait Gallery. Biographical Memoirs of the most celebrated Physicians, Surgeons, &c., who have contributed to the Advancement of Medical Science. By Thomas Joseph Pettigrew, F.R.S., &c. Parts I.—V. London: Fisher & Co. 1838.

A work which cannot fail to be extensively popular with the medical profession, and indeed, with the public at large. It is got up in handsome style. The engravings are of a first-rate order, and the biographical sketches by Mr. Pettigrew, though necessarily brief, are replete with interesting and valuable information. The work is issued in monthly parts, each part containing three portraits, and accompanying memoirs. The publishers, we apprehend, will find it their interest to give a larger proportion of modern subjects than they have hitherto done. Among those already included in the Gallery, are Sirs Henry Hallford, Anthony Carlisle, Charles M. Clarke, Astley Cooper, and Dr. James Blundell. We shall report progress as the work proceeds, and notice it more fully when completed.

Literary Intelligence.

In the Press.

Will be published in the course of September, the Second Volume of Dr. Price's History of Protestant Nonconformity in England.

Letters from the West Indies, in the Autumn of 1836 and Spring of 1837 by William Lloyd, M.D. Post 8vo., with Lithographic Sketches of the Scenery.

Just Published.

The History of England, continued from the late Sir James Mackintosh. By William Wallace, Esq. Vol. VIII. (Lardner's Cyclopædia, Vol. CIV.)

The Power, Wisdom, and Goodness of God, as displayed in the Animal Creation, showing the remarkable agreement between the department of Nature and Revelation. By C. M. Burnett, Esq.

Colonization and Christianity: a Popular History of the Treatment of the Natives by the Europeans in all their colonies. By William Howitt.

A History of British Birds. By W. Yarrell, F.L.S. V.P.Z.S. Seventh Part.

Remains of the late Rev. Charles J. Paterson, B.A. Consisting of a Memoir with Correspondence, and Sermons. Edited by Charles J. Hoare, M.A. Travels in Palestine and Syria. By George Robinson, Esq. Illustrated with Maps and Plans. 2 vols.

History of Rome. By Thomas Arnold, D.D., Head Master of Rugby School, &c. Vol. I. Early History to the Burning of Rome by the Gauls.

An Ecclesiastical History to the year 324 of the Christian Era, and the twentieth of the reign of Constantine; with a description of the Martyrdom of those who suffered for the cause of Christ. By Eusebius. Translated by the Rev. C. F. Cruse, M.A. 8vo.

Illustrations of British History, Biography, and Manners, in the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary, Elizabeth, and James I., exhibited in a series of Original Papers, selected from the MSS. of the noble families of Howard, Talbot, and Cecil. With numerous notes and observations by Edmund Lodge, Esq. Second edition, with additions, revised and corrected. 3 vols.

Memorials of Myles Coverdale, sometime Lord Bishop of Exeter, who first translated the whole Bible into English: together with diverse matters relating to the promulgation of the Bible in the reign of Henry the Eighth. 8vo.

The Holy Scriptures, faithfully and truly translated by Myles Coverdale, Bishop of Exeter, 1535. Reprinted from the copy in the Library of his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex.

Ecclesiastical History, from the birth of Christ to the beginning of the Eighteenth Century, delivered in a course of Lectures. By William Jones, M.A., Author of the "History of the Waldenses." In 3 vols. 8vo.

A Memoir of Bernard Overberg, Regent of the Episcopal Seminary, &c., at Munster. With a short account of the System of National Education in Prussia: from the German of Professor Schubert.

A Daily Treasury for the Christian, consisting of Texts of Scripture, with appropriate selections from our best Christian poets, for every day in the year. By a Lady.

Bible Stories for the Young, with critical illustrations and practical remarks. Adam to Jacob. By Rev. T. H. Gallaudet.

Remains of the late Rev. John Martin, D.D., Minister of Kirkcaldy. Consisting of Sermons, Essays, and Letters. With a Memoir.

On the Education of the People of India. By Charles E. Trevelyan, Esq., of the Bengal Civil Service.

The Doctrine of the Deluge; vindicating the Scriptural Account from the doubts which have recently been cast upon it by geological speculations. By the Rev. L. Vernon Harcourt. 2 vols. 8vo.

Tales of the Great and Brave.

The Beauty of Holiness and other Poems. By George B. Scott.

The Chronology of the Ancient World: a Lecture delivered at the Mechanics' Institution, Ipswich. By W. H. Alexander.

China Opened; or a Display of the Topography, History, Customs, Manners, Arts, &c., &c., &c. By the Rev. Charles Gutzlaff. Revised by the Rev. Andrew Reed, D.D. 2 vols.

The Imagery of Foreign Travel; or Descriptive Extracts from Scenes and Impressions in Egypt, India, &c. Selected and Republished by the Author.

Memoirs of Mrs. Mary Tatham, late of Nottingham. With a Portrait. By the Rev. J. Beaumont, M.D.

The Stage: its Character and Influence. By John Styles, D.D. Fourth Edition, Revised.

The Pictorial Bible, being the Old and New Testaments according to the Authorized Version: illustrated with many hundred Wood-cuts, &c. To which are added Original Notes, chiefly explanatory of the Engravings, and of such passages connected with the History, Geography, &c., &c., of the Sacred Scriptures as require observation. Vol. III.

THE
ECLECTIC REVIEW,
FOR SEPTEMBER, 1838.

- Art. I. 1. *A Brief History of the Church in Upper Canada: containing the Acts of Parliament, Imperial and Provincial, Royal Instructions, &c. &c.* By WILLIAM BETTRIDGE, B.D., Rector of Woodstock, Upper Canada, one of the Deputation from the late Bishop of Quebec, &c. 8vo. London: 1838.
2. *Second Annual Report of the Colonial Missionary Society in Connection with the Congregational Union of England and Wales.* 8vo. 1838.

IF the Dissenters of this country were inclined to waive or to suspend for a time their controversy of centuries with the Established Church of England, the circumstances that are continually arising in the course of legislation to bring into discussion the points and principles on which they are at issue, would render it impossible for them to evade or to decline the contest, without betraying what they believe to be the cause of truth, and making themselves parties to unjust and injurious proceedings. On every hand, in some shape or other, the Church and State question meets the politician. It is the Tithe question in Ireland; the Church-extension question in Scotland; the Church-rate question, and the Education question, and the University question, in England; and so, in each and all of the colonies to which Episcopacy has been transplanted, carrying with it those exclusive and intolerant pretensions which are the unfailing source of ecclesiastical strife and social discord;—in the Indian presidencies, in Australia, and in the Canadas, there is a church question to be solved or got rid of. Turn which way we will, this polymorphous Kehama meets us, driving its furious course towards the Treasury. There is no escaping from the collision. 'Let the Church of England,' exclaims Mr. Bettridge, 'gird up her loins to the contest which threatens her from every quarter.'

Wherefore, but because the Church is threatening us with invasion and encroachment in every quarter? Her claims are unbounded, her demands insatiable, such as no minister of the crown could ever satisfy. She is asking not only for revenues, but for territory; claiming not mere support, but domination. Disdaining to come as a suitor for state favour, she demands restitution of her ancient dowry *in the name of God*. An organ of the high-church party calls upon the Crown, 'upon the principle of having clean hands,' to 'free itself of the responsibility of holding spiritual property, i. e. holding back from God what is His.' The lay impropiators among the nobility are required to 'restore that which came to their forefathers *unlawfully*, through robbery as well as sacrilege,' and, as they would secure a reward in paradise, to 'give unto God *what is His*.' Parliament is to be asked to 'make restitution to God,' 'not as a favour, but as a debt; not as a gift, but as a restitution; not to make a boast of, but to avert the wrath of God, *whose church has been suffering these three hundred years for the spoliation inflicted by a former parliament*, lest He allow the flames which are at present smothered, but which show themselves visibly here and there, to burst out and consume us and our house.*' This is bold language for the nineteenth century; a startling assertion of the *Nullum Tempus* principle on behalf of the church; and it is accompanied with an admonitory note, from Froude's 'Remains,' which will show still more unequivocally the spirit that now worketh in the high places of the Establishment. 'When questions are raised about continuing the service for King Charles the Martyr, I answer by pointing to the case of 'the sinners, the Amalekites,' who were judged at the distance of 500 years.'

Many readers will only smile at the extravagance, others may be disposed to frown at the almost blasphemous insolence of this language. But, calmly viewed, as speaking the sentiments of a powerful and growing party which is being nursed up in the schools of Oxford, 'the Alma Mater of Laud and Sacheverell,' it supplies matter for grave reflection. The article from which it is taken breathes throughout the spirit of popery; but it is the popery of the Anglican church, which wants the ability only, not the will, to 'exercise all the power of the first beast before him.' The object of the writer is to deprecate all parliamentary interference with what calls itself The Church. The 'Plurality and Anti-cathedral Bills' are stigmatized as *lay Bills*; and the question involved in them is stated to embrace 'the whole tenure and distribution of church property and the whole legislative for the church. It is whether the church is ever hereafter to *legislate*

* British Critic, April, 1836, pp. 540—2.

'for herself, either in synod or convocation, or to have her services, her ordinances, and her creeds at the disposal of the State; whether she is to retain her liberty which Christ confided to her, or to be 'in bondage with her children' to those who are not of 'her.' Meaning, of course, the present Ministry and House of Commons. Were Toryism ever to regain political ascendancy, who shall say that a fearful struggle might not yet be required to settle the question of ecclesiastical encroachments?

The spirit which Mr. Bettridge discovers in the pamphlet before us, is that of a true son of the church. Setting out with the assumption that the interests of Zion are bound up with the pretensions of Episcopacy; and that the Protestant religion has no chance of maintaining itself in Upper Canada, except by means of the *clergy reserves*, he intimates that, if the British public should manifest an indifference to the claims he advocates, or, as he phrases it, 'to our state and establishment,' the fate of the Amalekites will doubtless overtake us.

'We can only then await Jehovah's pleasure concerning us, assured that if He permit His authorized teachers to be removed, and the ministrations of the pure and apostolic Church of England to be disregarded, or to cease in Upper Canada, it will be a token that judgment is coming upon us to the utmost.'

In order that our readers may have a clear view of this case of Divine right, and of the extreme peril to which the nation will expose itself by slighting these prophetic denunciations, we shall give a brief abstract of the curious piece of church history detailed in Mr. Bettridge's First Part.

The division of the colony into two provinces dates from the year 1791; prior to which there could of course be no Established Church in Upper Canada, and the only Established Church, strictly speaking, in any part of Canada, was the Church of Rome.* The Act which the British Parliament passed in 1774,

* The Bishop of Exeter, in a recent debate in the House of Lords, (July 23,) contended that the Romish Church is not the Established Church in Lower Canada; and that the government of this country had never recognized any except prelates of the Established church as bishops of dioceses in Canada. Lord Glenelg, in reply, assured the right reverend prelate that he was mistaken on the latter point; long before the last four years, the recognition of Roman Catholic prelates had taken place, and that too by acts of the legislature,—provincial statutes that had received the sanction of the crown. But, whether the Roman Catholic bishops of Canada had been recognized or not, how can it be denied with any show of propriety, that a church is established, the clergy of which are in possession of the tithes, together with all rights, privileges, lands, or seigneuries, according to the terms of the treaty of capitulation, held prior to the conquest? As truly might the bishop affirm, that the Church of Scotland is not an Established Church in Scotland, be-

(14 Geo. III. c. 83.) ratified the articles of capitulation by which all rights, privileges, lands, or seigneuries held by the Romish church previously to the conquest, were secured. 'And then,' says our church historian, '*at a period when we might have hoped better things*, we beheld the first inroad made upon that distinctive Protestantism which pervades our entire constitution, and which, indeed, is the very foundation-stone of our monarchy.' It is a little remarkable, that the English monarchy should have had no foundation-stone before the Reformation; for this is plainly implied in the statement. The Act of Parliament, however, made no further inroad upon our Protestantism, than had been already made by treaty; and indeed, this 'distinctive Protestantism' had been necessarily compromised long before, in our North American colonies; to say nothing of our alliance with Mohammedism and paganism in the East Indies. By the Act in question, it was declared, that 'the clergy of the Church of Rome in the province of Quebec, might hold, receive, and enjoy their accustomed dues and rights with respect to such persons only as should profess the said religion; provided, nevertheless, that it should be lawful for his Majesty, his heirs and successors, to make such provision out of the rest of the said accustomed dues and rights for the encouragement of the Protestant religion and for the maintenance and support of a Protestant clergy within the said province, as he or they should from time to time think necessary or expedient.' In pursuance of this provision, which would seem to have been in itself a departure from the original terms of the treaty, by instructions from the Crown, dated Jan. 3, 1775, to the then Governor (Lord Dorchester), it had been directed, 'That no incumbent professing the said religion of the Church of Rome, appointed to any parish in the said province, should be entitled to receive any tithes for lands or possessions occupied by a Protestant,' but that such tithes should be 'reserved in the hands of his Majesty's Receiver-General of the said province, for the support of a Protestant clergy.'

We must pause to offer a reflection or two upon this singular *appropriation clause*. Nothing seemingly could be more liberal, more in accordance with enlightened policy, than the principle here laid down, that an individual professing one religion, ought not to be required to pay tithe to an incumbent professing another religion. One is delighted to find such a principle recognized by Tory statesmen in the reign of George III. Had it only been followed out in application to Ireland, how many years of civil discord and ecclesiastical animosity might have been spared!

cause it is not invested with all the powers and privileges of the English hierarchy. The Church of England in Canada is a very different thing from the Established Church of Canada.

All that would have been requisite for the settlement of the Irish Tithe question may be embodied in the simple direction, that no Protestant incumbent appointed to any parish shall be entitled to receive any tithes for land or possessions occupied by a Papist, but that such tithes shall be reserved in the hands of his Majesty's Receiver-General. Shall we be told, that our 'distinctive Protestantism' forbids a Protestant to pay tithes to a Romish incumbent, while it requires a Papist to pay tithes to a Protestant incumbent? Distinctive Protestantism must, if so, be something very distinct from Christianity, which enjoins us to do to others as we would that they should do to us; something very opposite to common-sense notions of justice and morality; in fact, a jesuitical Protestantism with which we should be ashamed to claim relationship; and the Church of England is welcome to the exclusive honour of maintaining so inequitable a principle.

At all events, if, by the Act referred to, the first inroad was made, on the one hand, on our 'distinctive Protestantism,' by these instructions from the Crown, on the other hand, a very decided inroad was made upon the fundamental principles of a Church Establishment. It matters nothing whether George III. and his ministers perceived this or not,—nor whether they would have admitted the applicability of the precedent to any other case, in which Protestants and Romanists might be placed in a reversed predicament towards each other. They probably regarded only present expediency, not troubling themselves with the political morality of the arrangement. But this makes no difference as to the fact; that the direction involved a principle which, if fairly carried out, in the spirit of equal justice, would forbid the quartering of a Protestant clergy upon a Roman Catholic people,—and, by circumscribing the claims of a church, so as to make its temporalities bear some relation to the spiritual services rendered, would introduce a very radical, but most salutary change in our ecclesiastical Establishments.

To return to the history. It does not appear that the proceeds of the tithes so appropriated by the Crown were ever actually applied to the ostensible object. The spoliation was absolute; the sacrilege as complete as that which Henry the Eighth committed in robbing the monasteries. Seventeen years had elapsed when, in 1791, 'his Majesty, Geo. III., sent a message to the Parliament, intimating his intention to divide the province of Quebec, and expressing his wish that a good and sufficient provision might be made by a legislative enactment for the support of a Protestant clergy.' In pursuance of this message from the Crown, parliament passed the Act 31 Geo. III. c. 31, which has been styled, 'the Constitutional Act of the Canadas.' By clause 56 of this Act, after setting forth, that, whereas his Majesty had been 'graciously pleased, by message to both

'Houses of Parliament, to express his royal desire to be enabled 'to make a *permanent appropriation of lands* in the said provinces 'for the support and maintenance of a Protestant clergy within 'the same, in proportion to such lands as have been already granted 'within the same by his Majesty,'—it is enacted, 'That it shall 'and may be lawful for his Majesty, &c., to authorize the 'Governor or Lieutenant-Governor of each of the said provinces, 'to make, from and out of the lands of the crown within such 'provinces, such allotment and appropriation of lands for the support and maintenance of a Protestant clergy within the same, as 'may bear a due proportion to the amount of such lands as have at 'any time been granted by and under the authority of his Majesty.' In this and the ensuing clauses, we have, according to Mr. Bettridge, 'the charter of the church's right,' permanent and unalterable as the laws of the Medes and Persians.

'For nearly thirty years,' he says, 'no attempt was made to call in question the exclusive right of the Church of England to those lands called the 'clergy reserves.' The notion was then broached, that there is so peculiar a vagueness in the letter, and such an elasticity in the spirit of the Act, as admits of the interpretation, that the Church of Scotland at least may claim a share in the provision thus made for a Protestant clergy. . . . The pretensions of the Scotch Church to a portion of the clergy reserves, were soon succeeded by those of the friends of various other denominations of Dissenters. The subject was referred to the home government in 1818: the ministry submitted it to the law officers of the crown.'

The letter containing their opinions is addressed to Earl Bathurst, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, and is signed, 'Christopher Robinson, R. Gifford, and J. S. Copley.' The question to be determined, is stated to be, 'How far, under the 'construction of the Act passed in the 31st year of his present Majesty (c. 31), the Dissenting Protestant ministers resident in 'Canada have a legal claim to participate in the lands by that 'Act directed to be reserved as a provision for the support and 'maintenance of a Protestant clergy.' The opinion delivered was to the following effect: 'That the provisions of the Act in question 'are not confined solely to the clergy of the Church of 'England, but may be extended also to the clergy of the Church 'of Scotland, if there be any such settled, in Canada; yet, that 'they do not extend to the Dissenting ministers, since the terms, 'Protestant clergy, can apply only to the Protestant clergy recognized and established by law.' That the Governor will be justified in applying the rents and profits arising from the clergy reserves to the maintenance and support of the clergy of the Church of Scotland, as well as those of the Church of England, but not to the support and maintenance of ministers of Dissenting

Protestant congregations; and that the Governor being authorized by the Act to erect parsonages or rectories only according to the Establishment of the Church of England, and to endow every such parsonage or rectory with land, it would be inconsistent with such discretionary power, that any proportion of such lands should be absolutely retained for any other clergy. In other words, the Scotch clergy might claim to participate in the *rents and profits* arising from the clergy reserves, but might not be permanently endowed with any portion of the land.

At the date of this opinion, November 1819, the only Dissenting Protestant ministers in Upper Canada were ministers of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, chiefly of the Associate Synod. We are strongly inclined to believe, that, under the term, 'Dissenting Protestant ministers,' in the question submitted to the law officers of the Crown, it was intended to include ministers of the Established Church of Scotland, whom it has always been the policy of the Church of England to treat as Dissenters out of Scotland. This, however, is a point of small moment. It is more material that the ecclesiastical circumstances of the province at this time should be distinctly understood, in order to appreciate the wisdom of the legislature of 1791, in projecting a territorial establishment in an unsettled country upon so vicious a principle, and the modesty with which this 'charter,' after having been inoperative for nearly fifty years, is now brought forward as the basis of claims not more arrogant than intolerant.

In the year 1814, the inhabitants of the Upper province amounted to only 95,000 souls, consisting chiefly of disbanded soldiers and emigrants from the United States and Great Britain. In 1820, they were estimated by Mr. Gourlay at 134,259 souls, including 3259 Indians. The only Episcopal clergy in the province were missionaries from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, receiving their salaries from the funds of that Institution; and from the Society's Report for the year 1821, it appears that there were seventeen missionaries at seventeen stations. The number of *communicants* at that time is stated to be ONE HUNDRED and EIGHTEEN. Such was the state of the Episcopal Church of Canada, or of the Church of England in Canada, thirty-four years after the passing of the Act directing a permanent appropriation of lands for the support of a Protestant clergy! For the purposes of a provision for the clergy, the clergy reserves had been found almost useless. Upwards of 300,000 acres were leased; but, when freehold grants were obtainable at a nominal price, who could be expected to take church lands on lease, or to pay any rent for what they took? Unless the clergy had themselves farmed the reserved lands, it was absurd to imagine that they could derive a revenue from them. At length, in 1827, an Act was passed, (8 Geo. IV. c. 62,) authorizing the alienation

and sale of a portion of these lands at the rate of 100,000 acres annually; the proceeds to be funded and applied to the same objects as those contemplated by the ill-advised Act of 1791. As must be expected, this decision was satisfactory to neither party.

Between 1820 and 1825, the tide of emigration flowed into Upper Canada with surprising force; and in the latter year, the population of the province had risen to nearly 212,000. By far the majority of the new settlers were *Presbyterians from North Britain*. The settlement at Lanark, formed in 1820, was entirely composed of emigrants from Lanark, Glasgow, and other places in the West of Scotland; and the whole district of which Perth is the chief town, was settled either by discharged soldiers or by Scottish emigrants. To the latter, previously to their leaving home, Government had offered assistance towards the support of a minister, *without respect to religious denomination*; and in consequence of this offer, on the application of the settlers, the Associate Presbytery of Edinburgh sent out some ministers to undertake the charge of the congregations. In 1823, there were in the Upper province eighteen Presbyterian ministers, and thirty congregations. One minister, the Rev. William Bell, of Perth, had, in June 1823, admitted 270 communicants; more than twice the number of the whole body of Episcopal communicants in 1821: the other members of the Perth congregation amounted to 1200. At Lanark, and at Beckwith, in the same county, were congregations comprising 180 communicants.* The county of Carlton, in which they were situated, then contained more than 6000 inhabitants, distributed over twenty townships or parishes; and in these were one Episcopal clergyman, four Presbyterian ministers, one American Methodist preacher, two Roman Catholic priests, and some lay preachers.† We find Mr. Bell referring incidentally to the clergy reserves in the following terms: 'The clergy connected with the Church of England form a corporation for the management of these lots, and lease them for twenty-one years, whenever they can find tenants; but, as most of them lie waste, they are a great hinderance to the improvement of the country.'‡

Dr. Matheson, who visited Upper Canada in 1834, thus explains the causes of the increasing jealousy and dissatisfaction produced by these reserves. 'One (reason) was, that the government patronized one denomination exclusively; and the other was, the local injury done by many of the clergy reserves remaining unsold and uncultivated; these, too, lying often in the midst of plantations, and compelling the settlers to make these improvements entirely at their own expense, a proportion of

* Bell's 'Hints to Emigrants.' 12mo. pp. 105, 113. Edinburgh, 1834.

† *Ib.* p. 88.

‡ *Ib.* p. 73.

‘which should have been borne by the owners of the clergy’s land. Both these causes of discontent continued to increase, as the number of other sects still became greater, and land in the older townships became more valuable. In addition to these things, there was the spectacle constantly presented to the settlers, of land being appropriated to persons or purposes which brought no return to them in the way of religious instruction; that they were not only injured by this plan for supporting religion, but they had, after all, to seek religious instructors for themselves, and to support them at their own expense. Those who belonged to the Church of Scotland considered that they were unjustly treated, and stated, by petitions and remonstrances to the Government at home, their grievances and claims. Those in possession of course defended their rights. Thus, two rival Establishments contended for the State support. . . . Those denominations who conscientiously objected to all such plans for supporting religion, became every day more and more convinced of the utter failure of the government scheme for supplying the colony with religious instruction, and used means to provide ministers for themselves.’ *

In 1833, the population of the Upper province had risen to 322,000. The number of ministers of different Protestant denominations, as nearly as could be ascertained, was as follows :

Episcopalian clergy	40
Presbyterian ministers	34
Congregationalists	6†
Baptists	48
Methodists	73
	<hr/>
	201

The increase in the last two seems remarkable. Mr. Bell, in 1823, says: ‘The Baptists have a few preachers settled in different parts of the province; but, their congregations being too small to support them, they live chiefly by agriculture.’ In 1832, 3, they had 1,976 communicants. The Methodist preachers are mostly in connexion with the American Conference, who on that account are preferred by their countrymen settled in the Canadas. In 1835, they had forty-one stations, and the number of their members was 15,106. This denomination, it is well known, acts systematically on the plan of itineracy: the Baptists and the Congregationalists do so partially. By this means, the religious destitution of the thinly peopled townships has been in some degree mitigated. The Episcopalian and Presbyterian minis-

* Reed and Matheson, Vol. II. pp. 353-5.

† Now increased to thirteen.

ters are fixed in the larger and smaller towns. 'Not more than 'one-half of all the ministers,' says Dr. Matheson, 'act as 'itinerants; and a large proportion of those who are paid by the 'Government, are totally indifferent as to any moral and religious 'results beyond their own little circle.' Taking into consideration all these circumstances, we cannot assign to the Episcopal church any thing beyond a very small section of the population; and if, with seventeen missionaries in 1821, there were only 118 communicants, it is not likely that in 1835, with even forty clergymen, the number of communicants approached that of members of the Church of Scotland or of any other communion. A letter from the Rev. Adam Elliott, in November 1834, given by Mr. Bettridge, states that, 'notwithstanding all that has been 'alleged concerning the numerical weakness of *the church* in this 'country,' so far as the writer is acquainted, 'the number of her 'adherents is greater than that of any other denomination' in his district. But, in parts of that same district, it is admitted that they were outnumbered by the Presbyterians; and in one township, nearly one-half were Roman Catholics. Even if the Episcopalians were the most numerous sect, they would still be to the Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Baptists, Methodists, and Roman Catholics collectively, but as one to five; and they form, undoubtedly, a very small minority. To estimate them at 250,000, as Mr. Bettridge does, is sheer extravagance.*

If, however, the Episcopal church would give up her vain contest for territorial possessions and political supremacy, she would have no hostility to encounter from any rival body. The spiritual destitution of the country is confessedly deplorable; and there is ample scope for the exertions of every Protestant denomination. It is simply because the Episcopal clergy will not abandon their exclusive pretensions to the patronage of the State, that they find themselves in collision with the ministers and people of every other religious body. It is not the pecuniary support of the Government that is sought for, so much as the consideration and authority supposed to be derived from that support. It is not the provision of an Establishment, but the ascendancy of an Establishment, the ecclesiastical domination and rank conferred by territorial endowment, that the Church of England demands at the hands of the State. Hence the refusal to acknowledge the equal claims of even the Church of Scotland. Mr. Bettridge contends, that 'the *powers* and *privileges* of an Established 'church in the province of Upper Canada,' are to be considered as 'a preference belonging ONLY to the Protestant Church of

* Mr. B. makes the present population of the country amount to 503,554, and claims one-half for the Church of England.

nd.' At present, Mr. Bettridge complains, 'the Church endure all the reproach and odium, while she possesses of the advantages of an Establishment in the colony.' Why does she court the odium of an Establishment, by litigating corporate monopoly originally unjust and practically of no use, and which, being created by one unwise act of legislation, may surely be repealed by the same authority? The clergy reserves, the great bone of contention, have never in the present moment yielded an available revenue. From the report of the Select Committee of the Commons in 1827, it appears that, while the nominal rent was £930 per annum, the receipt, for the average of the last three years, was only £100 per annum; and the Committee 'see little reason to hope that the annual income to be derived from this source is likely, at any time to which they can look forward, to amount to a sufficient sum to provide for the Protestant clergy of these provinces.' Considering the reservation of these lands in mortmain, a serious obstacle to the improvement of the colony, they recommended the permanent alienation of them. In the year 1831, a Bill in accordance with this recommendation passed the House of Assembly of Upper Canada; but it was rejected by the Legislative Council, who addressed the Crown upon the subject, and thus the two branches of the provincial legislature were brought into collision. In the beginning of the following year, the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir J. Colborne, sent a message, by command, to the legislature of Upper Canada in respect to the lands; in which it was intimated, that his Majesty had carefully considered how far such an appropriation of territory would be conducive either to the temporal welfare of the ministers of religion in that province, or to their spiritual influence; and that, as a result of such inquiries, his Majesty had found that the amount sought for by so large a proportion of the inhabitants of the province, might be carried into effect without sacrificing the rights of the Established Churches of England and Scotland. The waste lands set apart as a provision for the clergy of these ecclesiastical bodies, had hitherto yielded no disposable revenue; and the period at which they might reasonably be expected to become more productive, was still remote. Before the arrival of the year 1831, his Majesty entertained the hope that it might be practicable to afford the clergy of those churches such a liberal and moderate provision as may be necessary for enabling them properly to discharge their sacred functions. His Majesty, therefore, invited the House of Assembly to consider whether any part of the provisions of the Constitutional Act might be advantageously called into exercise. In pursuance of this wish, the Attorney-General of the province introduced a Bill relating to the remaining clergy reserves in the Crown; but no

discussion of it took place. In the following year (1833), the Bill was again brought forward, and read a first time; but no further procedure was taken. In the following session, a division took place upon it in the House of Assembly. In 1835, a fresh Bill was brought in and carried through the House, authorizing the sale of the whole remainder of the clergy reserves, and the application of the proceeds to the furtherance of education in the province. The Legislative Council, 'as usual, remained firm in *'their defence of the church,'* and rejected the measure.

In the mean time, it appears that, by direction of the Earl of Ripon while Colonial Secretary, the Governor, Sir J. Colborne, would have proceeded to erect and endow rectories or parsonages, according to the dormant provisions of the Act of 1791, had not the exorbitant claims of the Tory party in the council prevented the accomplishment of their object.

'The Governor and the Attorney General (Mr. Jameson) were of opinion that the rectories should be confined to the limits of the church and church-yard; that is, that the spiritual jurisdiction of the rector or parson should not necessarily extend further than those narrow limits. It would, consequently, depend on each individual of a township, to admit or reject the spiritual oversight of the rector of the Church of England. This plan was deemed expedient and advisable, in order to meet the objections which might be advanced by any body of Christians dissenting from the church, that the clergy possessed rights which might be interpreted as interfering with the liberty of other denominations. It was also thought expedient thus to limit the boundaries of the rectories, in order to avoid the plea which the enemies of the church might make, that the clergy, in process of time, would demand tithes from the people: thus limited, their demands could reach no farther than the precincts of the sanctuary. This plan, which appeared best calculated to remove any reasonable ground of objection, was strenuously opposed by the Executive Council; (or some members of it;) and their opposition was sanctioned or supported by the opinion of the Solicitor-General (Mr. Hagerman). The plan proposed by the Executive was, that the rectors should enjoy the same privileges, and exercise the same spiritual jurisdiction over a township or parish, which a rector or vicar of a parish claims in England. The Lieutenant-Governor could not assent to the adoption of this plan; the consequence was natural—neither party giving way, the church was deprived of the advantage which the instructions from home and the disposition of the Governor entitled her to expect. It is not improbable, that, had Sir John Colborne remained in the administration of the government, the affairs of the church might have still continued in this unsatisfactory state. His recall, however, having been signified to him, and through him to the council, it appears the council felt the propriety of yielding to the Governor's proposed plan, rather than risk, perhaps, the endowments altogether, by awaiting the decision of a new Governor, armed with fresh and, possibly, less friendly instructions.

Literally at the eleventh hour, the patents for the institution of fifty-seven rectories were prepared and passed the great seal of the province. Such an *apparently* sudden measure was calculated at any time to attract attention, but more especially so on the eve of the resignation of the Lieutenant-Governor. The newspapers of the province, whose disaffection to the church had been unhesitatingly avowed, teemed with bitter and vituperative attacks on the Governor. Some vital principle of the monarchy might have been sacrificed to the arbitrary caprice of the Governor;—whereas one of the plainest requirements of the constitution had merely been carried out into execution. It was indeed, the simple issuing of the patents which was then effected; for all the lands, thus deeded, had been long set apart as glebes, and, in many cases, been in possession of the clergy for years. In a short time the feverish excitement abated, till another opportunity was afforded for kindling it into fresh vigour.—*Bettridge*, pp. 53—55.

Scarcely had Sir F. B. Head assumed the government of the province, than, with his characteristic rashness, he urged the legislature to enter immediately upon the consideration of this agitating question.

‘It might perhaps have been better,’ says Mr. Bettridge, ‘to have allowed the ebullition of feelings excited by the late endowments to subside into peace, before the question of the reserves had been agitated. Time might have softened down much of the bitterness which the adversaries of the church exhibited in the discussion.’ A Committee was appointed, and, doubtless, after very anxious and laborious investigation, they brought up (but did not agree on) a report; at all events, the chairman (Mr. Draper) declared himself dissatisfied with it: and well he might; for the majority of this Committee of five, recommended, not indeed, an alienation of the reserves from religious uses, but a division of them. The reader will doubtless be anxious to learn what sections of Christians were to be favoured. The first was the Church of England. Second, the Church of Scotland! Third, the Methodists!! Fourth, the Baptists!!! And fifth, (proh pudor!) the Church of Rome!!!! The report was ordered to be printed, but no discussion was attempted during a considerable portion of the session. At length the Solicitor-General, (Mr. Hagerman,) whose devotion to the welfare of the church has conciliated the esteem and respect of her members, delivered his opinions with such energy and eloquence on the character and provisions of the proposed measure, that the enemies of the Establishment burst forth into the most violent abuse of the church, her ministers, her ordinances, and her friends. It is with unfeigned grief we are obliged to record the fact, that the Church of Scotland was not exceeded (if equalled) by any, in bitterness of spirit and language; the virulence of the assault cannot be qualified by the charitable epithet of *sectarian*; it was *un-Christian*. The subject of the fifty-seven rectories was again revived; and remonstrances, couched in no measured terms, were forwarded to

the Imperial, as well as to the Colonial Government. A deputy from the Church of Scotland was sent over to England. What he may have effected either against our church, or in favour of his own, rests amongst the arcana of the Colonial office. One effect of the representations against the church was, that Lord Glenelg submitted the case of the fifty-seven rectories to the consideration of the law officers of the crown. It had been boldly asserted that the patents were invalid and illegal, because, it was pretended, the royal sanction had not been given to the Lieutenant-Governor for such a procedure. It was, perhaps, the easiest way of giving a kind of immediate satisfaction to the complainants, however the charge of partiality and inconsiderate haste in bringing, at best, but an *imperfect case* before the crown officers, may attach to the Colonial minister. The enemies of the church were permitted, for awhile, to exult; for the opinion of the law officers thus obtained, distinctly declared the patents to be invalid and illegal, because no authority had been given to the Governor to issue them. The triumph was short. The deficiency in the archives of the Colonial Office was supplied from the better guarded offices of the provincial government:—the authority was found duly registered:—the law officers consequently were obliged to withdraw their opinion, and the church has been allowed silently to enjoy her assailed right.

Ib., pp. 55—57.

Such is our Author's account of the termination of the affair. According to his own showing, the sudden issuing of the patents for the institution of the fifty-seven rectories, on the eve of the resignation of the Lieutenant-Governor, was a transaction which reflects no honour upon any of the parties concerned; and it justly excited the indignation of the colonists. It appears that the authority to issue them had been given under the administration of Earl Grey, some time between 1830 and 1833; and the Lieutenant-Governor must have been aware that, without fresh instructions from the existing Government, he was acting in a very questionable manner. But he seems to have felt compelled to consent to the measure when, 'at the eleventh hour,' the Executive Council artfully lowered their demand; and the chief merit of the tricky stroke of policy is probably due to the little Tory junto.

With regard to the professed division of the clergy reserves, Mr. Bettridge assumes, that, because 'no disclaimer of concurrence on the part of the voluntaries was heard,' the Dissenters would doubtless, 'as good and obedient subjects,' have passively endured and submitted to it. One of his reasons for this calumnious assumption will excite a smile; it is, that he 'as a churchman, finds it difficult to imagine how any well informed man can seriously and sincerely advocate the voluntary system.' Another reason has more weight in it, if it be indeed 'notorious fact, that the Dissenters have received, and are yearly receiving, money grants from the Government to a greater amount than the value

‘of the fifty-seven rectories.’ If any such Dissenters raise their voices against the endowments of the Church of England, they are very inconsistent, and entirely deserve Mr. Bettridge’s severest censures. But we must have proof of the fact, before we can give credit to the statement. It is possible that, under the name of ‘Dissenters,’ he means to include as well ministers of the Church of Scotland as of the Church of Rome, and some who are, in truth, decided anti-voluntaries. This would not be very ingenuous on his part, but it would be quite as fair as his attempt to identify the opponents of the arrogant and exclusive pretensions of the Episcopal clergy with those who have taken part in the late revolt, and ‘whose names are branded as rebels to the sovereign.’

And this reminds us of a little incident which took place since the suppression of the revolt. It had pleased Sir Francis Bond Head and his Executive Council, to issue a proclamation in the Queen’s name, commanding a day of public thanksgiving to be observed throughout the province, on the 6th day of February, in acknowledgment of their deliverance ‘from the dangers and calamities of the unnatural insurrection and rebellion:’ which proclamation concluded in these extraordinary terms: ‘And we *do strictly charge and command*, that the said day of public thanksgiving be reverently and devoutly observed by all our loving subjects in our said province of Upper Canada, *as they tender the favour of Almighty God, and would avoid his wrath and indignation, and upon pain of such punishment as WE may justly inflict on all such as condemn or neglect the performance of so religious and necessary a duty.*’ The Rev. Mr. Roaf, the Congregational minister of Toronto, who, as a wise and faithful Christian minister, had forborne to take any part in the political proceedings, felt that he could not in conscience submit to so extraordinary a stretch of ecclesiastical supremacy; and he addressed a letter to the Editor of ‘The Palladium,’ explaining, in temperate and respectful terms, his reasons for publicly refusing obedience to the edict. ‘The proclamation requires,’ says Mr. Roaf, ‘that the said day be reverently and devoutly observed as we tender the favour of Almighty God, &c. I cannot for a moment admit the promise of God’s favour, and threat of his wrath and indignation, by a human being, and a mere political officer. If, too, earthly rulers may, according to their own views, select days of religious observance, and command our compliance, it would be right in a Roman Catholic king or governor to appoint the fasts and festivals of his church, and conformity would be our duty. Hence, the necessity of keeping spiritual and civil jurisdiction distinct. To avoid an apparent concession to spiritual assumption, I must disregard the present proclamation.’ This letter, as might be expected, drew down upon Mr. Roaf

misrepresentation and invective. He replied with mildness; explaining the grounds of his protest. He acknowledged that his Excellency did well in proposing to the community a day for general observance; but the command and threats made an immense difference in the case. From the following paragraphs it will be seen, that, if there are in the province some Dissenters open to Mr. Bettridge's imputation of interested servility, there are others better informed and better principled, who are incapable of selling their birth-right for 'a few acres of wild land.'

'The outburst of ecclesiastical servility, occasioned by my letter, shows a present imminent danger to religious liberty, that dearest right of man; so also does the attempted punishment of myself, for daring to act as a watchman of Zion, in the quartering of six militia men upon my family—the very means employed by the French Papists to break the spirit of the Protestant clergy after the revocation of the edict of Nantes. However, I can once for all tell my uproarious abusers, lay and clerical, that with secular politics I will have nothing to do; but if they mean to prevent my maintaining the full rights of conscience, they must not resort to obloquy or annoyances, or clamour, or bribery,—they must take my person.*

* * *

'We (Congregationalists) consider it to be a duty of kings and rulers 'to promote the public good, both civil and religious, by all such means as are not subversive of public and private right;—but we consider, too, that national religious establishments *are* subversive of civil liberty and corrupting to religion, prevent public freedom, and crush a private right of judgment. I am told 'that a general mockery of religion and God has been quite as much the result of sectarian fanaticism as of state-religiousness.' Well then, let us have neither the state-religiousness nor the sectarian fanaticism. This latter evil is a curse, whether in an established sect or an unestablished. That much fanaticism was exhibited during the commonwealth is true, and so was much religion; and wherever a religious spirit is general and active, there will be much that is spurious as well as much that is genuine; just as a trading community will contain many crafty speculators, and much liberty will be attended with some licentiousness. There are checks which nature and Providence soon bring to act upon fanaticism; and if, instead of leaving it to these checks, we employ an established church, we shall extinguish religion itself, with perhaps its counterfeit.

* After the publication of his former letter, the municipal authorities quartered six soldiers upon him, and upon none of his neighbours. Having the alternative of submitting to a small fine, he refused to receive the soldiers, and was immediately plundered of furniture to four times the amount of the fine. In a letter dated March 15, he says: 'I took all without saying a word; and the parties have become ashamed of their conduct, and are about sending my furniture back again. The principle contained in my two letters is said to be now admitted almost universally in the city, and I hope a great object has been advanced.'

David Hume, the deist, advocated national religious establishments upon the ground that they checked excessive religion—and we know that any religion was with him excessive. — When the Episcopal church was re-established at the Restoration, it immediately brought in the lethargy in religion and licentiousness in morals, which disgraced the reign of Charles II. As for the French revolution, an established church had previously rendered religion despised and hated. The English Dissenters are blamed for joining in political proceedings with infidels, &c. &c.; but the establishment robs and degrades all that do not belong to it, and all are driven into one common attitude of defence. And if some general resistance be not adopted *here*, the tyrant-church will seize the public property, lift up her mitred front in courts and parliaments, and the despotism of the English villages will be spread o'er all the land. But why do church people blame us Dissenters for coalescing with men with whom they themselves unite in supporting the church by tithes and church-rates, and whom they are obliged to admit to the sacrament, whenever required. The church publications were lately clamorous in their denunciations of the recent appointment of *infidels* to *professorships* and *bishoprics*, and yet all are going on together in the church. Some men (like Dr. Paley) cannot afford to keep a good conscience. We love much of the spiritual part of the Episcopal church, but are driven from her *secular* establishment: we say, 'take away her battlements, for they are not the Lord's.' — *Second Report of the Colonial Missionary Society, Appendix*, pp. 35, 36.

The conduct of Sir Francis B. Head and his advisers is the more reprehensible, as they must have known that such a proclamation would not have been submitted to even by the Church of Scotland; and that, in fact, it could have had no force out of the pale of the Established Church. And the mean and dastardly attempt to punish Mr. Roaf for the conscientious discharge of his religious duty in this instance, speaks loudly as to the spirit of the Tory party who claim all the loyalty of the province; but who have, in fact, been mainly instrumental in inflaming those deeply rooted discontents, of which a few seditious adventurers endeavoured to avail themselves in planting the standard of republicanism. As Mr. Bettridge has attempted to cast a stigma upon his ecclesiastical opponents, without very distinctly defining them, we think it right to insert the following extract from the Second Report of the Colonial Missionary Society.

'Our brethren will naturally feel anxiety to be distinctly informed what have been the results, as affecting our missionaries, and their flocks and labours, in those provinces, of the late insurrection in the Canadas. For a time, of course, the prevalence of confusion, alarm, and exasperated feelings, could not be otherwise than very afflictive to our brethren, and most injurious to their labours of peace and love. The brethren at Toronto, Hamilton, Westminster, Burford, and Kingston, appear to have been most exposed to the consequences of

the conflict raging around them. But it is a very happy consideration, calling for much gratitude to God, and greatly strengthening confidence in the wisdom and piety of our beloved brethren, that not one of them, nor a single member of their churches, was in the least degree involved in the proceedings of the rebels; not even, with one or two doubtful exceptions, any of those connected with your missionaries, by attendance on their ministry. Mr. Roaf writes, under date of the fifteenth of March: 'I hope that our political distresses are now over, and it gives me pleasure to say that all our ministerial brethren, and their families, are unharmed as to their persons, and, what is more important, as to their characters. They have felt the general dangers, have been distressed by the spectacles of violence and suffering around, and have, in one or two instances, been rudely treated. But while several humble Baptist ministers have been subjected to indignities and cruelties, our more immediate brethren have all been happily exempted from such violence. This we owe, perhaps, to our being comparatively new residents; but, with one exception, I think we have avoided giving offence to either of the political parties.'

'Both Mr. Roaf and Mr. Wilkes, in their various communications, allude to the fact, which is, indeed, what might be naturally anticipated, that, our body being well known to entertain liberal opinions on all subjects relating to liberty, religion, and education, when some in the colonies who push those sentiments to dangerous and violent extremes broke out into actual rebellion, odium and suspicion fell on our friends as holding, though in a just and moderate form, the same general views with the insurgents. This state of public feeling could not, for a while, be otherwise than injurious. But, then, it was sure to be but temporary in its influence; and Mr. Wilkes already writes under date of the 26th of March, 'The wide difference between reformers and rebels, to which excitement had blinded the multitude, is beginning to stand out to general observation most prominently.'

'Their correspondents also express a confidence, in which your committee entirely concur, that the 'things which have happened' in Canada, will 'fall out to the furtherance of the gospel' there. The true state of things in those provinces will now be ascertained—red grievances will be redressed—the decided attachment of the great majority of the inhabitants to the connexion of those colonies with the parent country, has been made most apparent—the pressing and urgent want of religious ordinances among the people, will be more powerfully felt by themselves, and more clearly seen in this country; and your committee will now feel more confidence and satisfaction in sending our brethren to labour in the Canadas, after the real state of things, there, has thus become apparent, than before the revolt, when affairs were suspicious, threatening, and ill understood. May God dispose the hearts of many faithful labourers to go forth with holy zeal and courage to a country where they are so greatly needed!'—ib., pp. 22, 23.

It is impossible to estimate too highly the beneficial agency of this important Society in the present state of the colony. Annual Reports are, we fear, too generally thrown aside as waste paper.

earnestly hope that this document will obtain attention, the means of promoting among all Protestant denominations more strenuous effort to promote evangelical religion in the British colonies.

return to Mr. Bettridge. In the second part of his pamphlet details the proceedings of the 'Deputation from the Clergy in Upper Canada,' consisting of himself and the Rev. John Cronyn, who arrived in this country in the spring of 1837. It appears that, in consequence of the withdrawal of the annual parliamentary grant of £15,000 in 1832, the Society for propagating the Gospel had deemed itself obliged to reduce its missionary establishments; but, 'by an arrangement made with the Government, the Society was relieved altogether of the expense for the salaries of its missionaries.' Since then, the Society has done nothing for Upper Canada, except making a grant of £1,000 per annum. The late Bishop of Quebec and the Bishop of Montreal urged upon the Society to allow a distinct fund to be set apart for Upper Canada; but their application was unsuccessful.

The Committee withholding their assent on the ground that an exception might be successively required for all the colonies. In consequence of this resolution, in May 1837, a new Society was formed, under the patronage of the Bishop of Toronto, entitled, 'The Upper Canada Clergy Society for sending out Clergymen, &c., to that Province.' This was a very important step,—one that the friends to the voluntary principle and the missionary principle cannot but cordially approve of. We deeply regret that Mr. Bettridge, though he succeeded in procuring liberal contributions from the British public, should have been so ill satisfied with the formation of this new Society, and so little confident of its proving effective, as to persist in urging the colonial office for parliamentary grants and government patronage, notwithstanding the sore discouragement he received from Sir George Grey on his first application. 'In answer to my plea for effectual, and *perhaps a little more exclusive* assistance,' he says, 'Sir George attempted to weaken our force by the observation, that *we were but the sect of a minority*.' As a churchman, high in office, thus designating the Established Church of these realms *a sect*, gave us but indifferent prospect of success with the powers that be.' We can conceive the ecstasy of surprise and horror into which a full-bred churchman and man must have been thrown by this word. 'Oh that I had never lived,' said a right honourable person of this class, 'for the Church of England termed *a sect*, by a minister of her own!' Yet, what is the Church of England in Scotland, a dissenting sect, and, as in Canada, the sect of a minority? By Mr. Bettridge's persevering applications, in the shape of petitions and a memorial to the crown, Lord Glenelg returned an

answer, in which 'his Lordship deprecates the system which would leave the ministers of religion dependent on the precarious support of their several congregations;' and expresses his opinion, 'that the permanent appropriation of funds sufficient for their decent maintenance is to be classed among the highest and first objects of national policy,' but 'there are only four sources from which it is possible the demand can be satisfied:—

1. From the public revenue of Great Britain. 'Lord Glenelg is of opinion that the House of Commons would not regard this as a legitimate use of the revenue of the United Kingdom.*

2. From the unsettled lands of the crown in Upper Canada. The disposal of these is now in the hands of the colonial legislature.

3. The clergy reserves. The Constitutional Act gives the colonial legislature the power to appropriate them.

4. The public revenue of the province. 'His Lordship does not venture to anticipate what course the House of Assembly may think proper to pursue.'

In his reply to Lord Glenelg, Mr. Bettridge, well knowing what course the provincial legislature is likely to adopt, urges that the question as to the reserves never will or can be settled within the province, and calls for the peremptory interference of parliament. 'Your Lordship,' he says, 'will, I trust, excuse me for saying, that Her Majesty's Government would, by an adherence to their present policy, prove a *greater enemy to the Church of England than even the revolted States of America*: they did respect a grant, an endowment made by Queen Anne to the church in the State of New York.' This language does not appear to have alarmed his Lordship, who seems to have rightly appreciated the alternate coaxing and threatening of the clerical deputy, and to have maintained a mild and dignified firmness. Elsewhere Mr. Bettridge declares, that he 'knows not a clergyman in Upper Canada, who, if his personal feelings alone were concerned, would not prefer that the provision of the clergy reserves had never been made, than that, being made, but not effectually secured, they should furnish a *constant subject of bitterness and animosity among the people*, and most unchristian attacks upon the church.' And yet they are stickling and quarrelling for the unprofitable possession! But this not all. A

* The following note, however, shows that the House of Commons, in its moments of easy temper, and requires watching. 'I am happy, indeed,' says Mr. B., 'to have it in my power to publish the fact, that Her Majesty's Government have been induced to ask (*successfully of course*) the imperial parliament for an annual grant of £1000 for the Bishop of Montreal. Can there be a doubt that the parliament would also grant a sufficient supply for the church in Upper Canada, if his Majesty's government would be prevailed on only to ask?'

for the Upper Province is sought for; and Lord Glenelg, 'whether, if means should be provided from private means, for the decent support of a bishop for the province of Canada in his episcopal dignity, Her Majesty's Government issue the royal mandate required by the constitution of the Church for carrying such constitution into effect.' The answer returned is that, 'Her Majesty's Government would be prepared to sanction the erection of a separate diocese limited to the Upper Province, if such a sanction were distinctly understood as not implying any pledge on their part to provide the necessary for the maintenance of the bishop.' The primate, however, will have nothing to do with the measure on such conditions.

The following extract is given from his reply to Mr. Gladstone.

'I consent to such a measure would involve the abandonment of the principle which I shall always maintain; that it is the duty of the Government, by some other way, to make provision for the due maintenance of church discipline and the spiritual instruction of its members.'

Here, subjoins Mr. Bettridge, 'a churchman who can readily say Amen to the principle thus *forcibly exhibited* by the Government, and of the church?' With Mr. Bettridge's leave, His Majesty is not the head of his church, but Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria, Defender of the Faith. As there are two distinct churches in these realms, what, upon even the above ground, is to prevent the State, in making such 'due provision,' preferring to set up the cheaper Establishment of the two, would save the cost of lord bishop and all the cumbrous expenses of prelacy?

Mr. Gladstone presumes, stands the matter at present. We trust that we have not exhausted the patience of our readers by going into these details, which we think important as illustrating two points: first, the absolute incompatibility of the claims of the Church of England with sound and just principles of civil government; and secondly, the schismatical character of those haughty notions which separate the Church of England from every other Protestant communion. What a scourge and pest has been sent to the church in every age! We do not say, episcopacy, in some Protestant churches, that form of church polity is a primitive simplicity and modest dignity which renders it inoffensive. But the Church of England is not satisfied with having bishops; they must be *lord*-bishops. The mitre is emblazoned upon the crimson cushion which receives the even colonial prelacy. How excellent and amiable soever in itself, the mitre transforms him into a political priest, and takes it over God's heritage: his diocese is his realm, his clergy his subjects, and the ministers of Christ of every

other church, Lutheran or Reformed, Presbyterian or Congregational, are regarded as intruders and aliens. Transplanted into our distant settlements, this bastard popery every where becomes an element of social discord, and a mischievous obstruction to the religious efforts of all other denominations not bearing its mark. Compared with any other ecclesiastical body, how feeble are its moral efforts! How incapable is the Established Church, as she calls herself, of keeping pace, without the aid of the State, with the spontaneous and disinterested exertions of other denominations! Hence, her voluntary movements are convulsive, and are always followed by collapse. No wonder that she abhors the voluntary principle, for that would never furnish £180,000 a year for six and twenty overgrown clergymen, while £10,000 a year cannot be extracted out of the entire wealth of the hierarchy, with all its titled and landed supporters among the laity, to supply ministers for a destitute colony. The Gospel Propagation Society, having at its command the immense resources of the Church of England, can spare only £500 a year for Upper Canada; 'not, of course, from any want of will, but solely and 'absolutely from want of means!' The Colonial Missionary Society in connexion with the Congregational denomination, formed only the other day, already devotes between two and three thousand a year to the maintenance of ministers in our Canadian and Australian colonies! Yet, can there be a doubt that Episcopalians would vie with other denominations in zealous exertions, if they were not wedded to a false system, and withheld from doing their duty by being taught to devolve it upon the State? By degrees, however, even Church of England men are learning, though more out of strife and contention than from good will, to practise the Gospel mode of supporting the institutions of the Gospel, and to try the efficacy of a principle which they distrust and protest against on every occasion on which they have recourse to it. The State, too, while solemnly deprecating the adoption of the voluntary principle, is perforce teaching the reluctant church to make experiment of its efficacy. Nervous folk brought up in the lap of luxury, never know what they can do by their own exertion, till they try. In due time it will no doubt be discovered, that church establishments are a political blunder; that the existing generation is fully competent to maintain the entire charge of providing for its own spiritual wants, without either drawing upon the piety or fanaticism of a future age in the shape of endowments, or taxing by anticipation the industry of those who are to come after us; and that even titles and clergy reserves, royal bounties and parliamentary grants, afford a more precarious support to the faithful pastors and teachers of Christ's flock than the free contributions of those who have been taught to regard it as a principle of religion, that 'the labourer is worthy of his hire.'

Art. II. 1. *China: its State and Prospects.* By W. H. MEDHURST, of the London Missionary Society. 8vo. London: Snow, 1838.

2. *China Opened; or a Display of the Topography, History, Customs, Manners, Arts, Manufactures, Commerce, Literature, Religion, Jurisprudence, &c., of the Chinese Empire.* By the Rev. CHARLES GUTZLAF. Revised by the Rev. ANDREW REED, D.D. 2 vols. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1838.

CHINA has always appeared to us one of the most difficult pages in the volume of human nature, though so far as it is at all intelligible, it is decidedly one of the most interesting. In examining the social or moral condition of any one of the other tribes of mankind, we find for the most part that if but one feature of the character of a people be clearly developed, the others can be infallibly determined by the attentive observer of national physiognomy, and that the parts thus combined will present a portraiture distinct, well-proportioned, and natural: but the elements of the Chinese character are an aggregate of anomalies. We behold here an accumulation of heterogeneous qualities fortuitously gathered together and preserved in one mass, not by the force of a living principle uniting and enlivening the system, but by the mere absence of that internal energy which in a healthful body would throw off an adventitious particle from its surface. Begin at what point we please in the literary and scientific state of China, and we are struck at once with this chilly feeling of insularity—we are standing, so to speak, on a rock in the midst of a vast ocean, and at a distance, so great as almost to preclude the possibility of sight, stands the very next accessible point of land. Suppose our examination of the literary statistics of China commence at that point, which is conceived in the history of all other nations to have led to an almost necessary elevation of their intellectual and moral character, we allude to printing, an art which China is known to have practised when the nations of Europe were buried in the profoundest darkness. We may admire, and we cannot but admire the ingenuity of a people who at so early a period came into the possession of a principle containing so much power on the formation of mind, but there we rest. In vain we seek in the neighbouring and connected sciences of grammar, rhetoric, criticism, for those results which our knowledge of the history of European literature has taught us to expect. In Europe the discovery of printing has exercised an almost omnipotent agency in every department of learning: in China printing has been a block to science. With us the press has been a living principle; it has not only produced books but men: in China the press has stereotyped the clumsy

awkwardness of the first attempt at thinking. As far as regards the merely mechanical act, printing does not appear to have advanced in China beyond the rudeness of its primitive form; and in respect to its influence on mind, it appears rather to have impeded than facilitated the progress of thinking. The oral language of the celestial empire has remained for many centuries totally uninfluenced by this art, and whilst amongst the tribes of Celtic or Teutonic origin, printing has in a comparatively short space of time banished the harsh gutturals of a rude and unsocial barbarism, the choking and scarcely articulated monosyllables of these tongue-tied ventriloquists remain in their original inflexibility and rigidity. In vain you seek in the classic productions of her literati for those nice distinctions of thought, those delicate shades of expression, those felicitous coruscations of a creative fancy, which, if they have not been altogether produced, yet have certainly been matured by the fostering care of this auxiliary of literature in Europe. The literature of China owes nothing to printing beyond mere preservation, and the object preserved is not the living being, but rather the dried and withered material of the naturalist's cabinet, without vitality in itself, and consequently without the power of begetting life in others. What has been said in the earliest period of Chinese literature is therefore all that must be said; to advance beyond it requires a new system of symbols, and the man who should be so hardy as to venture one idea not included within the limits of literary orthodoxy, would unsettle the whole system of Chinese philosophy, and would alone succeed in his attempt by introducing a new alphabet of learning.

Or take another point from which we may again begin our examination—let it be the discovery of the mariner's compass, or the power of gunpowder. These are ancient portions of Chinese knowledge; but the practical use of them is yet in its earliest infancy. We are constrained again to acknowledge the same want of continuity; again we are removed to an immense distance from any observable land-mark. Between us and any other *terra firma* of knowledge there is a very abyss of darkness, many dread chasms of loneliness, an expanse scarcely to be filled up even by thought. We cannot comprehend how to get from one promontory to the other. We may imagine ourselves as beholding the wreck of a nation; some great catastrophe of nature has submerged the body of the vessel, and left here and there the end of a mast, a few insular and unconnected protruding eminences which now that the hull is no longer visible appear to have no correspondence with each other, and to have grown into their present shape by chance. We require the intervening spaces to be filled up, that we may comprehend the consistency of the arrangement.

It is thus in the whole orb of Chinese literature; we are

to go through the whole in detail, the principle of analogy has no place. The most deplorable ignorance stands in juxtaposition with science of a more than ordinary elevation; astonishing accuracy and minuteness of detail are often met with a total want of general principles, or with principally and hopelessly incorrect; here and there are observable signs of immense mental strength on which no superstructure erected, or perhaps some superstructures of so uncouth variance and of so fragile and useless a construction, as tend to prove the perverted ingenuity of the artificers; and in this direction we are surprised with the prospect of a noble hall and a magnificent portico, which seem to have sprung from the ground without any perceptible agency sufficient to support the splendid edifice. All the intellectual combinations of China are monstrous. In the mental imagery of China the dragon meets our eye at every step; there is in all its forms a mixture of the wing that elevates towards a higher sphere and the trailing carcase and the crawling extremity which tortuously folds through the slime and the mud. In the midst of its mingled character of civilization and barbarism, we can for a moment perhaps imagine that China resembles its rival Hindostan, but there is a wide, a total difference. To the attentive observer of the state of this last mentioned country, it would appear as though the blighting and withering hand of the demon of barbarism had struck one death blow on all its social, political, and scientific relations, in a moment when they were advancing towards the very climax of their perfection—imagine you can hear the echo of the blow, and see the face of the scar of the wound,—you see that from that fatal moment nothing has been stationary, the breathing of the mind has suspended as in fearful expectation, and death has petrified into their present immovability: the line of separation between life and death is visible and defined, and appears to have been drawn with sudden and momentary precision. It is not so in China: the face of science here marks a violent and unequal division, the separation is not marked by an equal line; in some parts the roots of science and the ground in which they grew have been tiredly plucked up, and in other parts the most elevated heights of literature are yet standing in their legitimate altitude. To account altogether for these incongruities in the mental character of China, is perhaps beyond the task of those who know little of its ancient history as Europeans are generally contented to be contented with, though we cannot but think that an early acquaintance with those arts and sciences to which we are already adverted, and its observable ignorance of those which are needful to unite and consolidate them into one common system, and to impart to each the perfection of which it is

capable, are to be attributed to the peculiar locality of the great empire. China is separated by natural boundaries from every other country excepting Tartary, and in that direction the barrenness of the soil and the usual inclemency of climate is generally a sufficient defence. By its peninsular situation the empire has therefore been preserved from the irruptions of foreign and barbarous nations, checking the progress of civilization and of science. The conquests of China by the Tartars cannot be considered as destructive of this principle, as those conquests were of a modern date, long subsequent to the invention of the arts, and in truth never affected the literature of the country. Placed, therefore, in a fertile soil, and enjoying a mild and genial climate, undisturbed by external war, and devoted to an agricultural and placid life, the Chinese were placed in circumstances more advantageous for the acquisition or the invention of the arts and sciences than perhaps any other nation, and these advantages they employed, and employed successfully.

The same peculiarity of the local situation of China may also account for the wide intervening spaces of sterility to be found between the few oases in its world of science. In Europe, experience has taught us that no one nation has ever been permitted to carry a discovery to the full limit of its perfection ! The inventions of England have been completed by the workmen of France and Germany ; and what the students of other countries have excogitated in the privacy of their closets, the artificers of England have perfected. The same observation extends also to the competition between the scientific men of the new world and the mother countries : it is by mutual communication, by the reciprocity of collision, that the spark kindled on one anvil, ignites in the hearth of another the matter previously prepared, and the darkness of ignorance is dispelled by the illumination of science. Now this communication has been utterly denied to the Chinese ; they have been from time immemorial *tabooed* from the rest of mankind, and no kindly intercourse has ever shaped their rude inventions into a form which made them suitable to mankind generally. All that they have done is specifically Chinese—like the uncouth figures on their porcelain, which are therefore representations of nothing in universal nature, because they are representations of objects in China. All the productions of this singular country have a character of their own, they are stiff, contracted, and incapable of being worked into any foreign composition : a whole vocabulary of monosyllables which defy all attempts to be made euphonous.

The authentic history of China carries us back to the most remote antiquity, though but little can be ascertained as to the line in which the patriarchs of that empire descended from the post-diluvian restorers of the human race. Known but partially even

to the neighbouring nations of the east, there is no evidence that her name was ever heard of by the Phœnician seaman, the Egyptian merchant, the Babylonian satrap, the philosophers of Greece, or the hardy veterans of Rome. The four mighty monarchies of the northern and western portions of the globe, arose from their obscurity, ran their sanguinary and miscalled glorious career, and sank again into the gloom of night, without once disturbing her tranquil repose. The whole history of the eternal city would scarcely occupy an observable parenthesis in a Chinese dynasty, and the haughty empress of the universe never triumphed over one captive subject of the celestial empire. Until the fourteenth century this mighty portion of the globe was entirely unknown to Europe; and from the works of the Catholic missionaries of the seventeenth century did this quarter of the world receive its first accredited information of the state of China. From that time until the commencement of the present century our acquaintance with China has advanced but slowly; and it may be fairly asserted that more has been accomplished within the space of the last twenty years in forming a link between us and the three hundred millions of human beings inhabiting that country, than in three preceding centuries. The Chinese dictionary of Dr. Morrison, the translation of the Bible into the same language, the several Chinese tracts which have been published by Christian Missionaries, and finally, the labours and publications of Gutzlaff and Medhurst, have begun, and are gradually prosecuting a work of unspeakable importance to that empire. The Christian philanthropist may look forward with assured confidence to the ultimate success of the moral machinery now in exercise for the benefit of China: the dissemination of religious knowledge in its purest form of scriptural instruction has a necessary connexion with moral improvement—a connexion established by the same omnipotence which gives validity to the laws of nature; and the ordinances of day and night shall sooner be violated than the influence of truth on the intellectual and religious state of mankind.

Mr. Medhurst, the author of the work now under consideration, is an Agent of the London Missionary Society, and has been engaged in his benevolent and arduous labours in various parts of the Malayan Archipelago since the year 1816. On his recent return to his native country for prosecuting some of the important objects of his mission, he was induced to collect the materials of the present publication, from a conviction that the claims of China on the benevolent and holy sympathies of British Christians have never yet been fully recognized. The volume is of a mixed character, embracing both a popular statistical view of many of the most interesting relations of China, and a journal of the labours of Mr. Medhurst and some of his excellent coadjutors,

in their endeavours to evangelize those natives of China and the Malayan Islands who came within the scope of their exertions. The volume is divided into twenty-two chapters, of each of which we shall give the title. Chapter I. is on the Chronology and Extent of the Chinese Empire. In this chapter there occur several admirable observations on the different degrees of authenticity of the fabulous and authentic eras of Chinese history. Here also we offer our tribute of thanks to Mr. Medhurst, for having pointed out a few very remarkable coincidences between some facts occurring in the accredited portion of its history and the statements of the Bible. We cannot but express our opinion that these are among the most important sections of the whole volume, and we earnestly wish that the Author had indulged us with more facts of a similar kind. It is particularly desirable to derive fresh proofs of biblical verity from that system of chronology and history which has formerly been considered as unfriendly to revelation. Chapters II. III. and IV. are on the Population of the Empire. In these chapters the Author supports the opinion which attributes the overwhelming mass of three hundred and sixty millions of human beings to this country; and he gives at least the air of probability to his view by an examination of several official documents on this subject. In the latter part of the Fourth Chapter there is a most affecting account of the evils occasioned to the native population by the importation and use of opium, and an appeal to the merchants and legislature of Great Britain against our traffic in this pernicious drug, which we can scarcely think will be heard in vain. It is indeed a heart-rending document, and is the voice of our brothers' blood crying in the ears of a God of retributive justice. Chapter V. is occupied with a View of the Civilization of the mighty empire, and with its Government and Laws; and Chapter VI. with its Language and Literature. In this last chapter we have much information on the nature of the oral language, the grammatical principles, and the written symbols of this extraordinary people, and a section of remarkable interest on the degrees of literary honour, and the rules by which those different degrees are bestowed. We have never seen in so small a compass so much information thrown together on the literature of the disciples of Confucius. Chapter VIII. treats of Religion, and describes the three great systems tolerated in the empire, that of Confucius; that of Taou, and Buddhism; or, in other words, the systems of Atheism, Superstition, and Pantheism. Chapter IX. is a History of the Catholic Missions in China, and is characterized by a spirit of tolerance and charity very creditable to the Author. Chapter X. embraces the Protestant Mission; and the same subject is continued in Chapters XI. XII. and XIII. Chapters XIV.—XIX. contain the journal of a voyage performed by the Author along

the east coast of the empire, as far northward as King-hæ-chow. During the course of this voyage the Author landed at several parts of the coast, and distributed tracts explanatory of the Christian religion, and several portions of the Sacred Scriptures, in the Chinese language, to thousands of inquiring individuals. The journal is interesting in a very uncommon degree. Chapter XX. states the circumstances which followed that voyage. Chapters XXI. and XXII. conclude the whole book, with affecting appeals for more labourers in the missionary field, and with an account of their necessary qualifications.

The information contained in this volume is great, and the manner in which it is presented is, on the whole, judicious and suited to the subject. The style is generally plain, and lucid, though we must be permitted to say, that we have been constrained to wish that in some places it had maintained, if not a greater degree of dignity, yet at least a little more gravity. We must not be misunderstood as meaning that the Author is ever guilty of levity; no, far from it—but we should prefer in a book of acknowledged worth, and which might be made a standard work on the subject, to see nothing of that trite and common-place style of colloquial prettiness which, though it may render a book pleasant in the parlour, will rarely secure it a permanent place in the study. Might we adventure on another point of friendly criticism we should suggest that there is less of generalization and of extensive observation in the present work than we approve: the author is accurate enough in the statement of facts, and in the minuteness of circumstantial detail, whilst he displays but a small grasp in his philosophical conclusions; he is better in the topography than in the geography of the mental world, and gives more easily the elevation of a building than the map of an extensive territory. We offer these remarks in the kindest spirit, thanking Mr. Medhurst for what he has done, and has done so well, though we cannot but wish, such is our affection for him, that his work had approached nearer to perfection. There are also one or two remarks on some expressions in his work which we beg leave to make as, in case the Author should coincide with our opinion, he will have an opportunity of altering them in the event of another edition of his book. In p. 132, Mr. Medhurst in mentioning the opinion of the Edinburgh Review of Sir George Staunton's code of Chinese laws, says, 'These encomiums are certainly high, and the general laws of China are, undoubtedly, much indebted to their elegant translator, and still more lavish admirer.' Is this a compliment to Sir George Staunton's taste, or a satire on his faithfulness? Is the elegant translator, the same person as the lavish admirer? We suspect Mr. Medhurst has no intention to aver that they are the same, but we presume that his readers in general will under-

stand him as saying that the elegant translator and the lavish admirer are but one person. Finally, is it Mr. Medhurst's opinion that the encomium is too high, and that both the elegant translator, and the lavish admirer are wrong in their judgment? We wish these opinions were stated more clearly, and that if there be any charge intended, that charge were proved, or at least, endeavoured to be proved. In page 392 the Author observes, that in '1802 the English sent an armed force to take possession of 'Macao, in order to prevent its falling into the hands of the 'French; and in 1808 the attempt was renewed. In both cases, 'however, the Chinese resented the aggression, and stopped the 'trade, till the English troops had *disembarked*.' Surely the Author intended to say re-embarked, as the landing of the English troops on Chinese ground would be an extraordinary concession to Chinese authority—their departure on ship-board we can easily understand to be a concession. We shall not particularize others, though we have met with a few oversights of a similar kind, which we hope will be amended in a future edition. We must mention an unhappy sentence in page 43, where the practice of infanticide is said not to be *kept up*, in order to *keep down* population. The wood-cuts with which the volume is adorned are well executed, and happily chosen in order to give the reader a graphic portraiture of the more distinctive features of the country. We subjoin the following quotation as a specimen of the Author's general manner. It occurs in his reflections upon the almost incredible populousness of China.

'The Chinese are not only living under one form of despotic rule, they possess, likewise, one universal language and literature. It is a remarkable fact, that notwithstanding the spoken dialects of each province and county vary so considerably, that the Chinese of different districts are absolutely unintelligible to each other; yet, the written medium of the whole empire is easily understood by all, and writing instead of speaking, constitutes the universal method of *changing* ideas. The Chinese written language, being symbolical, and the same symbols being used to designate certain significations, whatever sound be attached to the character, each instructed person readily *understands* a book though he may use a different dialect from the writer. It is remarkable farther that not only are the same signs employed for certain ideas, in all parts of the country, but the same style is used. The disposal of the characters, as well as the characters themselves, is according to one uniform method; so that a person able to write well in Chinese, no matter what may be his native dialect, is intelligible in the remotest borders of the empire. Yea, even beyond the limits of Chinese rule, the Chinese character and style are understood, and throughout Cochin China, Corea, and Japan, the same mode of writing is current and legible. Thus a book once composed in the customary Chinese style, if intelligible to one learned man, would be intelligible to all; and might travel among the hundreds of millions in

habiting south-eastern Asia, communicating intelligence throughout the whole region. What a stimulus does this afford to an active and energetic mind, while engaged in studying the Chinese language, or inditing a book for their instruction, that he is doing what may be available to the benefit of so many millions, and that to the latest generation. Such a book needs only to be multiplied and circulated, without undergoing the slightest alteration, in order to enlighten and edify one-third of the human race.

‘The morals also, of this numerous people have one striking characteristic, and their religious views and practices are precisely similar throughout the empire. When a man has studied the main features of the Chinese character in one place and one person, he has studied them in all; and when he has discovered a train of argument that will silence the philosophical and superstitious objections of one individual, he has provided himself with materials that will be serviceable on all occasions. The uniformity and unvariableness of the Chinese mind is to be traced to their possessing one set of opinions on philosophy and religion; which being laid down in their ancient books, and stereotyped from age to age, constitutes the public and universal sentiment on the above topics, and runs through the whole mass of society. Hence the Missionary finds the Chinese always using the same argument, and starting the same objections, which having been often answered before, may be easily replied to again. In this view of the matter, the multiplicity of their population dwindles into insignificance, and affords an advantage to the missionary not to be met with elsewhere.’—pp. 78, 79.

The preceding pages were written, and in type, before Mr. Gutzlaff's volumes came to hand. This circumstance, with the extended notice we have recently taken of Chinese topics, in our review of Mr. Davis's work, must be our apology for the very brief reference we can make to the publication. We rejoice in its appearance, and fully concur with Dr. Reed in the opinion, that the volumes ‘make a valuable addition to our knowledge of ‘the Chinese empire and its dependencies.’ The work was wisely entrusted by Mr. Gutzlaff to the hands of Dr. Reed, who has exercised a discreet judgment in making such omissions as have brought it within its present reasonable dimensions. ‘It ‘could only be,’ he remarks, and we fully concur in the observation, ‘by extraordinary facility in the use of language, by unwearied labour in exploring its stores, by remarkable tact in assorting them, as well as by ready and extensive observations on ‘the people and the countries, that a work of such a character ‘could be produced. Viewing the ‘Celestial Empire’ from a different point of view from Mr. Davis, the author will be found to have supplied some of the deficiencies of his valuable work. The two publications, though embracing substantially the same topics, interfere very slightly with each other, and together with that of Mr. Medhurst, constitute an invaluable introduction to the history, literature, and religion, of the most singular people on the

face of the globe. Hitherto our knowledge of them has been scanty and vague, and few efforts have consequently been made for their instruction. The case is now different, and our responsibility is proportionably increased. We can no longer plead ignorance of their wants. Writers of undoubted credit and information,—the merchant and the christian missionary,—have removed the veil so long interposed; and the hundreds of millions inhabiting the Chinese empire, are now known to be sunk in the moral debasement and intellectual darkness, ever attendant on paganism. Will the efforts of the Christian church be proportioned to the magnitude of the field thus opened for its benevolent exertions? We wait to see what practical answer will be given to this inquiry.

Art. III. *A Discourse on the Complete Restoration of Man, morally and physically considered.* By DANIEL CHAPMAN. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co.; and Knight, Leeds. 8vo.

IT is one of our *painful* duties to review this book. One of our *duties* we call it, because, whatever may be thought of an insulated volume, or with however quiescent a conscience a corps of reviewers may suffer it to pursue its way unnoticed to the 'trunk-maker's; when a gentleman commences authorship by the annunciation of three volumes in octavo on separate subjects, and threatens to spend his whole life in indefatigable endeavours to multiply the kind, it is due, both to the public and the author, to take some account of so remarkable a phenomenon, and to attempt some calculation of its probable portent. It is our *painful* duty, because we can say very little that is laudatory; and, whether our readers will give us credit for it or not, we are always sorry to be severe.

An advertisement at the close of the volume informs us, that the author has lately published, 'complete in one volume, 8vo., price 8s., *A Dissertation practical and conciliatory, in three parts, intended to define, illustrate, and reconcile with each other, the following three classes of objects: 1. Philosophy and Theology; 2. Politics and Religion; 3. Private Opinion and Ecclesiastical Communion.*' This is the first of a series. The other two, judging from the following joint title, which is set forth with elaborate typographical display, are 'par nobile fratrum.' 'A comprehensive Theological and Philosophical Dissertation on Man,' consisting of two regular and general Discourses, founded on two passages of the sacred volume, and designed to exhibit the triumph of reason and revelation in their conjoint elucidation of the following analogous, though perfectly distinct subjects of investigation: Discourse I. On the Complete Restoration of Man, morally and phy-

sically considered. Discourse 2. On the universal Establishment of the Human Race in a state of Perfect Civilization and Moral Culture :—the first of these discourses regarding chiefly the nature and character of the individual being, and the second, the circumstances and prospects of the entire human species. By Daniel Chapman.' Of these 'two discourses' the first is before us, and the second is 'ready for the press.'

It does not augur well for any production to be so pompously announced. Mr. Chapman, however, has not contented himself with blazoning this sort of matter on his title page, as our readers will further learn by a short extract from the 'Preface to Discourse First,' which the author thinks 'may not be unacceptable.'

'Greatly as the author admires and enjoys that light and easy style, which subjects of an ordinary or ephemeral kind innocently admit, or properly require; he has, for the reasons already specified, studiously endeavoured to adopt a style strictly congenial in its character with the invariable and unparalleled importance, excellence, and comprehensiveness of the subjects which he has discussed. For the purpose of avoiding obscurity and preventing inaccurate or inadequate apprehension, he has had recourse to every process of definition, connexion, and expansion, that seemed likely to contribute to clearness, exactness, and completeness of conception. He consequently claims no indulgence on the score of conscious negligence or inadvertence; since he has suffered no thought or expression to escape, without the closest and the strictest scrutiny, oft and rigorously repeated.

'He has written for futurity, he has written for eternity. His productions, like all other merely human compositions, must indeed eventually perish: their practical effects, however, he has endeavoured to render, so far as their circulation and operation shall extend, immediately and permanently beneficial.

'He conceives, therefore, he is authorized to take the liberty of suggesting, that this treatise should not merely be read, but studied—that it should not merely be consulted with a critical reference to the sentiment and style of the author, but with a direct, practical application to the conscience and character, the creed and practice of any individual for whose present and eternal benefit it has been no less benevolently designed, than—judging from the time and care expended in its composition—elaborately executed.'—pp. vii., viii.

We must draw upon our reader's patience for one brief extract more, which will complete the view taken by Mr. Chapman of his early literary 'achievements.'

'Without indulging in any illiberal, unfriendly, or invidious allusions, it may not be improper for the Author to observe, therefore, that he deems these publications peculiarly calculated to counteract the acknowledged infidelity and heterodoxy, so deplorably and extensively prevalent in the present age, and proportionately to facilitate the suc-

cess of all the truly evangelical institutions and philanthropic operations, in which, it must be confessed, the present age equally abounds.'—p. vi.

Other authors may, for aught we know, have delighted themselves with similar thoughts respecting their own works, before their publication; but we never met with any one with half the candour of Mr. Chapman. He absolutely thinks aloud. But let us enter the temple to which he has constructed so gorgeous a portico.

By 'the Restoration of Man, morally and physically considered,' he means the renovation of his mind, and the resurrection of his body, as provided for by 'Christianity.' With his sentiments on these subjects we do not materially quarrel, although we do not agree with all of them. He professes to tell us how they are contemplated, first, by reason, secondly, by infidelity; thirdly, by revelation. This is the plan of his book; to which, even if he had kept to it (which he has not), we should have objected, that the two former objects are utterly useless, and worse than useless. To tell us how infidels regard sacred truths can only tend to diffuse their sentiments, and, if our author had really done it, it would have infused an element of evil into his book; happily, however, he has not done it, but has filled up the space allotted to this threatened mischief, by a foolish, but more harmless abuse of infidels themselves, of which we shall give a sample presently. Then, to occupy two hundred and sixteen octavo pages, (more than half the volume) with telling us how unassisted 'reason' contemplates these glorious truths, can be deemed nothing better than solemn trifling. Nor is it, indeed, without an ill effect; since it tends to associate in our minds the perplexities and uncertainties of the unaided reasoner, with truths which in the light of revelation stand out in unquestionable authority and power. In the last portion of the work, which is the only one in which there could have been the least value, no justice is done to the theme. The author drags his reader, already wearied, over precisely the same grounds as in the first section, making no effective use of the sacred oracles, if not rather degrading them to the office of mere witnesses to what he professes to have found before, by a long 'process of ratiocination and deduction, successfully executed.' He talks of the bearing of what he has written on the 'conscience and the character, the creed and the practice,' but not an appeal to the conscience does he make throughout, nor an iota does he bring to bear upon the character. The entire practical amount of his labours is comprehended in the following sentence.

At the close of this discourse, in the execution of which we have not either consciously omitted or intentionally evaded any topic that naturally, essentially forms a part of such an investigation—we solemnly

declare it is our firm and unalterable conviction, that the revelation of God, and the reason of man, perfectly harmonize in that complete scheme of restoration, moral and physical, which Christianity constitutes. On this conviction we devoutly, inflexibly resolve to depend, and to act in all the infinitely momentous concerns of our own spiritual and eternal welfare ; and with intensest anxiety for the welfare of all others, we most importunately recommend their adoption and prosecution of the same course, as not incomparably superior to any other, but as the only course by which absolute and eternal perfection can be infallibly secured.'—pp. 417, 418.

The author has pleased himself with the belief, that his writings are '*peculiarly* calculated to correct the acknowledged infidelity' of the age. We thank him for his intention, which, in a Minister of the gospel (we know not of what communion), we may well believe to be an honest one. We must be permitted to tell him, however, that he over-rates his powers, if he does not altogether mistake them. Infidels could desire nothing better, than to see Christianity in the hands of such defenders, and themselves at the mercy of such assailants. We have already observed, that, in the portion of the volume in which the author had proposed to tell us what infidels think of the gospel, he tells us rather what he thinks of them. After ascribing their infidelity to various sources of evil, he thus expresses himself in relation to the melancholy subject of Satanic influence.

'So exact frequently is the coincidence which exists between these suggestions of Satan, and the spontaneous conceptions of the unbeliever, that the latter is rendered by this circumstance totally insensible of the infernal quarter from which the dreadful corroboration of his scepticism proceeds. He consequently becomes an unsuspecting easy prey to this pitiless, insatiable murderer of beguiled human souls. He mistakes the syren song of diabolically artful delusion, for the sweet music of melodiously chanting reason. He confounds duped submission to hellish imposture and domination with the rational assertion of moral freedom and independence.

'The devil is by no means chagrined at this fatal error of judgment, which the ignorance and pride of his vassals induce them to commit. He maliciously sacrifices all ambition of human praise, to the consummation of human destruction. The deeply experienced, infernal angler carefully conceals the line, until the bait of damnation is swallowed, and it is not until he finds his captured, struggling victim incapable of resistance or escape, that he fully discloses his fiendish form and devilish machinery, to the eyes of his then undeceived, but alas ! eternally ruined votary.'—pp. 232, 233.

We cannot say that we think this the way to convert an infidel, or to counteract infidelity. We can imagine nothing but a contemptuous smile, as an index of augmented obduracy, sitting on the brow of an unbeliever, while reading the four and thirty pages of abuse here discharged against him *on behalf of Christianity!*

One word we must say of our author's style. He describes it as *elaborate*, and it is so in the worst sense of the term. It has no simplicity, nor ease. All his paragraphs are men in buckram; and every sentence is so loaded with adjectives and adverbs, that the march can hardly proceed at all. The author is always in stilts, and sometimes we could imagine him taking the benefit of a balloon, from which, however, we hope he will never venture to descend in a parachute. Let our readers take a specimen.

'But who or what is that moving spectre, having eyes deeply mute yet dreadfully swollen and inflamed with excessive weeping, a forehead shrivelled into the wrinkles of premature age with extreme solicitude, hair dishevelled and bleached in comparative youth as by the tempests of a multitude of years, a countenance grown haggard and repulsive with anxiety, and cheeks ploughed into channels by ceaseless torrents of tears, lips drawn into convulsive contortions by the dire anguish that reigns in the soul, a breast heaving alternately with the deepest sighs and the heaviest groans, limbs paralyzed, and a frame writhing with indescribable and conflicting emotions of grief and melancholy, of rage and revenge, of madness and chagrin, of remorse and dread, of terror and horror of every description and degree? [Who is she, gentle reader?] Wouldst thou know her origin, her residence, her name? She is the offspring of depravity and crime. Thy breast is her habitation; and misery is her name.'—pp. 19, 20.

Poor misery! she has been a long while in the world, and has often been described; but we dare say she never thought of being made such a spectacle of as this. But seriously, it is necessary Mr. Chapman should know that this is not good writing, and that it will not make any impression upon the public mind. It is sheer bombast, and so is every page that he has written. If he continues to compose such stuff as this, he may 'write for futurity,' but the age is *very* distant that will know any thing of him. His notes will not only 'eventually perish,' but will perish very soon, and with very little profit to himself, or to any body else. We say these things the more pointedly, because the author professes the design of writing more books, and because we wish to save him from mortification and disappointment. We do not deny to him the possession of considerable power; but it is power as yet grievously misapplied. If he really desires to do any good, let him commence a new course. Let him tread over solid ground, instead of following *Jack o' the lantern* into bogs and marshes. Let him take a serious, practical aim, and write with simplicity, instead of accumulating a cumbrous weight and gorgeous pomp of words, and he may yet be of some service to the world; and may realize, perhaps, a little of that 'pecuniary advantage,' which, as he modestly informs us, he 'has no objection to share, proportionately with those to whom the typographical execution of his works may be entrusted.'

Art. IV. *Sermons; Preached at the Temple Church; and before the University of Cambridge, during the month of January, 1838.* By the Rev. THEYRE T. SMITH, M.A., Assistant Preacher at the Temple, and Sunday Evening Lecturer at St. Lawrence, Jewry. 8vo. London. Fellowes.

THIS is altogether an extraordinary volume. It is a long time since we have met with a book under the same title displaying so many of the higher qualities of excellence. In its style there is a matured manhood—a precision, dignity, and force, which remind us strongly of that class of divines to whom the scholars of the Church of England are accustomed to do homage, as to models that can hardly be surpassed. It exhibits much of the clearness and strength of Balguy and Horsley, with a deeper sensibility, and more warmth of imagination; and, in many parts, is the vehicle of a consecutive power of reasoning, that could not have come under the cognizance of those great men without exciting their admiration. It is allied, however, in the mind of our author, with a feeling of devotion, and a disposition to grapple with high theological themes, which did not belong to the character of Balguy; and with a manifest solicitude to discover and enforce practical truth, and a spirit of moderation and urbanity, of which Horsley knew nothing. In these respects the volume may be regarded as no unfair indication of the improved theology, and, we hope we may say, the improved temper, of that class of divines in the Church of England, who, without being counted evangelical, in the conventional meaning of that word, are concerned to inculcate the lessons of human duty on the grounds peculiar to revelation, and in the spirit of a devout seriousness.

We have some impression, however, that we ought to qualify the high praise which we can honestly bestow on the style and texture of this volume, when we call to mind that it is a volume of *sermons*. If there be any class of compositions that should be characterized more than another, by a strictly popular method of communicating instruction, and as relating to topics adapted to popular apprehension, sermons must constitute that class. The writer of leading articles in a newspaper does not indulge in nicely studied disquisitions on the questions of human policy. He addresses himself to all who can read, and is aware that a large portion of the community which he is desirous of influencing can do little more than read. There are books for disquisitions, and his business is to simplify the contents of such books, so as to adapt them to the working-day thoughts of the multitude about him. But the preacher has not only to address himself to those who can do little more than read, but to many who cannot

do that, and to a much greater number, who, though they can read, are disposed to look to the pulpit rather than the press, for their knowledge of the matters which the preacher professes to expound. Accordingly, one indispensable faculty of an efficient preacher would seem to be, the power of forming a just estimate of the average apprehension to which he has to address himself, and then of making things clear down to that level. What may be necessary to the complete and scholar-like discussion of a subject, considered simply as such, is one thing; but the manner in which it should be treated, considering the cast of mind to which you have to commend it, is another. No doubt, there are occasions when the highest order of ability may be very suitably put forth in the efforts of the pulpit; and if this be admissible any where, it must be in the case of a preacher 'at the Temple church, and before 'the University of Cambridge.' But these are exceptions. In general, that predominance of the reasoning faculty, and that elaborate perfectness of style, by which the volume before us is distinguished, are qualities much more in place with the learned when instructing the reading public from their study, than with the orator of the people, when addressing his Sunday auditory, with whom he must know a very little theological reading is made to go a great way, and upon whom all the refinements of finished composition are lost, or something worse. We believe that as men accumulate the lessons of experience in preaching, they become convinced that their real efficiency has been in proportion to their facility of uniting *plainness* with *force*. We speak of *force*, and we use the term in a large sense, because nothing can be more pitiable, in our judgment, than that loose talk on the common places of religion, in which some men have prided themselves, and which not a few have applauded as simple preaching! Truly one has met, among divines of this sort, with some choice specimens of the simple! Such men ought to know that to make the small vulgar, and to make the great intelligible, are not exactly the same thing.

But we must endeavour to make our readers more nearly acquainted with the discourses before us. The first is on 'The Expiatory Sacrifice of Christ,' in which the Socinian argument, that nothing more can be necessary, on the part of God, to the absolution of the guilty, than a simple announcement of forgiveness, is met with a novelty and force of conception which we think unanswerable. This reasoning, says the preacher,

'— though not a little plausible, is, we suspect, but ill considered and superficial. It overlooks this most important fact—that imperfect knowledge, or defective wisdom, is the principal, the only reason why human laws are made capable of yielding; and that the penalty of crime is not certain in its infliction. In all cases of remission or commutation of punishment, there is either some doubt of the crimi-

nality of the condemned person, or an opinion is entertained that the punishment impending over him is more than adequate to the offence of which he stands convicted. It is assumed or conjectured that there exists some valid ground for an acquittal from the charge of guilt, or for a mitigation of its penalty. In truth, it is no more proper to human than to divine justice, to remit the sentence of law when guilt is palpable and unequivocal, and evidently equal to the punishment which it has incurred. That a compassionate sympathy with the condition of the criminal, or a reluctance to inflict pain or death, should operate to his escape from punishment, would, it is obvious, be accounted a fault in the judicial administration, and be universally deprecated as tending to the subversion of society. Our religion, it is true, instructs us to suppress the spirit of retaliation toward those who have injured us; but, notwithstanding, as members of the social body, and bound, as such, to aim at the promotion of the common good, we aspire to a character of inexorableness toward the violators of right and law. We rigorously uphold, however we may deplore, the sentence which dooms the guilty to suffer or to die, and we account those to have been examples of heroic virtue, who, in this respect, have sacrificed the claims of kindred and friendship on the altar of political rectitude.

‘There appears to be no pure, intelligent principle of forgiveness in the judicial wisdom of this world. Human legislation discovers no other elements of mercy than its weaknesses and imperfections. What is called a discretionary power, and lauded as a prerogative of mercy, is simply a right of determination on grounds which the law is unable to anticipate, and consequently cannot decide upon. It is impossible, beforehand, to describe all the circumstances which may diminish the guilt of a particular offence; and hence it is expedient to leave ample scope, for the supply of deficiency, or the correction of error; or in flattering, but, as it would seem, inaccurate language, to place in the ruling power a right of dispensation, or prerogative of mercy. Moreover, as men are so liable to err in their decisions, it becomes a principle of natural equity to incline to the side of clemency and remission. Undoubtedly, however, as crimes become more clearly discriminated, the penalties annexed to them better selected or proportioned, and the rules of evidence more satisfactorily ascertained, punishment is more rarely remitted. In other words, the more comprehensive the wisdom of the legislature, the more certain is the execution of its enactments.’

—pp. 4—6.

It is obvious from this course of remark, that as imperfect knowledge, or defective wisdom pertains not to the Divine Being, the parity of reasoning in the two cases, on which so much has been founded, utterly fails. In a subsequent part of the discourse, it is shown that the law, instead of being abrogated, or rendered less imperative by the gospel, is in fact brought out in the New Testament, in its spirituality and unalterableness, with much greater clearness than in the Old—as though man had been deemed incapable of bearing a full disclosure of his condition as a revolted creature, until it came to be placed along with a perfect disclosure of the means of pardon and recovery; and it is made

fully to appear that men are exempted from the punishment of their sins, not on account of any relaxation in the law which they have violated, but in virtue of the expiatory sacrifice of Jesus Christ.

The second sermon presents a further step in the same great argument. It is intended to show, contrary to the argument of the Unitarian, that the rite of sacrifice under the law was an ordained type of the sacrifice of Christ. In answer to the assertion that the apostles have expressed themselves as they have done on this subject, merely from a tendency to indulge in strong Hebrew forms of speech, it is maintained that no such ground can be made tenable, without imputing to the inspired writers a use of figurative language altogether foreign from its nature and purpose, and not only calculated, in an eminent degree, to mislead, but directly contrary to the clearest and most simple declarations of the Scriptures generally.

We shall not stay to consider our Author's views with regard to 'the Advocacy of Christ,' which is the subject of the third sermon, though it would no doubt gratify many of our readers to witness the keen perception and effect with which the writer seizes on the language of the Unitarians on this subject, and points out the sameness of the principles which it involves with those on which the doctrine of the Atonement rests, both in the Scriptures, and in the writings of orthodox divines. But we are tempted onward by the subject of the two following discourses—'the Hope of the First Christians.'

The object of the preacher in these sermons is to show that the first Christians exhibited an attitude of mind, or state of feeling in relation to a future existence, including an amount of earnest hope and desire, which is rarely, if ever, evinced among ourselves. We have found much to admire in these discourses, but must confess that our impression after reading them is not of that altered kind which the Author clearly means to produce. We think he has not looked with a sufficient comprehensiveness at the records of the primitive church, even as furnished by the sacred writers; and he has in consequence, as we think, overrated the piety of those times; while, from some other cause, he has underrated that of his own day. The epistles to the seven churches, and even those of Paul, if carefully examined, will be found to present no very flattering picture of the Christian profession even in those times. Where whole churches are not open to heavy censures, we commonly find that many included in them are regarded as deserving to be so visited. Our Author's views, moreover, with regard to the influence of persecution, and of the evidence of miracles, on the hope of the first Christians, though such as are commonly entertained, have long appeared to us as very doubtful. God is not dependent on persecution, any

more than upon any one means of discipline beside, for the perfecting of the saints. It is manifest, also, that the terrors of persecution in the Apostolic age, were not such as to prevent the appearance of many false professors, and the checks which did not serve to prevent a large supply of that sort, were not necessarily such as to preclude a low state of spirituality elsewhere.

With regard to the influence of miracles,—in this age of physical science, when pretensions of that nature are so readily put down, by the sifting and exposure to which they are immediately subject, it is difficult to form an adequate notion of the comparative ease with which such claims were maintained two thousand years ago. Added to which, the real miracles which had been attendant during four thousand years on the footsteps of the church, had made such interferences familiar to the faith of the wisest and the best of men, and favoured, incidentally, the pretensions of impostors. Certain it is, that at that period, not only the priests of all countries, but the philosophers scarcely less, were concerned to pass for personages capable of bending the laws of nature in no mean degree to their pleasure. The Alexandrian Platonists were almost as extravagant in their pretensions and tales on that subject as the monks of the Middle Age. The difficulty accordingly was, not to find men laying claim, and upon grounds that might then have been deemed valid, to miraculous powers, but rather to move any where abroad without meeting with such men. Hence it is remarkable, that, from the time of the Saviour's ministry, and that of Peter and John, no man considered himself bound to admit the truth of Christianity, because not prepared to disprove the miracles alleged to have been wrought in attestation of it. Porphyry followed in the train of multitudes who admitted the miracle, but who denied its connexion with the power by which it was said to have been performed.

In the remaining part of this volume we find much to admire, but some things also to which we must take decided exception. The Sermons on the Love of the World; on the Nine Lepers; on sufferings a Proof of the Divine Goodness; on Repentance in Affliction; and on the Love of our Neighbour, and of our Enemies; carry with them the impress of the mind and heart of the Author, and can hardly be read by the class of persons to whom they are addressed without benefit. But the great object of the discourses on the Renewal of the Mind in Christians, and on Faith and Justification, is to correct certain views, or modes of statement on those subjects, among Evangelical preachers, which the writer deems erroneous, or as tending to produce misconception. And it is here we are most at issue with him. Opposition to error rarely leads to a calm and clear view of truth. By the repulsion from one extreme, we are almost sure to be thrown upon the other. We do not scruple to admit that there is some

ground for the strictures of the Author on all the points which fall under his powerful censorship; but we are confident that the errors which he labours to correct do not exist either in the strength or prevalence which he apprehends, and his reasoning in relation to them will no doubt be adopted by many, who, in the place of using it, as we believe he would wish it to be used, to subserve a more enlightened and practical piety, will put it into requisition on the side of a miserable formalism. It is true, in order to do this, such persons must take the writer's argument in some of its parts only, and not as a whole. But we have seen enough of human nature to be only too well persuaded that this will be done; and little grateful as such a statement may be to an Author, we must express it as our undoubting expectation, that the good done by the particular discourses adverted to, will be greatly outweighed by the evil,—the errors which the writer is aiming to correct in one quarter, being, in effect, trivial, compared with those he will strengthen in another. It would also be easy to show, that the principles which pervade this volume, are such as pledge the preacher to a sound exposition of the oracles of God, and that he never departs from that course without involving himself in manifest inconsistency. Thus there are passages in the sermon on the Love of the World, which are sufficient in themselves to destroy the whole argument of that on the Renewal of the Mind in Christians; and there are others in the sermons on Faith and Justification, which evince so much intelligent and devout solicitude to exclude the idea of personal merit from the salvation of the sinner, as to make it not a little strange that we should meet with them in a connexion where the main argument is of so different a tendency—an argument, we will say in brief, which, as it confounds justification with sanctification, can never be made intelligible in itself, or accordant with a just and comprehensive view of the inspired writers. We will only add, that the Author of this volume is not a person who can need to be reminded, that the men who have maintained the doctrine of justification by faith in the precise form which he combats, are just those who gave existence to Protestantism, and have preserved to it nearly all the vitality which it has any where retained—that they have been in fact a people so far abounding in good works, as to have been generally censured by persons of different sentiments on this point, as being 'righteous over-much.' Exceptions may occur on either side; but, looking to the average effect of the doctrine opposed by our Author, and of that maintained by the great majority of his communion, we hesitate not a moment in forming our conclusion as to which of those views is assuredly most conducive to fervent piety and sound morals. Indeed the Author seems to labour under something so much like a misgiving of this sort himself, that we strongly suspect whether his

antious and modified view of the doctrine will be really more acceptable in his own ecclesiastical circle than the scriptural view of it as maintained by Luther and

we must find space, in conclusion, on several accounts, for more of the many passages we have marked in this volume. The following is from the sermon on the Love of the Lord. The preacher remarks, while enforcing the exhortations of the New Testament on this subject. '— But it may be said, the descriptions given of the world in the Scriptures are equally applicable to our time, inasmuch as Christianity has effected an important reformation in our religious and moral principles.' Taking all such considerations into fair account, all demanded—

Has the Gospel so prevailed amongst us? has the love of God become so ascendant a principle in our minds, as that those subjects which in old time, enticed his creatures to disobedience, make a vain show to our affections? has the world lost its power to tempt—to seduce, to infatuate, and to destroy? and has the apostate spirit, who was once set up as the god of it, been driven from his usurpation, and his empire destroyed in 'blinding the minds of them which believe not, in the light of the glorious Gospel of Christ, who is the image of God, shining unto them?' Is the world then a terror of other times? does it bear of an antiquated theology? 'the lust of the eye, the pride of life, the love of the world'—have they ceased from amongst us? Have we no longer to deplore and deprecate the abuse of that passion which the Almighty has permitted by the institution of marriage? abuse of it which perverts the difference of sex into a source of bitterness and degradation; renders man the worst enemy of woman, her busy tempter to error, her remorseless conductor to infamy and desolation,—or associates with her a habitual alienation from God, and rejection of his mercy? Are the simple appetites of hunger and thirst no more perverted to obstruct the reason, to deaden the moral feelings, and to obstruct the influence of things unseen and future? has the love of lucre ceased to corrupt the justice and congeal the charity of men; degrading in their conduct the claims of others, and rendering them insensible to their own and sufferings? has the thirst of fame and distinction lost its power to stir our unsocial and malevolent feelings, and to make us slaves of envy and detraction? is power laid aside as an instrument of justice and oppression, or never used as a weapon of revenge? Is rank and wealth no longer received as reasons for contempt of inferiors and dependents? no longer the nutriment of selfish pride and heart-hardness? truly our self-gratulation must turn, upon reflection, into confusion, as professors of the Gospel, and might well prove from an enemy of our faith a pungent satire, and a bitter scorn.

p. 151.

The British Critic, classing this volume with several others under the same title, has favoured it with the 'notice' of some

three or four lines, in which the substance of the statement is, that Mr. Smith's Discourses are 'sound,' and not without occasional indications of power, but 'rather dry!' We should like to see their reverences of the British Critic, employed in naming a dozen men in their whole hierarchy qualified to produce Discourses like those, on which it has appeared good to them, to bestow this elaborate attention and eulogy. For our own part, we have wished to acquit ourselves fairly towards the Author of this volume, and we feel that we do not more than this, in strongly recommending his publication to that class of readers who are capable of appreciating works characterized by real worth, though containing much, perhaps, to which their judgment can by no means extend an entire approval.

Art. V. *Random Recollections of the Lords and Commons.*
Second Series. By the Author of 'The Great Metropolis,' &c. &c.
2 vols. London: Henry Colburn. 1838.

WE are not surprised to find that the first series of the 'Random Recollections' met with extraordinary success. There was much in the publication to deserve and to insure it. The novelty of the design, the strict impartiality and unvarying good humor of the sketches, the great diligence evinced in the collection of facts, and the healthful moral tone of the work, predicted the success which, we are now informed, has been realised. This is as it should be, and the author has done well, in requiting the patronage of the public, by a continuation of his work. The present series has been written in the same spirit as its predecessor, and the utmost care has been taken 'to insure the greatest possible 'accuracy.' Those who are acquainted with the Author's former productions will need no evidence of the truth of his assertion, 'that he has been most anxious to guard against anything like 'ill-natured remark, and that his earnest desire has been to write 'in the spirit of perfect impartiality.' It would be too much to say that his own political views are not evident, but it may safely be affirmed that his attachments are not so unreasonable as to blind him to the faults of his party, or to prevent his administering the reproof they deserve. The present series labours under one disadvantage, which no skill or diligence on the part of the author could remedy. His former work introduced us to the leading members of the two Houses;—the men who are most prominently before the public, and exert most influence over our national affairs. Hence the interest of the present publication is not equal to that of its predecessor, and some readers, forgetting

vicious necessity of the case, will be in danger of charging Author, what belongs to his subject. The few extracts our space permits us to make, may serve, however, to them that there is much amusement as well as information gathered from his pages.

The following extract is descriptive of a scene in which some distinctive features of Lord Brougham's character and were strongly marked.

One, I am sure, who had the good fortune to hear his first on the Canadian question, will ever forget it. It occupied three in the delivery, and was perhaps one of the most masterly and efforts ever made within the walls of either House of Parlia-

The ridicule he heaped on the devoted heads of ministers, was, oral sense, absolutely annihilating. The sarcasms he levelled at Glenelg, when criticising the noble Lord's despatches to the Governor of Canada, were literally withering. I use no exaggeration I say, that the friends of ministers, and especially of Lord Grey, must have commiserated them from the bottom of their hearts. They have felt for them precisely in the same way as if the punishment which Lord Brougham was inflicting on them had been of a moral or physical nature. The affair altogether strongly reminded me of a cross-tempered remorseless pedagogue, unsparingly applying the rod—regardless alike of their piteous looks and whining cries—to a class of some half-dozen of his urchins, who had had the misfortune either to merit punishment, or to incur his displeasure when in his more savage moods. What added to the effect of Lord Brougham's castigation of ministers in this case was, that every one saw clearly that ministers themselves felt it in all its rigorous force. If anything could have given additional effect to the heavy every successive blow, it would have been the appearance and force of his lordship. It did not seem to require an effort. His was evidently in the work: there were no indications of a reluctance of the rod; as in the case of a father who does violence without parental feelings when he chastises his child, and is only induced to do so from a conviction of its necessity, with a view to the correction of errors. With Lord Brougham the thing was manifestly a matter of love. You saw in the leer of his eye, in the general expression of his features, in the exulting tones of his voice, that to behold him writhing around him, was to him a positive luxury, and one of the highest order. The friends of ministers, as before observed, have felt for them the more deeply, because every one knew that he would not retaliate on their noble tormentor. The effects of his blows were clearly of too stunning a nature to admit of any doubt of that. And the event proved that such was the right view of the case.

Mr. Melbourne rose to reply when Lord Brougham sat down; but it was the failure of the noble Premier's attempt. I have often seen him in the course of his speech, when a little excited by what had been said by some opponent, hesitate and stammer and become confused;

but in this case he had great difficulty in making a beginning at all. He seemed, for some time after he rose, as if he had been suffering under a degree of excitement which painfully and to a serious extent affected his organs of respiration. He breathed so rapidly, and laboured under so heavy a load of temporary excitement, that a full quarter of a minute elapsed before he could utter a distinct sentence. Nearly that time elapsed, indeed, before he could deliver himself of two connected words. And even when, as he proceeded, he recovered in some degree his self-possession or usual calmness, he did not make an effort to reply formally to Lord Brougham's tremendous attack, but contented himself with a short speech of the most general kind. The Marquis of Lansdowne was also fain to deal exclusively in generalities. Last of all came Lord Glenelg. Not less was his prudence than that of his two noble colleagues, as regarded a direct effort at reply to his merciless assailant; but it must be confessed that he was more happy than either of them, inasmuch as he met the ridicule of Lord Brougham with the same weapon, and with some success. It is right, however, to mention that Lord Brougham had by this time quitted the house. How keenly Lord Glenelg smarted under the scorpion tongue of Lord Brougham, may be inferred from the circumstance of his having used an expression, which I believe he was never known to use before in either House of Parliament, and which, being a religious man, he would not, I am sure, use at any time or in any place, except when under the influence of strongly excited feelings. The expression to which I refer was — '*For God's sake let the noble and learned Lord spare us his pain and his pity.*'* Lord Glenelg must be aware that this expression approaches, if indeed it do not constitute, a transgression of the commandment which forbids the taking the name of the Deity in vain; and I am sure, he must afterwards have regretted that he made use of it.—Vol. I., pp. 29—34.

Lord Brougham, as every one knows, is the most regular attendant in the Upper House. Our author represents the Duke of Wellington as claiming the second place of honor, and furnishes the following sketch of the hero of a thousand fields.

'In my first series of *'Random Recollections of the House of Lords,'* I stated that the Duke of Cumberland, now the King of Hanover, was the most regular in his attendance in the house of any noble lord; and had he been still in this country, in the capacity simply of a Peer of the realm, I have no doubt that he would have continued to retain the distinction. His mantle has fallen, as regards regularity of attendance, on the Duke of Wellington. He is almost invariably to be seen among the first who make their appearance on the opening of the doors, and he is usually among the last to quit the

* 'This referred to the circumstance of Lord Brougham's having in the course of his speech said that he felt pain and pity at the situation of ministers, in relation to their conduct on the Canada question.'

He is usually wrapped up, close to the mouth, in a narrow cloak which does not reach the length of his knees. He is a whom the Tory party may well be proud. He is in every re-credit to that party. Most assiduously and heartily does he in their service: not, indeed, with the view of promoting party ; but because he deems Toryism to be heaven-born, and con-ly most conducive to the interests of the empire. I have no t any other consideration than that of a persuasion that he is for the welfare of the country would ever operate on his mind. n as I regard him to be in many points of essential importance, t resist the conviction that he is actuated by the purest motives, t conceive that anything but genuine, even if misguided m, could induce such active exertions in a man who has at- he advanced age of seventy ; who has so distinguished a repu- and who is, moreover, so advantageously circumstanced in e to pecuniary matters, as the Duke. It is no less gratifying prising to see a man who has reached such an age, and under- much anxiety of mind, and great physical fatigue, looking so d in such excellent spirits. Nothing but an extraordinary of mind, and a constitution of the most robust kind, could have the Duke to survive the circumstances in which he has been and the hardships he has undergone. There he sits, night after with his arms usually folded on his breast, and his right leg over the left, listening most attentively to everything which is in the house, and looking as fresh and vigorous as if he were he prime of life. His grey hair, approaching to whiteness, is cipal if not the only index to the accumulation of years which ired on his head, which his personal aspect affords. If one idge from present appearances—though in such matters we all w deceptive appearances often are—the conclusion would be, Duke is destined to live for many years to come.’

—ib., pp. 41—43.

h has been said on the inattention paid to their parlia- y duties by honorable members. Few, however, who in the habit of attending the House, have any conception ene sometimes witnessed. Nor can we hope for much ement, till a thorough revolution is effected in the hours of nce, and the mode of conducting public business. It is too o expect that dulness should be listened to with interest, men, even of robust constitutions, should be able to labor out the night. The following extract is literally true :

re are others, again, who were all promise and protestation in nvass and on the hustings, who are tolerably regular in their ce in the house, in so far as concerns their personal presence, , for all practical purposes, might just as well be anywhere hey not only never open their mouths to suggest anything in e of an improvement of any measure which is under considera- t they are as listless and inattentive to everything that is going

forward, as if they were so many statues. Persons of this class are sometimes to be seen as fast asleep in their seats, as if they had not been in bed for the previous half-dozen nights. Others are as busy talking to their next neighbours, as if the great duty of the members were to assemble in the House of Commons for the purpose of spending a few hours in the veriest and most puerile gossip. A goodly number of the same class spend a very considerable portion of their legislative existence in the side galleries of the house, stretched out on the seats at full length, and enjoying their slumbers as soundly as if they were reposing on a bed of down. I have sometimes felt uneasy lest some of the more bustling members should, in their transit from one part of the gallery to the other, be so inconsiderate or so unpolite, as unnecessarily to disturb their lethargic fellow-legislators. You would positively fancy that some of these sleepy M.P.'s never enjoy the luxury of a bed at home. Last session, there was an Irish member who was seen night after night, to take his nap in the gallery, as regularly and serenely with as much comfort to himself, as if he had been reposing on his bed.

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‘Cobbett, who never lost an opportunity of saying something to the expense of those clergymen who make a profession of religion only for the purpose of promoting their secular views, used to say, that he wondered how two such clergymen could pass each other in the street without laughing. Cobbett meant that it must have been difficult to pass each other without laughing at the credulity of the people in being deceived by them. I have often wondered, when I have seen two honourable members who had been sleeping close to each other, awake from their slumbers about the same time,—how they could look at another in the face without a hearty laugh at the delusion under which their constituents laboured, when they returned them under the conviction that they were to be most indefatigable and exemplary in the discharge of their parliamentary duties.’—ib., pp. 202—205.

Among the various farces which are acted at the present day, none are more ridiculous, than the personal squabbles which occasionally occur in the House. The show of courage is utterly disproportioned to the amount of danger incurred. Great swelling words of vanity are uttered, while the actors and spectators are perfectly aware, that at the proper moment, and in the due form of parliamentary etiquette, explanations and concessions will be mutually made. The greatest enemy of the legislature could not wish it worse than that these scenes should be multiplied. They lower the character of parliament, and thus destroy the confidence and respect of the people for their representatives. Scenes more disgraceful could scarcely happen in the lowest places of public resort. But our author shall describe what he has so frequently witnessed :

‘Many are the kinds of farce which are performed every session in the Commons’ House of Parliament ; but I know of no such ex-

are calculated to excite a feeling of disrespect—not to use a term—for the representative body, than the personal squabbles of a hostile character which so repeatedly occur between two members. One makes a severe remark on some political opponent; the latter takes the insinuation, or resents the alleged affront, by some still more and more pointed personal observation. Cries of ‘Order,’ ‘Chair, chair!’ follow from all parts of the side of the house to that whence the strong language proceeded. The party at it was levelled starts up with great warmth, and applies to his list in the quarrel, one or more epithets of so very offensive a

that the other must either take notice of the circumstance by that a hostile message will be sent to the party making use of epithets, or submit to the imputation of being regarded as a coward M.P.’s of both sides of the house. The former course, that, of assuming a hostile aspect, is invariably resorted to, except very few cases in which honourable members have publicly declared that in no circumstances will they fight a duel. It is resorted more readily, inasmuch as both parties are perfectly sure that no and-shot affair will take place,—the Speaker in such cases only interposing the shield of his official power to prevent any fight. The hostile defiance, or the hostile threat, is however re- with deafening appeals to the ‘Chair,’ and cries of ‘Order,’ which are enough to frighten persons, unaccustomed to such out of their wits. Other honourable members get up, sometimes half-dozens at once, and address poor Mr. Speaker, with great force of manner, insisting that not only have the parties made use of improper language to each other, but that they have conducted themselves in a most unparliamentary manner, and with great disrespect to the House.

These appeals to the Speaker usually terminate with the expression of a hope that the parties will individually withdraw their offensive language. Mr. Speaker, like a man of sense, and knowing with absolute certainty that the whole affair will end in smoke—though the smoke of a pistol—takes it all quite coolly. He does not lose his equanimity to be disturbed, either by the hostile words or the menacing manner of the parties.

In the mean time, some other member—or it may be three or four—gets up and insists that one of the parties was the aggressor, and consequently he ought to be made to retract the improper statement. Before the honourable gentleman who makes this observation has completed the sentence, another leaps to his feet, and voices an entirely different view of the matter. It was the other who was the aggressor, and therefore he ought to retract and apologise to the House first.

While all this is going on, some five or six of the honourable gentlemen nearest to each of the belligerents are beseeching them, by every possible consideration, to rise and assure the Speaker and the House that no more notice will be taken of the matter. The parties, with a dogged obstinacy, to do anything of the kind. They are very consequential, or mighty big, as Mr. O’Connell would say;

they feel they are the observed of all observers, and that even the great business of the nation has for a time given way to the interest which is taken in their personal squabbles. They consequently look on the matter as an era in their history: they think of the space which they will next day fill in the public eye, as they do at that time in the eye of the House; and therefore very naturally endeavour to keep up the scene as long as they can. They not only pertinaciously refuse to listen to the solicitations of those around them to let the matter drop, but you would fancy, from the cavalier manner they have assumed, that nothing on earth will satisfy them, but either sending a bullet through their adversary, or receiving that particular favour at his hands.

'The uproar and confusion continue all this while to increase in the house. Members rise in dozens, and each takes his own view of the matter. Anything more discordant than the sounds which now assail one's ears, it were impossible to imagine. The confusion of tongues which prevailed at Babel, could have been nothing to the confusion, which in such cases obtains in the House of Commons—a place which is supposed to be pre-eminently remarkable for the deliberate and orderly character of its proceedings.

'Eventually the noise partially dies away. Fewer members speak at once; and the cries of 'Chair, chair!' 'Order, order!' are neither so numerous nor of so stentorian a character. Then something is heard to drop from honourable gentlemen, about the disrespect offered to the House by the militant parties. One of them starts up at that moment to his feet to disclaim all intention of having, either by what he has said or done, meant the slightest disrespect to the House, and to assure the Speaker that he is most willing to bow with submission to whatever view he takes of the matter. The other follows the example, and also throws himself unreservedly into the hands of the Speaker, who desires both to withdraw the offensive expressions. Both make a further show of valour, by again disclaiming any disrespect to the House, and apologising for having said or done anything which could have been so construed. They have scarcely uttered the words, when up leaps some honourable member to his feet, and protests against the House receiving the disclaimer, on the ground of its not containing a pledge that no further steps will be taken in reference to the personal part of the matter. Both parties are again requested to give that pledge, but they are deaf to all entreaties. They are much too valorous for that. At length the Speaker interposes. He talks about having to perform a painful duty, and gives certain pretty broad hints about a personage known by the name of the Serjeant-at-Arms, whose services will become necessary, should the militants not at once cease hostilities, and promise that nothing further will be done in the business. They both, with much seeming reluctance; give the required promise; their anxiety to keep up their assumed valour to the last requiring that the pledge should not be voluntarily given. The matter thus ends, after very possibly, having occupied the attention of the House, to the interruption of most important business, for an hour or an hour and a half.'—ib., 205—211.

Our author has furnished his readers with several personal extracts, from two or three of which we must indulge ourselves. Mr. Charles Villiers, the Member for Wolverhampton, is one of the rising men of the House. His recent speech on the Apprenticeship question, only confirmed the favourable impression he had previously made. His favorite subject is the Corn Laws, of which he is the able and steady opponent. Our Author describes him in the following passage :

Mr. C. Villiers is steadily rising in parliamentary reputation. His diction is varied and accurate, and he turns it, in most cases, to great account. In the course of the present session, he made a very able and argumentative speech, in opposition to the Corn Laws, which lasted two hours in the delivery, and which was of itself sufficient to have given him some reputation in the house. What struck me peculiarly in his speech, was the clearness with which he treated an intricate subject, and the interest he contrived to impart to topics which are generally considered of a dry and unattractive nature. I had often heard a speech in which there was a greater body of matter and facts blended with strong arguments. He was listened to with a degree of attention by the House, which is seldom accorded to able members when they speak for so long a space of time on a single topic. And so engrossed was the honourable gentleman himself in his subject, that it was with difficulty he could be persuaded, when he had resumed his seat, that he had been on his legs above half an hour. A gentleman who saw him a few minutes after he had concluded his address, lately mentioned to me, that on his observing to him that he had made a two hours' speech, he looked, in the first instance, as if he had supposed the observation was meant ironically, and that the party intended to convey the idea, that either his matter or his manner, or both, had been so dull, that those who heard him had really thought he had been thrice the length of time on his legs which he really was. 'You began at six,' said the gentleman. 'I did,' was the answer of Mr. Villiers. 'And it is only a few minutes since you ended?' There was no denying it, and Mr. Villiers accordingly admitted. 'Well, and it is fifteen minutes past eight now,' continued the speaker, drawing out his watch. The fact stared Mr. Villiers in the face, and he was surprised that he should have thought the time so

Mr. Villiers possesses considerable readiness as a public speaker. He does not write his speeches, except in peculiar circumstances. It is with my own knowledge that he did not write the speech to which I have referred, though extending to so great a length, and so largely interspersed with figures and facts. From this circumstance I infer that he must at once have an excellent memory, and great talents for promptly marshalling his facts, arranging his figures, putting his arguments and ideas into proper order. His style is perspicuous and expressive. There is no appearance of effort about it. It lacks a fustian and tinsel diction, and would not on any consideration support a far-fetched, sickly sentimentality. He speaks with much

ease: addressing the House does not seem to be a task to him. His utterance is rapid, but not so much so as to affect the distinctness of his articulation. His voice is clear and pleasant. I am convinced he has never done it justice in the house. He is always audible, but there is a want of variety and volume in the tones of his voice, simply because he does not take the trouble to turn its capabilities to proper account. His action is moderate: he slightly moves his head and body backwards and forwards, and when he comes to what he conceives a good point in his speech, applies his right hand with considerable force to the back of the seat before him. His manners and appearance altogether are unassuming. He has an open, cheerful expression of countenance. His eyes are clear and intelligent. His features are small and regular, and his complexion is rather darkish, but indicative of good health. His hair is of a light-brown hue. In person he is about the general height, and well formed. He is a young man, being only about his fortieth year.—Vol. II., pp. 191—194.

Mr. Hindley, the member for Ashton-under-Lyne, is one of the most estimable men in the British Parliament, being equally distinguished for private worth, and for a conscientious attention to his public duties. The return of such a man reflects high honor on Ashton, and we should be glad to see the example generally followed. Instead of neglecting their political duties, on the plea of conscience, it would better become the religious members of the community, to increase the number of such representatives. Our author does Mr. Hindley no more than justice in the following passage.

‘Mr. C. Hindley, member for Ashton-under-Lyne, does not take a prominent part in the discussions of the House; a circumstance at which I am much surprised; for he is not only a man of varied and accurate information on most of the questions which come under the consideration of parliament, but he is a highly respectable speaker. Let me not be understood as here wishing to convey the idea, that the honourable gentleman has any pretensions to the name of an orator. When I characterize him as a speaker, I mean that he speaks with much ease, and in such a way as, in most cases, to insure the attention of the most intelligent members of the house. He always evinces a thorough acquaintance with his subject, and often speaks with very great effect. I have known him on several occasions make a deep impression on the House. He is one of those who warms and becomes more animated with his theme. His happiest efforts have always been those in which the question at issue involved to a great extent the principles of justice and humanity. He is one of the most humane men in the house. And be it said to his everlasting honour, that when his own private interests come in collision with the claims of humanity, he never hesitates a moment in sacrificing the former to the latter. A memorable instance of this was furnished by the honourable gentleman when the subject of the factory children’s hours of labour was before the House. Though himself an extensive cotton manufacturer in Lancashire, and though one of those who have benefited to a very large

amount annually by the protracted hours of labour in the factories, he was one of the most zealous advocates for short hours, from considerations of pure humanity to the youthful unfortunates themselves. It was a positive luxury to hear Mr. Hindley, Mr. Brotherton, and various other honourable gentlemen, addressing the House, when the Factory Bill was under consideration. How striking the contrast between the spirit which their speeches breathed, and that which pervaded the heartless harangues of Whig political economists !

‘ Mr. Hindley is a most benevolent as well as humane man, and his benevolence, like his humanity, is not confined, as that of too many is, to mere speculation. It is embodied in acts. I learn from private sources of information, and have great pleasure in recording the fact, that he yearly expends a very large portion of his wealth in the promotion of benevolent objects. His benevolence—and that, after all, will be found the only genuine benevolence—is based on the doctrines of evangelical religion. Mr. Hindley is, I believe, a congregational dissenter.

‘ Though not, as before stated, in the habit of taking an active part in the debates in the house, the honourable gentleman is regular in his attendance on his legislative duties, and is in every respect a member of great practical utility. He is a good man of business, and is one of the most efficient members on committees.

‘ Usually, when he commences his speeches, he speaks in so low and subdued a tone as to be scarcely audible in the more distant parts of the house ; but when, as already observed, he proceeds a little further, especially if the question involve any great principle of humanity, he becomes warmer and more energetic, and then he not only speaks in sufficiently loud tones, but his voice is pleasant, and is sometimes modulated with considerable effect. His utterance is, if anything, rather hurried. He speaks with considerable fluency ; rarely hesitating for a suitable expression, or having to recal a wrong word in order that a right one may be substituted. His action is variable. Sometimes he has scarcely any ; at other times he liberally moves his arms, especially his right arm, backwards and forwards, and looks from one part of the opposite side of the house to the other. In most cases, however, he chiefly addresses himself to the Speaker. There is always great earnestness in his manner : there is no resisting the conclusion that he speaks from conviction, and only from conviction.

‘ As a speaker his personal appearance is not in his favour. He is of less than the average height, of a pale complexion, rather thin face, and has a thoughtful expression of countenance. His features are strongly marked : his eyes are deeply set, and he has a protruding forehead. His hair is of a darkish hue, and usually hangs carelessly about his brow. If his appearance may be depended on, his age is about forty-five.’—*ib.*, pp. 197—201.

The following notice of Mr. Charles Lushington must close our extracts :

‘ Mr. Lushington is a man of superior intelligence. He possesses a sound judgment, as well as extensive information. He is cool and

calculating in all he says and does. Reason, and not the passions, is the guide of his conduct. In politics he is liberal, but cannot with propriety be classed among the Radical party. He is one of the most consistent of our public men: and his strict integrity as a politician, any more than his excellence as a private man, has never, so far as I am aware, been questioned. I believe there are few men who act more thoroughly and uniformly from conscientious motives. As a speaker he cannot be ranked high: his voice has something hard about it, and is not sufficiently powerful for effective public speaking. He appears to much greater advantage at a public meeting than in the House of Commons. His utterance is timed with judgment to the ear: it avoids the extremes of slowness and rapidity; but it wants variety as well as a pleasant tone. He occasionally hesitates, especially when speaking extemporaneously. His speeches usually indicate the possession of more than a respectable measure of intellect on the part of the speaker. He is a good reasoner: indeed, were there sometimes less argument, and more declamation in his speeches, they would tell with much greater effect on a popular assembly like the House of Commons. His statements are always clear; and the drift of his argument can never be mistaken. His style is chaste, without any indications of its being laboriously polished. He deals not in the flowers of rhetoric; nor has he, either in matter or manner, any of the clap-traps so generally observable in the speeches of our modern orators. His gesture is moderate and rational. He seldom speaks long at a time; but his speeches usually contain much valuable matter. If they never display originality, or any particular vigour of mind, there is never anything feeble or silly in them.

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‘Mr. Lushington does not speak with frequency; but he is much respected by men of all shades of political opinion, and always commands attention when he rises. He invariably employs the most unexceptionable language in speaking of an opponent. He never mixes himself up with any of the squabbles which take place in the house: even when attacked in acrimonious terms by others, he maintains his temper. He repels the attack with much firmness, but in the most temperate language. I recollect seeing the honourable gentleman, two or three years ago, give a striking proof of his command of temper, at a meeting of the supporters to the Mendicity Society. Some nobleman, whose name has escaped my recollection, made some ill-natured observations in consequence of some unpalatable opinions—unpalatable, I mean, to the party—which Mr. Lushington had previously expressed. The tone and temper in which Mr. Lushington replied to the noble lord’s attack must have administered to his assailant a severe rebuke, apart from the words, if the mind of the latter had an ordinary share of susceptibility.’—ib., pp. 217—220.

A few minor inaccuracies have occurred to us in perusing these volumes. Mr. Brotherton is not, we believe, either a congregationalist or baptist, and Mr. Hindley, if we have not been misinformed, is a moravian. Some few opinions are expressed

from which we are compelled to dissent, as an instance of which we may refer to the sweeping condemnation passed on the New Poor Law Bill,—a measure which, considered as a whole, is one of the most enlightened and beneficial acts of modern legislation. These, however, are but trifles, and make no sensible deduction from the interest and value of the work. Of the general character of its materials, the extracts we have furnished will enable our readers to judge, and we shall be glad to find that the same patronage which attended on the former series has been afforded to this. We thank our Author for the information he has afforded us, and wish him good speed in his future labours.

Art. VI. *Union; or, The Divided Church made One.* By the Rev. JOHN HARRIS, author of 'Mammon.' London: Thomas Ward & Co. 1838.

IT was mentioned to us by a friend, the other day, that Doctor Hales, the well-known and learned author of the *Analysis of Ancient Chronology*, had consented, on a certain occasion, to an interview with our informant, who had the honour of being his godson, and was about to be confirmed by the bishop. The doctor, somewhat stiff and stern, as well as formal in his habits, though full of real benevolence, requested him to repeat the decalogue; which was done, of course, with the greatest accuracy: but, at the close of it, nothing more astonished him, than a direction from his worthy sponsor, that he should recite the *eleventh* commandment! He hesitated, as many other youths of his peculiar communion would have done,—stopt,—and stared. 'Ah, my dear lad,' said the chronologist, 'never forget, while you live, the *eleventh* commandment;—*a new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another; as Christ has loved you, that ye also love one another.*' John xiii. 34. The impression made was not less electric than it has proved lasting. The youth became a man: and having subsequently taken orders in the establishment, he has lived to surmount many of its prejudices; and is at the present moment, if we mistake not, filling an office connected with missionary labours on a very large scale, with his heart consecrated to God, and expanded by the spirit of his Master.

We have recorded the anecdote, as coming from unexceptionable authority, and being too good to be lost. Perhaps our readers will also see at once that it bears upon the subject before us. Mr. Harris, in favouring us with his '*Union*,' has conferred upon the church another service, at least parallel with that which he rendered, when he published his '*Mammon*.' The title is more attractive than that of his other treatise; and although mere

style is of small importance, when the matter is of such transcendent consideration, we may just say here, lest no better opportunity should offer, that practice has much improved him in this respect; and that whilst his eloquence has increased, as we think, in its real intensity, his manner has become vastly purer, less ambitious, and more elegant. The book altogether may be described as 'apples of gold set in pictures of silver.' We hail it with delight, and trust it may circulate by thousands through the land. A brief account shall now be given of its contents, with a few observations upon them.

His first chapter exhibits the doctrine of scripture as to the unity of the church; that assembly of faithful persons, of which Christ is the solar and central glory; for whose sake he assumed an identity of nature; sealed the new covenant with his blood; sent down his Holy Spirit; and gave his inspired word, as a pillar of cloud and fire, to guide its march through the wilderness of this world to a celestial Canaan. Our author, with sound judgment, has run over the apostolic and apocalyptic epistles, that he might collect into one focus their scattered rays upon the point so near his heart: and the result of his rapid survey is no other than a clear manifestation, 'that unity is a sign of the true church; and that so complete is this unity, that the atom does not more certainly form an integral portion of the material universe, than the meanest and obscurest believer has his appointed place and portion in the one great family which is gathering together in Christ: so that unscripturally to expel a single Christian, or to disturb the harmony of a single church, is to break the peace of the universe.'

His second chapter goes into the question of Christian unity, or wherein the oneness of the church consists. He glances at some of the ideas which have more or less obtained currency, and at the attempts which at different times have been made in the church to realize this union. He shows more particularly, that it is by no means dependent upon an identity of opinion as to all details of doctrine and discipline, or faith and practice. On the contrary, a diversity on many points, not fundamental, seems to spring necessarily from differences of mental constitution, as well as various other causes; being thus in strict harmony with the visible works of Him, who combines variety of accident and form with unity of principle and design. He lays the foundation of scriptural union among Christians in the belief of those truths, which are essential to our union with Christ; such as justification by faith alone in the propitiatory sacrifice of the Redeemer. He observes, that this parent doctrine involves an acknowledgment of the divinity of Jesus; the necessity for renewal and sanctification by the Holy Spirit; and whatever else is commonly called evangelical; beautifully adding, that 'it sprinkles the path of duty with atoning

' blood, and is the seminal element of universal holiness.' He demonstrates that faith cannot exist alone; but that it must work by love: that by allying us to the Saviour, it detaches us from the world; introducing us into the society of those who have experienced a similar transition—in each of whom we must recognise a brother. He describes the cross as the single yet sufficient hope of all converts; as the magnet of contrite sinners. He portrays the Divine Paraclete as the soul of the church;—faith and love as being the twofold bond of its coherence: remarking, that whilst the former includes sanctification, the latter implies visibility. ' Hereby shall all men know that ye are my ' disciples,' said Christ, ' if ye have love one to another.' From faith and love combined, this holy and visible union will be universal: and just as a departure from faith is heresy, so a violation of love to the brethren, or in other words, the breach of Christian union, constitutes what is called schism.

This brings our author to his third chapter, in which his concern is, by fresh appeals to the law and the testimony, to ascertain the mind of God as to the real nature of that sin which amounts to schism; and his conclusion is as follows, viz.: *that an exclusive, factious, and uncharitable state of mind, wherever found, is essentially a breach of the union of the church, and is therefore schism.* From this general proposition he infers that the schismatic element may exist in single individuals, although more commonly found to distinguish factions:—that a church may be professedly and externally united, and yet be filled with the evil element just adverted to:—that a church may be not only externally one, but really *one* in doctrine and discipline, and yet be schismatical:—that schism may exist in the same church, or among the same Christians, in different degrees:—that in the event of a separation, the question as to whether the guilt of schism attaches to the party leaving, or the party left, is of course to be decided by the spirit and conduct of the respective parties. It will follow, therefore, that where persons have been separated from a church, the charge of schism may lie not against the excommunicated body, but against themselves: or, on the other hand, it may lie not against those who secede, but against the communion they have quitted. This is well stated, according to our judgment, in the following passage:—

' Obedience to the will of Christ may render separation from a church an imperative obligation. For instance, when the church of Pergamos had received the apocalyptic warning to repent on peril of the Divine displeasure, had fifty of its members trembled and determined, in the strength of God, to obey,—and had they respectively applied to the great body of that church, representing their strong desire to remain in communion with it, and their consequent anxiety to see it cleansed from ' the doctrine of Balaam,' and from ' the doctrine of the Nico-

laïtanes,' in order that they might be able conscientiously to continue in its bosom ;—and had the great majority of that church, not only refused to listen both to the voice of the Divine warning and of the Christian remonstrance and entreaty, but had it even proceeded to draw up a creed or prescript, in which the very doctrines objected to (those of Balaam or the Nicolaitanes) were embodied, stamped with assumed infallibility, and made necessary articles of faith :—and had the fifty then mournfully and peaceably withdrawn from a church which had first misled, and afterwards oppressed them ;—which of the two parties would have been chargeable with the guilt of schism ? To wait for a reply is unnecessary.' pp. 95—96.

These views are supported by apt quotations from Hales, Barrow, Bishop Taylor, and Chillingworth ; especially from the last, who has so well shown that Protestants, with regard to the Romanists, were not *fugitivi*, but *fugati*,—' constrained to separate,'—unable to communicate with them any longer, not so much because they maintained errors and corruptions, as because they *imposed* them : and in this way the reader, meditating no doubt on a parallel case between certain Protestants, is conducted forward to the actual causes of schism.

These occupy the fourth chapter, in which, after employing a few pages to controvert Gibbon's insinuation, as to the tolerant nature of paganism, our author enumerates and illustrates the three sources of disunion in churches ; namely, a spirit of self-importance among their members,—a spirit of imposition on the part of their officers,—and their departure from scripture purity, or primitive simplicity. He characterises the once-boasted unity of papal christendom as the ' union of the contents of a boiling cauldron, kept together by iron force, but restless, heaving, and frequently fermenting over into a fire, which instantly consumed them.' Ecclesiastical usurpations and corruptions began, indeed, at a sufficiently early period ; nor can we withhold the striking portrait of them exhibited in a subsequent passage :—

' The head of the mighty serpent was seen projecting from its den as early as the second century, when Victor, bishop of Rome, arrogated the power of commanding the East ; and again in the third, when Stephen excommunicated the churches of Asia and Africa for daring to differ from him on the subject of baptism ; but the fangs and the poison were then wanting. As ages elapsed, the huge reptile unfolded its voluminous folds, emerged farther and farther from its fearful recess, and moved on from object to object, coiling around and devouring all things to itself, till nearly the whole of Europe was either lying complacently in its folds, or imprisoned and crushed in its deadly convolutions, as in the links of fate. But the history of its progress to this fearful result, is the history of the vilest passions, and the most fatal schisms ; schisms, in which the great seces of Alexandria, Con-

Constantinople, Antioch, and especially Rome, stand forth in the attitude of fixed and sworn hostility to each other, and to every rival power,' p. 124.

Let every denomination lay to heart what ensues :—

' Among the many important reflections suggested by this chapter, the following seem almost forced on our attention :—1. That the additions, which man has made, from time to time, to the ordinances of God, have been the most fruitful sources of agitation and quarrel. 2. That even these have not led to actual separation, until they have been authoritatively enforced, and made indispensable. 3. That neither the one, nor the other, could have taken place, if the authority of the Bible had been regarded and revered as paramount. 4. That the supreme authority of the Bible waned in the church just in proportion as unsanctified wealth, and rank, and influence, were allowed to gain the ascendant ; till the church had become a worldly corporation, and the Bible was silenced and virtually expelled. 5. That the admission of irreligious men to place or power in a Christian church, is the admission of so many agents of schism ; and hence it is, partly, that in the consummation of that kingdom, which is never to be rent or removed, all such are excluded. 6. And that the Christian love, which the gospel breathes and enjoins, and which is to be found in the faithful alone, is the only balm to heal the wounds with which the church is bleeding at the hands of schism.' pp. 128—9.

The primary or auxiliary means by which the divisions of the church have been perpetrated since the Reformation, take up the fifth chapter. Mr. Harris considers them to have been the predominance of secular influence over spiritual affairs ; unscriptural tests and terms of communion, such as the famous, or rather infamous Act of Uniformity in 1662 ; an exaggerated detestation of some heresy or corruption already acknowledged ; an obstinate attachment to things as they are ; the prevalence of ecclesiastical assumption ; the prejudices of illiberal education ; reproachful names and epithets ; the exceptionable mode of conducting controversies ; and the conduct of the religious public in confining their reading and intercourse almost exclusively to their own party. We were rather surprised to find our author a little disposed to underrate the gigantic evils of religious establishments. He allows that ' the exaltation of one part of the Christian community ' to the depression of others, has inflamed, whether justifiably or ' not, we stop not here to inquire, the jealousies and animosities ' of all : ' yet, further on, he concludes, that both episcopalians and dissenters might enjoy the ' substantial ' fruits of Christian union, even during the existence of that exaltation. We feel satisfied that this can never be the result, if by the term used is meant anything beyond occasional exceptions to a general rule. We are further persuaded that opinions, analogous to our own,

are every day gaining ground amongst the more enlightened lay-members of even the Establishment itself. Here and there a clergyman, like Thomas Scott, or Legh Richmond, has associated with such nonconformists as Harmer, Adam Clarke, Ryland, or Robert Hall: just as may now and then be exhibited, upon London Bridge, a cat and mice in the same cage! The circumstances, in either case, are so curious, as to excite admiration upon reasonable grounds: but there is no actual approximation between the several species; except when a truce of God, as they called it in the middle ages, is proclaimed during the month of May, upon the platforms of the metropolis; after which, our episcopal and dissenting pastors go down into the provinces to divorce one another, *a mensâ et ex animo*, for the remaining eleven-twelfths of the year. The basis of any *substantial* union between churches must be nothing more, and nothing less, than the most perfect equality: or, otherwise, it will always terminate in going to hunt with the lion, who will appropriate to himself at least three-quarters of the spoil, together with the whole fat and marrow; graciously, however, vouchsafing a permission or toleration to his attendants to regale themselves, in the best manner they can, upon the skeleton and remnants of the carcase.

The sixth chapter of 'Union' is beyond all praise; as describing the tests of a schismatical spirit in individuals and churches. Instead of playing with the sword of the Spirit, Mr. Harris plunges it to the hilt in his own heart, and then presents it to his readers to do the same. He justly remarks, that, were Christians in general to become adequately affected with the enormity of the evils of schism, they would not merely suffer but invite the word of exhortation, and lay themselves open to its searching influence. He hypothetically delineates the Great Shepherd about to make, on his throne of judgment, an investigation into the spiritual state of the various communions of christendom:—

'Then as each church in succession came up for inspection; as its history was slowly, patiently, and impartially brought to light; as its state, at present, passed under the eye of flaming fire; and as the heart of each of its members was laid open and bare,—what strange and unexpected disclosures would take place! How many of our present subjects of congratulation and joy would prove to be reasons for humiliation and grief! how many, who have hitherto enjoyed the title of champions of the truth, would depart, branded as agents of strife, and ringleaders of faction! In many instances, the accuser would be seen taking the place of the accused; and the supposed and compassionated victim of schism be denounced as its author. Terms of communion not prescribed by the word of God,—tests of discipleship devised by man,—symbols of party, and badges of distinction,—many of those things which the churches generally make their boast and their glory,—would be denounced as the creatures of faction, and the causes

of strife, where otherwise charity would have reigned in peace,' pp. 156, 7.

We cannot think of abridging this section, or laying any analysis of its contents before our readers; rather recommending it in all its entirety to their careful and prayerful meditation. If we mistake not, it will send many a nonconformist and many an episcopalian to his knees, in lowly prostration before God. Happy, thrice happy will be the lot of those, who are ready to judge themselves rather than others; who feel disposed, far less to behold the mote that is in the eye of a brother, than to consider with contrition, and cast out with repentance, the beam that may exist in their own.

With regard to the guilt and evils of schism, the subjects of the seventh chapter, our essayist surveys the account given of them in the New Testament, together with the fearful effects which disunion produces, at the present time, upon individuals and churches, as well as upon the world at large. He begins by taking a rapid glance at the closing scenes of the Jewish economy, when the zealous spirit of party turned neighbouring temples into rival fortresses; so that Mounts Moriah and Gerizim stood perpetually frowning at each other. He notices, moreover, the remarkable fact, that in six of the epistles it is affirmed, that 'love is the fulfilling of the law;' so that a spirit of contention is in effect that evil principle which does its utmost to nullify, or at least neutralize the gospel. He further observes, that it displaces the great central doctrine of justification through faith alone, by fixing attention on points of mere ceremonial observance; and often amounts to a virtual usurpation of the throne of Christ, who claims, as one of his highest prerogatives, to be Lord of the conscience! Compare Romans xiv. and James iv. 11—12. Hence it will be evident how utterly incapacitating such a frame of mind must be for fellowship with God: nor need we wonder that St. Paul, towards the close of his epistle to the Romans, should have directed them to the real author of schism, as being Satan himself, the 'prime disturber of the universe.'

'Entering the sacred inclosure,—the paradise of the new creation,—he early sowed the seeds of dissension, and effected another fall of man. Aware that the conversion of the world is suspended on the unity of the church, he leaves no means untried, and no agency unemployed, which is likely, by embroiling the church, to frustrate its design, and to prolong his possession of the world. While, by the same means, the church has often been rendered an easy conquest to the world: and short of this, has furnished it with sport, and even awakened emotions mingled with pity and contempt.' pp. 176, 7.

In a word, the religious intellect, practical judgment, personal piety, spiritual enjoyment, a sense of our own common interests,

scriptural union, brotherly love, removal of differences,—one and all are affected by an indulgence in the sin of schism. Mr. Harris also remarks, with much truth, that wherever a spirit of party appears, we may be sure that the spirit of calumny is not far distant. Schism germinates the sect of slanderers; of men who listen to, and repeat again the imperfections of their opponents; until their swallow for such sort of food has become enormous, if their appetite for it be not insatiable. In this way, credulity grows into a loadstone of lies: and the fear of misrepresentation, thus produced, is highly unfavourable to the removal of denominational evils, or the introduction of ecclesiastical improvement. It moreover dishonours Christianity in the eyes of the world, confirms the irreligious in their impiety, proves an impediment to the sincere inquirers after truth, makes sectarianism pass for vitality in religion, arrests the cause of national education, enfeebls missionary efforts, delays the conversion of the world, and, above all things—it grieves the Holy Spirit of God. The various pleas and disguises of schism, however, are so numerous, that our author devotes to them his eighth chapter.

He therein opens up, with much quiet irony, the grand mistake of those who sometimes, without being quite aware of it, maintain in effect that schism may, after all, not be so very bad a thing; since it leads to a division of labour, and perhaps wholesome rivalry. Another excuse for disunion is the assertion often made, that unanimity of sentiment is essential to union, since without it the apparent concord would be real hypocrisy: but, as we have already seen, the oneness of heart, required by scripture from true Christians, by no means involves the abolition of circumstantial differences. Perfect harmony is compatible with the most engaging variety; and in this point of view, the object desired is, that the rainbow round about the throne in the apocalypse may find its antitype in the union even upon earth of a countless number of all people, dominions, and languages, concentrating their faith, love, and energies, on the cross and sacrifice of the Son of God! With respect to such as would inquire whether any degree of truth is to be sacrificed in upholding union, Mr. Harris replies:—

‘ We have to remind the objector, that there is a wide difference between denouncing schism and asking for the sacrifice of truth. If we could present him with no alternative between schism and uniformity,—if we were to propose perfect unanimity of opinion instead of unanimity of affection,—he would then have ground for repeating and urging his objection. But let him observe first, a truth which we have often repeated already—that we do not ask him to sacrifice his opinions, but only his unchristian bigotry. We do not ask the Independent to become an Episcopalian, nor the Episcopalian to become an Independent. We do not ask the Calvinist to change sides with

he Arminian, as he might be
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 a cherish a ~~very~~ ~~different~~
 him, secondly, ~~the~~ ~~Arminian~~
 is sacrificing to the ~~unity~~
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 and magnify the ~~grand~~
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 in favor, is no argument ~~at~~
 although inspired authority has ~~been~~
 want to select every article of ~~the~~
 loss, is reduced to a ~~very~~
 by making those doctrines the ~~primary~~
 exalting them before the ~~eyes~~
 great and glorious are ~~there~~
 appears comparatively ~~dim~~
 by indulging his attachment ~~to~~
 expense of his that large portion ~~of~~
 the brethren. He is putting ~~some~~
 tempt on the brotherhood. ~~For~~
 portion of the Bible that if he ~~retains~~
 retain every other part, is a ~~change~~
 Baxter.—and the sentiment was ~~very~~
 John.—‘I can as willingly ~~be~~
 my creed.’ But in his ~~reform~~
 objector appears utterly to ~~forget~~
 in his creed, or such a ~~doctrine~~
 little angle or ornament in the ~~temple~~
 of the pillars. He contends for ~~the~~
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 catholic fellowship, he would ~~be~~
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 view of it. He might still ~~maintain~~
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 readiest and the surest access ~~to~~
 If his peculiar views are scriptural, ~~and~~
 calm region of heaven, so then ~~they~~
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In the ninth chapter, on the
 have the proposition premised

church are not to be perpetual; that the period must arrive in the lapse of time, when the first movement towards the necessary oneness will be made; and that it is neither unreasonable nor hopeless to attempt that movement now. Our author, however, cautions us against setting the standard of union too high,—re-marking that protracted disagreement has disqualified the church for an immediate perfection of concord, without a miracle; and that therefore we must probably be content for the present with making approximations to it,—‘gratefully accepting every return ‘to each other, as a proof that God is graciously returning to us.’ He then shows, that having erected such a standard as may be practicable, we must not expect that any one party will concede more than ourselves in order to meet it: nor should we imagine that Christian union must necessarily follow, as day succeeds night, upon certain changes taking place in ecclesiastical affairs. The blessed Spirit is alone the source of love and effective agreement. Nor need we be disheartened or deterred from our endeavours by former failures. Our duty is simply to go forward with the olive-branch in our hands, under a calm, deep, and definite sense of our duty to God, and of the pressing energies of his church in the world. The union itself, in order to be permanent, *must be founded on the supreme and sole authority of the inspired Word, as well as on the inalienable right of private judgment.* The supremacy of the one, and the liberty of the other, can no more be invaded or trifled with, consistently we mean with any union answering to its name and purpose, than the great laws of centripetal and centrifugal forces in creation could be disturbed without affecting the planetary revolutions. The second essential requisite to the proposed object is *a substantial oneness of faith*; with a belief in the gospel, as being chiefly valuable, *in far as it renews the heart, and forms the character to holiness.* Such an association would of course be cemented by brotherly love, which, discovering itself in appropriate acts and expressions, must render the union *visible* to the world. Unanimity of heart would infallibly produce unanimity of action in the Christian cause. ‘Like the friendly provinces of the same continent, ‘speaking the same language, living in allegiance to the same ‘sovereign, and engaged in mutual and general traffic, the church ‘would present one scene of spiritual commerce, carried on chiefly ‘for the advantage of the world, and visible to the universe. ‘God would bless us, and all the ends of the world would *see* ‘him.’

We now hasten to the tenth chapter, on the way in which union should be sought. The attempts hitherto made to preserve or restore unity Mr. Harris considers to have presented one or more of these three characters:—either they have employed the principle of coercion—or they have relied upon argumentative discussion—or

they have projected the catholic plan of uniting on the grand basis of evangelical doctrine, in which we already agree, with the understanding that mutual forbearance is to be exercised as to subordinate matters. Of the two former, history relates enough: the third alone remains to be tried, and, thank God, it is the scriptural plan. Most, if not all our author's subdivisions in this section of his work, may be summed up in that saying of the apostle, 'Let us not love in word only, but also in deed and in truth.' His remarks upon moderation, forbearance, patience, and prayer for the effusion of the Spirit, are invaluable; as are also those upon the importance of all evangelical ministers looking upon themselves as the appointed peace-makers of the Christian church.

His last chapter, the eleventh, enumerates many motives and arguments for laying the subject, as he has now done, before the religious public: such as, that as the obligation to Christian union is perpetual, so the obligation of enforcing it is perpetual also. His appeal is made to the faithful of Christ Jesus of every community. He reminds us, that while science can boast of her catholicity, the followers of the Prince of Peace ought no longer, were it only for very shame, to disturb the political quiet of the country by their broils. He dwells upon the evident fitness of unity, and its consequent agreeableness to the blessed Trinity in Unity; reminding his readers that the church owes her existence to their infinite love. Not only would this union augment the capability of all Christians, both individually and collectively, for usefulness; but it would also increase their capacity for the reception and operations of that Holy Spirit, who alone can crown their activity with success. God is employing them all, *so far as their divisions permit*; and according to the amount of their piety and zeal, is impartially blessing them all. Such an union, *if that proposed by our author, would not fail to strike the world with awe, and affect the public heart*; whilst, on the other hand, *their divisions are depriving them of all that happiness, which the fruits of their harmony would produce in the final judgment, and throughout everlasting ages beyond it*. The only extract we can find room for is the following:—

'And are our divisions thus casting their shadows forwards into eternity? Are they not only impairing our usefulness and happiness now, but even threatening to dim the lustre of the crown which shall be assigned us then? And for *what*? Who is to be the gainer? What is the compensation? When is it to accrue? Assemble the *search and inquire*. Surely, if an advantage is ever to result, it must *at this time have appeared*. Fifteen hundred years have been allowed *to try the merits of division*. Summon the various parties, and learn *what these merits are*. Alas! some of them are embroiled too deeply *to obey the call*. And of those that do, some refuse to approach, lest

they should be contaminated by the touch of another denomination; while the rest, estranged from each other, exhibit signs of mutual jealousy and distrust. And is this the religion of love, in praise of whose fraternal and sympathetic spirit, inspiration prepared its loftiest strains? How has its gracious spirit evaporated! and whither has it fled? Is this the church which was to advance like a bannered host, carrying with her the sympathies of the groaning creation, gathering up trophies at every step, and returning at length from the circuit and conquest of the world, laden with many crowns for Him, who had caused her to triumph in every place? Is this the body which was to be made one, by the inhabiting and all-pervading Spirit; and of whose unity the most intimate and compacted objects in creation were considered the most appropriate emblems? Alas! that body is so dilated, dismembered, and mangled, that it has become another vision of dry bones; and another resurrection, which shall bring bone to his bone, is alone adequate to its condition! And was it for this that Divinity and Humanity met in the person of the Son of God? Was it for this he bowed his head upon the cross, and died to show that God was Love? Was it for this that he instituted a church, prayed for its unity, endowed it with his Spirit, and gave to it the field of the world for the scene of its triumphs? Our hearts feel that it was not. All the unreclaimed, neglected, perishing portions of the world, protest that it was not. Shame, equal shame, on the Jews who crucified the Son of God, and on Christians, who, in the person of his members, have for ages been crucifying him afresh, and are still putting him to an open shame. Blessed Saviour, we need that thou shouldst add to the prayer for the unity of thy disciples, the prayer for thy murderers—'Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.' pp. 299-301.

Such is the Essay upon Union, which we cordially recommend to our readers. It appears to us as more than worth all the schemes of comprehension that have ever been propounded, or all the henoticons or concordats that have ever been imagined. The views delineated by our author are taken from Calvary rather than Sinai; and have therefore for their affecting characteristic the saying of our Saviour, 'And I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto me.' We venture to think, however, that there is a chapter still wanted, for the development of those processes, by which it may probably please Providence, since supernatural manifestations have been withdrawn, to effect his purposes of union in the world. Our friends will not for a moment suppose, that in saying this, we pretend to dethrone the Holy Spirit from his absolute supremacy and omnipotence; on the contrary, they will give us credit, we trust, for a desire to put more abundant honours upon his divine influences, by preparing the machinery for their distribution and operation, simply because he has commanded us to do so, having placed the church, ~~these latter days,~~ under a dispensation of means, rather than one of miracles. The

modus operandi, then, speaking merely after the manner of men, would, as it strikes us, have afforded materials in the hands of a pious and gifted person, like Mr. Harris, for a most important portion of his treatise. The grand instrument, in the present age, of gathering souls into the fold of Christ, is the word of God, read or preached, and applied to the soul by the almighty Author of regeneration, not in the letter, but in the power. Yet it is admitted that there is a certain evil, amongst several others indeed, but, like Saul, higher than any of the rest by at least a head and shoulders, which neutralizes, in ten thousand cases, the efficiency of the agent employed; and this is termed schism. Now let us only further admit, what cannot, we conceive, be disputed, that in our quarter of christendom there is an institution 'which has paved the temple of God with beaten gold, so as to prevent persons,' as Mr. H. somewhere intimates, 'from lifting up their eyes to the beatific vision;' which has set up one denomination above others, and so enthroned it by the side of the state, that not only must jealousy be the inevitable consequence as to kindred communities, but secularity must be as certainly diffused through every rank and class of the exalted sect itself, from its singular position and circumstances;—what, we ask, would be the conclusion of the Christian philosopher on the subject? Why, in treating upon the concord of the faithful, the eye of his mind would rest at once upon an institution so injurious. Should there, at the same time, subsist any doubt in his inner man as to the correctness of the supposed premises, he would perhaps go first amongst the pious members of that institution, and ascertain for himself whether they really contended that their denomination ought *not* to be placed upon a perfect level with other orthodox Protestants for example; and whether their professions and publications at all pleaded guilty to, or bewailed the prevalence of worldliness in their own body. The pamphlets of one John Search, entitled 'What—and who says it?' might abridge his labours in this matter! In the magnitude of his own philanthropy, he has conceived a project for the ministers of evangelical communions occasionally exchanging pulpits;—and what prevents his noble conception from being anything more, with regard to Episcopalians in this country, than an utopia upon paper, but this identical institution? The Moravians, it may be replied, form an exception; but there will still remain the established clergy of the ten thousand four hundred parishes in England and Wales; besides those of eleven hundred parishes in Ireland! Let us imagine, however, that some rector or vicar, dependent upon an ample benefice, may have resolved to meet Mr. Harris, and realize in their instances his benevolent design: then what follows? His diocesan, as a consistent prelate of the institution in

question, suspends the reverend liberal ; whose rank and influence are thus annihilated ; his fortunes crushed ; and, to all intents and purposes, *quoad* his former conscientious associations, he becomes an excommunicated person ! The Establishment, in other words, mars the union, and makes a martyr into the bargain. Or let us suppose that a clergyman, watched by some right reverend Argus full of eyes and ears for all anti-conservative tendencies amongst the priests and deacons, or more particularly the curates, committed to his charge,—we say, suppose such a clergyman attending the Lord's Supper, for the sake of union, at some dissenting chapel,—and what follows ? A single fact may furnish the best answer, which occurred but the other day ; when an active bishop withdrew his license from a young minister, because the feet of his wife occasionally strayed into a neighbouring Wesleyan conventicle !

The sum and substance, therefore, of the argument brings us to this ; that we must deal practically as well as theoretically with the institution before us. We are not either speaking or writing against men, or bodies of men ; but only against systems : and our author can scarcely help perceiving, that in order to attain his object, there must be an abolition of the alliance between the church and state. The Act of Uniformity, together with all that it involves, was and is neither more nor less than an act against the union of all faithful Christians, prepared by a profligate monarch and his minions, and passed with the most cordial consent and sanction of the devil and his angels ! The clergy of the Establishment can hardly be blamed for acting as they do under their circumstances. Those circumstances must be altered. They, like other men, are the creatures of a system, which being found, by painful experience, to produce mischief, should be modified or abolished with as little delay, and as much consideration for the less guilty parties, as possible. True moreover it is, that even conceiving this already done, the union desired may by possibility still not be attained. The Spirit of God may be grieved in various ways ; and his influences being withheld or withdrawn, the severance of episcopacy from the state would not, we acknowledge, *ex necessitate*, lead to a hearty and scriptural oneness of affection between Episcopalians, Presbyterians, and Congregationalists : but it must also be remembered, that while that alliance lasts, the proposed union is altogether *in nubibus*, according to our apprehensions of the matter. Any church whatsoever, evangelical as it may be, which is doomed to the embraces and co-partnership of a secular government, is without doubt, spiritually speaking, in the position of a living individual chained to a dead or dying body. The demand must be for separation ; not that life is altogether secured by it, since mortal disease may have

commenced in the person respecting whose preservation there is any hope; yet without such severance, every sensible spectator perceives in both instances that death is unavoidable!

Our readers may rest assured that these remarks are not thrown out for any factious purposes; but that they are our deliberate opinions, after a careful perusal of 'Union,' with every desire that its sacred sentiments may be transubstantiated into our own minds. Nonconformists perhaps will generally coincide with us; and, at all events, they will forbear to impugn the last statement. But not so, we fear, will nine-tenths of our Episcopalian friends either feel or express themselves; and yet from them also are we affectionately desirous of gaining an audience. Immense allowances, we are well aware, must be made, and we are ready to make them, for associations strongly rooted. Prejudice itself is always more respectable than flippancy or pertness. We would, however, claim their attention to the increasing numbers within their peculiar pale, who are beginning to open their eyes and protest against all religious establishments whatsoever; whilst, at the same time, they remain as attached to the general doctrines and order of what is called the Church of England, as any dissenters in the kingdom can be to nonconformity. They have no doubt been led to their present opinions, by those vital grievances admitted on all sides to exist within the limits of their own communion. And are not the chief amongst these, the absence of discipline—the presence of secularity—the evils of ungodly patronage—the occasional sanction given to downright heterodoxy and popery;—as witness the columns of the Record newspaper—the pious breathings of every evangelical Episcopalian publication of this country—the formation of societies to purchase preferment, or educate hopeful aspirants at Oxford or Cambridge—and last, though not least, the monthly and annual meetings of certain dignitaries and gentlemen, who assemble in Bartlett's buildings for the promotion of Christian knowledge? Why cannot the clergyman of a parish exercise over his people that sort of oversight which a Baptist or Methodist minister can maintain with regard to their respective congregations? The reply, after much circumlocution, must terminate in a practical admission, that it is, because his church happens to be an established one! What other results can ensue, than those which have occurred for the last two hundred years and upwards, as to the estate, both in England and Ireland, when its bishops are nominated by the premier of the day—made lords of parliament, then, of course, for political purposes—and the scandal of the same practice simultaneously acknowledged in the forms and mockery of a *congé d'elire*? Are grapes to be gathered from thorns, or figs from thistles? Let us solemnly and respectfully put such questions to our hearts and consciences as these:—

How was it, that the recent revival of real religion in the Church of England met with general discountenance, and frequent persecution, from the hands of the hierarchy? How was it, that the first bishops, who dared to support the British and Foreign Bible Society, were looked upon as speckled birds on the bench, amongst those fathers in God, whose lawn sleeves inflated with additional plenitude and stiffness at the intrusion of Methodism into our cathedrals? How is it, that many a noble parish sanctuary, throughout the land, stands open on the Sunday with gaping doors and nearly empty pews, whilst the adjacent chapel, provided with an evangelical preacher, shall be full to overflowing? What has been the general spirit and conduct of opulent prelates in high places—of clergymen in the commission of the peace—of collegiate bodies in our populous cities—or of the universities of the country? We grant that public opinion has improved them all in many respects; but has this amelioration occurred *through* an Establishment, or in the teeth of it? Neither the one nor the other, answers, perhaps, a pious and sincere Episcopalian; but through the Spirit of God. We agree with him as to his acknowledgment of its primary source; yet how came that blessed Paraclete to have withheld his influences through so many generations? It surely goes to demonstrate no striking approbation of a system which suffered six millions and a half of Roman Catholics to grow up in Ireland, and more than half the population of England to remain a spiritual wilderness, had it not been for the exertions of Protestant dissenters? We put these queries not to irritate, but to alarm; not for the sake of triumphing, but to guide inquiry into the path of truth. The spirit of the Church of England, as embodied in the mass of her services and doctrines, is one thing; the spirit of an Establishment is another. The former we hold to be, for the most part, holy, pure, peaceable, and friendly to union with all those who love Jesus Christ in the gospel: the latter is *in its essence opposed to union*, being *secular, selfish, and domineering*; its episcopacy degenerates into *pride*; its vestiges of popery, left unremoved by our reformers, *we cling to with all possible tenacity, because they are connected with the purple and fine linen of its connexion with the state*; and its conduct towards sister churches is just that of *London* in the seventeenth century, persecuting as far as it has power; having ‘horns like a lamb, but speaking like a dragon.’ We trust, before a very long period shall have elapsed, to see *petition* upon petitions addressed to the legislature, from our Episcopalian brethren, soliciting a repeal of the Act of Uniformity—the removal of the bishops from the House of Lords—the dissolution of unscriptural tests, oaths, and subscriptions—the acknowledgment of no other head of the church than her Lord and Redeemer—the reformation of the entire system of patronage—the abolition of

consecrated oblations, ampullas, spurs, swords, rings, orbe, crucial unctions, and similar mummeries at all future coronations—as well as the extinction of every other species of popish trumpery, which stands in the way of union between sensible christians of all evangelical denominations. Then shall the path be made plain for faithful shepherds of every living church under heaven to range themselves with one heart and one mind, under the cross of their High Priest and Master; who will send them out into the world, with new vigour for its conquest, as a host of faithful soldiers, ‘looking forth in the brightness of the morning, fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners.’

Art. VII. 1. *First Report of the British and Foreign Aborigines Society.* 1838.

2. *Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, appointed to inquire into the State of the Aboriginal Tribes in British Settlements; reprinted, with Comments by the Aborigines Protection Society.* Ball. 1838.

3. *Regulations and Public Address of the British and Foreign Aborigines Protection Society.* 1837.

THE Aborigines Protection Society prefers powerful claims to public support. It has existed for some time, though as yet but little known,—a fact sufficiently accounted for by the prior occupation of philanthropists, with the gigantic evils connected with Colonial Apprenticeship. This obstruction is now happily removed, by the signal success with which a gracious Providence has crowned the labours of his servants. The Colonial bondsman is at length invested with the common rights of manhood, and his friends are consequently free to direct their energies to some other and kindred pursuit. We avail ourselves of the earliest opportunity to indicate what that pursuit should be, and shall watch with deep solicitude the result of our appeal. The Society whose publications we have placed at the head of our article, requires but the exertion of ordinary care on the part of its founders, to become an instrument of great good; and which, happily for the cause they advocate, is relieved from the difficulties commonly attendant on the machinery of important undertakings during their early years of struggle and trial. This we say is most happy, inasmuch, as every hour's delay in vindicating that cause, is permitted at a grievous amount of suffering, and a frightful sacrifice of human life. This society is designated *the British and*

Foreign Aborigines Protection Society; and its character and probable usefulness were illustrated by several able speeches made at its first anniversary, on the 16th of May last. These speeches appeared at considerable length, with the first report verbatim, in the 'Sun' newspaper of the 18th of May; and the report has been recently republished. The title of the society explains its objects, which is sought to be attained by collecting information from all parts of the world, upon whatever materially affects uncivilized tribes of men in their intercourse with white people; and by making that information known to the public through the press; or to the government and parliament, by personal appeals, whenever redress of their grievances, or improvement in the laws and administrations concerning them may be needed. The correction of evils that now oppress all the coloured races, and the extension of benefits now conferred upon any of them, constitute the business of this society so far as its influence can be carried; and as it is to work mainly through the influence of opinion, there can be very little doubt, that if wisely guided, it will rapidly and steadily obtain general favour. This society, indeed, is scarcely new to the public even in form; and its objects have long been under the serious contemplation of so many worthy and eminent persons, that, with prudent activity, its efforts for the relief of uncivilized millions, now known to be suffering from ages of ill-regulated colonization, will excite general sympathy; and it will not fail of receiving from the least expected quarters zealous co-operation in every well-conceived measure, to secure those millions a happier future. In fact the time is come, when the good seed sown by a few individuals in the last century—not to go back to a more remote period—is fast producing rich harvests. One of these harvests, *the Abolition of British Colonial Slavery*, is almost gathered in; and the incomparable men who first advocated that cause; the Granville Sharps of Britain, and the Benézets of France and America; were quite as earnest protectors of the *free* coloured races as they were determined vindicators of freedom for negro slaves. It must be remembered, that on this subject the same spirit is abroad which in the time of the Commonwealth prompted the puritans to raise the then large sum of £7000 by parochial collections to found the New England Company,* for the instruction of Indians under Eliot; and *that spirit is now a hundredfold more intense, and incomparably more ably guided.*

* Mr. Hume lately moved in the House of Commons for the accounts of this company; and he was met by the strange assertion, that the money thus raised by the people was given to a *private* body, which owes no responsibility to parliament.

.. This advanced state of opinion in favour of the claims of the coloured races should be well understood, in order to form a sound judgment of the influence which the Aborigines Protection Society may *forthwith* exercise, to stop the carnage now afflicting all the colonies in turn. It will, therefore, be useful to recapitulate a few leading circumstances which show the society's advantageous position in this respect.

1. The gigantic work of *abolishing negro slavery* has of late absorbed public attention to the exclusion of its kindred subject, *justice to the free-coloured people*, only as the *abolition of the slave trade*, preceded that of slavery in British colonies. From the first, slavery and injustice to the free blacks were seen to be branches of one wide spread evil, *oppression springing from prejudice of colour*; and this again, a mighty branch of a greater evil, *oppression inflicted by the strong upon the weak* from time immemorial, and throughout the whole human family without distinction of race. Not only was Granville Sharpe a friend to the free Omai, whilst he hazarded an estate in vindicating at law the rights of the slave Somerset; and not only did that admirable man by an appeal to parliament, stop for a while the military execution of the free Caribbs of St. Vincent's, whilst he was amongst the few first founders of an anti-slavery committee—but the great advocates of the anti-slavery cause of every other class even when fighting the particular battle of the slave, also took up the larger ground of universal justice to all coloured people. In 1792, Mr. Pitt placed the abolition of the slave-trade in the true light, when he declared that *the civilization of Africa* was the leading feature of the question and he gave it the right character when he illustrated the prospects of the African by referring to the 'savage' manners of the Britons under the domination of Rome, anticipating for all Africa, a future career of calm industry, a legitimate and beneficial commerce, advancement in the arts and philosophy, and the cheering life of pure religion,* as consequences of the abolition of the slave-trade. Although the lawyers, generally, were adverse to abolition,† Bentham, the ally of Wilberforce in that cause, found somewhat later in the sufferings of the

* On the abolition of the slave-trade, April 2nd, 1792. This is the speech on which Mr. Wilberforce says,—'Windham, who bears no love to Pitt, tells me that Fox and Grey agreed with him in thinking Pitt's speech one of the most extraordinary displays of eloquence they ever heard. For the last twenty minutes he really seemed to be inspired. He was dilating on the *future prospects of civilizing Africa*, a topic which I had suggested to him in the morning.'—Life of Wilberforce, vol. ii. p. 346.

† The bar were all against us. Fox could scarcely prevent Erskine from making a set speech in favour of the trade.'—ib. vol. i. p. 293.

aboriginal inhabitants of New South Wales from convicts, a most powerful argument against transportation, when the government of that day subjected those aborigines, along with the negro Indians and all other native tribes to a common system of oppression. Men of letters were early converts to the better opinions,* and about this period, Campbell, a brilliant representative of the poetical genius of Britain, then in the youthful freshness of his great powers, embraced the whole eastern, and western, and southern world, the Hindoo, the Red Indian, the African, and the South Sea Islander, in his glorious aspirations after better times, when all the wrongs and sorrows of the oppressed coloured tribes should cease. In 1812, the transportation committee of the House of Commons, with Romilly amongst its members, appealed warmly, although in vain, on behalf of the cruelly treated Australians. Not long before, sympathy was successfully roused by a document published in an English newspaper in favour of the persecuted *free* Hottentots; and in 1822, Wilberforce, in the same spirit which ever guided him, stimulated the ministers to extend protection to that people as well as to the slaves of South Africa; and so to save them at once from oppression and barbarism. Still more recently the cause of the free black, and brown, and red man, somewhat neglected, but never forgotten by philanthropists, has been resumed by Mr. Buxton, a leading friend to the slave.

Pending such somewhat isolated, and often casual efforts of the *lay* friends of the free coloured tribes, which, however prove, that their cause was far from being entirely lost sight of, the missionaries were slowly, but unceasingly, raising up defences for it in various colonies, in the face of many discouragements. The official authorities, whom they watched, were for the most part jealous of them; and the *portions* of the colonists whom they checked, unwisely depreciated and opposed them. But many exceptions among both public officers and colonists, show that if the home government will be impartial and active, the most interested classes may be expected to become just. The regular publication of missionary reports has spread the knowledge of important details with success among their steadily increasing bodies† of contributors, of whom many are colonists.

* In 'Horace Walpole's Letters,' there is a fine passage, proving that he felt all the horrors of negro slavery when it was a settled thing among us, and Granville Sharpe had scarcely begun his labours of half a century.

† The increase may be inferred from the following facts:

The Baptist Missionary Society, founded in 1792	Increase in 1837	£15,000
The London ditto ditto ditto 1794	ditto ditto	£71,335
The Church ditto ditto ditto 1800	ditto ditto	£84,000
The Wesleyan ditto ditto remodelled in 1815	ditto ditto	£21,735

In addition to these special demonstrations of interest, the successful agitation of the abolition of the slave-trade and of slavery, has raised numerous topics, by which the public mind has become familiarized to the opinion that coloured races are fully capable of civilization; a hypothesis to which ample justice has been done by the travellers* of the last seventy years in uncivilized lands.

These things show, that the *Aborigines Protection Society* may reasonably depend upon receiving immediate support, through the active sympathy of a large and enlightened body,—men and women, who will come to this branch of the general cause the more earnestly, as their intelligence and zeal will have been proved in their successful struggle on behalf of the slave. There is proof, also, which it is of especial importance to adduce, that such support may be obtained by the society from another quarter, where a decided change in favour of the coloured races is taking place. This is occurring amongst the hundreds of thousands of our countrymen who are in the act of becoming colonists, and amongst their friends at home; and the change is of special importance, inasmuch, as at the time of its occurrence, colonization is taking a character in a great measure new, and it will soon, probably, be conducted upon principles, and on a scale calculated to throw even our own former colonial enterprises into the shade. In the last twenty-four years, the number of emigrants has increased from an average of 5000 a-year, the amount during the ten first years, after the general peace, to 20,000 a-year, during the five years, ending 1831, and to 70,000 a-year in the last five years; and of 694,969, who have emigrated in the last thirteen years, 433,818 have gone in the last six years.* This increase, too, is likely to prove the beginning only of a still more wonderful augmentation of the number of colonial emigrants. A great future field, Australia east, north, west, and south is scarcely yet opened; and in one colony there, New South Wales, the provision of means of emigration in the sale of crown lands, has already in five years sprung from £13,000 to £130,000 per annum.

With such a prospect of the rapid transfer of the wilderness to a new race of men, it is a consolatory fact, that these prosperous settlers may be expected to go forth with improved sentiments towards the aboriginal possessors of the soil. It is these improved sentiments, and the measures which they have dictated, that constitute the change referred to; and undeniable documents attest that it has really begun to take place.

* The names of Sparrman, Le Vaillant, Barrow, Thompson, and Pringle, in the example of South Africa alone, will readily occur to all readers of foreign travels, in proof of the assertion in the text.

† House of Commons Papers, for 1838, No. 388.

The first improvements to be met with in modern colonization on this head, are the *promises* made in favour of the natives by the Commissioners for the new colony of South Australia. This has been followed up in the present year by the better *bill* for colonizing New Zealand; and although neither the *promised* guarantees of the South Australia commissioners, nor the New Zealand Association's specified measures, accomplish so much as the safety of the aborigines demands, they are both incomparably superior to any scheme of colonization ever planned, not excepting even William Penn's. It is almost superfluous to add, that they leave the system of the colonial office at an unmeasurable distance behind. For example, no attempt has been made in either case to change our law, which *prevents* the natives giving evidence, except on oath; and as they have no form of oath in their *own law*, they can never be witnesses in our courts—an evil which daily produces ruinous effects to them in all the colonies. What sort of a chance would the people of Yorkshire have of justice in courts of law, and consequently of advancement in civilization, if they were prohibited to give evidence in any litigated case? Yet all the natives of Australia, all the New Zealanders, all the Indians of America, and all the South Africans, who happen not to be Christians,—and among them the converts are few—are in this deplorable case. The report of the Aborigines Protection Society notices the fact, but the Commons' Committee neglected it.

In the South Australian case, provision is promised for obtaining land from the natives by treaty; for reserving one-fifth of it for their use; for protecting them by a special agent; for making their subsistence a charge on the new colony; for instructing them; for building asylums for them; and for taking means to teach them habits of industry. The New Zealand bill besides securing most of these points, has a provision of great importance for the relative comfort and respectability of the native chiefs during their difficult progress towards civilization. Before colonies were contemplated for South Australia and New Zealand, the government had the sole administration of this department, without affording, to the last moment the most insignificant means for civilising the natives. How little, indeed, the government has shared the improvement of public opinion on this subject, is demonstrated by the case of all the colonies in Australia, where official power is complete, and popular control a nullity. Nevertheless at the Swan River down to almost the last intelligence, the most atrocious disregard of the rights of humanity was proclaimed in the government orders;* and the new settlement of 1838, is founded near Melville Island without a single legislative guarantee in favour of the

* Government order of July, 1837.

natives, whose remembrance of our former occupation of their country is replete with images of horror.*

The cause of the improvement in the South Australian and New Zealand cases, is, that private parties have, in a great degree, caught the good spirit of the times; whilst the Ministers of the crown have adhered to former prejudices, unless when particular influences compelled a change. It may, therefore, be asserted with truth, that the parties to such colonies, abroad and at home, are likely to become valuable administrators of any *good new system that may be devised in favour of the aborigines.*

In this state of the question, it is obvious that a society specially devoted to its discussion, and to the coloured tribes in and near the colonies, has taken upon itself what will justly be held to be a grave trust, for the due discharge of which a solemn account will be required; and so far from meeting with lukewarmness in the public, the Society is exposed to some hazard of disappointment not only the sanguine, but even the calmest friends of the cause which its members have voluntarily put themselves forward to defend. The religious and scientific public have already acquired a large acquaintance with the subject; and the men of business begin to understand it. They who maintain that it is the *destiny* of coloured to be destroyed by white people, have lost the power they once had of stifling the common principles of justice, so as to realize their theory by making the intercourse between the two races destructive to the weaker. Assuredly, then, the expectation that something can be speedily effected to carry those common principles of justice into practice is general and strong; and the knowledge of all who publicly advocate this weighty cause ought to be proportionably accurate and extensive; their minds free from any undue bias; and their activity unwearied in order successfully to meet its great difficulties.

A brief examination of the documents published by the Society will show in what degree it is likely to accomplish the task it has undertaken.

In the first place, its general scheme is admirable. To become exactly acquainted with the truth as to what is doing in the colonies, and wherever civilized men are in communication with the uncivilized; and to make the truth public, would alone go far towards remedying nine-tenths of the errors committed and wrongs done there. One of the speakers at the late Anniversary, the Rev. Thomas Binney, said well, in reference to this leading feature of the Society's proceedings, that it was of paramount importance to *keep an eye* on all home and colonial proceedings by which the happiness and interest of the Aborigines are affected, and so, to carry the power of public opinion abroad.

* See 'Voyage Round the World,' by Dr. Wilson, 1835.

The report too insists with honest energy on *the ill-consequence of facts being now concealed, or coloured by interested parties in and out of the government.* Hence, it adds truly, *the existence of that apathy in the public mind, which could not prevail if the publicity were allowed, that ought never to be denied.* An extensive correspondence with all parts of the world, and personal communication in London with people of colour, and others who have visited uncivilized tribes, together with the legislative proceedings which may be adopted, will soon supply a mass of valuable materials, which it seems a part of the Society's plan to publish in various forms. Such publications in a regular journal, will be looked for with anxiety by all who know how indispensable it is to have correct and full information, *quick enough upon the occurrence of remote events to obtain general attention whilst their interest is urgent, and before an erroneous course of policy has been adopted by the government in consequence of the PUBLIC being ignorant of facts.* When the public shall be regularly informed of what is reported to the government, there will be a far better prospect than at present, that the measures of our rulers will be in accordance with sound principles, and be justified by the real state of colonial affairs. Curious, and scarcely credible facts to confirm these remarks, are disclosed in the first three pages of the very last parliamentary volume of papers on South Africa. By the House of Commons' papers for 1837, No. 503, pp. 1—3, it appears in Lord Glenelg's own despatch, dated March, 1836, that on a frontier which has given rise to as much discussion as that between Holland and Belgium, namely, on the eastern frontier of the Cape of Good Hope, there are 'numerous settlements, of the existence of which,' the Secretary of State says, 'HE WAS NOT APPRIZED;' although it appears that some of them were included in a regular magistracy so long ago as the year 1813, and others of them were expressly sanctioned by despatches from Downing-street. Yet the destruction of these settlements was ordered in the famous despatch of the 20th of December, 1835, which is the subject of panegyric from the Aborigines Protection Society; and in other points the praise is merited. Mere accident only, saved the colony from the indescribable embarrassments which such an order, arriving in South Africa at such a conjuncture, must have occasioned. A new governor happened to be in London, whose previous local experience, and attentive reading of despatches in the COLONIAL OFFICE, enabled him to give Lord Glenelg intelligence, the hearing of which must have made his ears tingle. Counter-orders were accordingly sent off, and with characteristic carelessness, to correct the mischief if possible. But the warning was given in vain as to a most important part of the matter. Mr. Stockenström, the Governor, who was in London, to refer the Secretary of

State to 'a despatch from the Colonial office,' seriously and not sarcastically mentions his own 'attempt,' in 1834, to awaken the government to the alarming condition of the interior, in consequence of the emigration of Cape colonists; and now again in 1836, as the Commissioners of Inquiry, and others had done before,* he points out their probable collision with the natives, which it was *fearful to contemplate*. But the government was not to be awakened, and in 1837 and 1838, the storm has burst with awful fury over the devoted land.† The printing such despatches speedily after their being written would cause them to be read more profitably; and the Aborigines Protection Society will deserve general support if it execute its plan of giving us 'cheap publications' on this branch of colonial affairs.

On another capital point the Society is right, in making a most wise and valuable declaration in favour of British colonization—not indeed as now managed, but such as it may become. 'It seems to be an opinion founded rather on experience,' says the Report, 'than on any essential principle in the nature of the case, that the coloured races must inevitably perish as civilization and Christianity advance. Whatever past facts may be, and unquestionably they are painful enough, they are not evidence that no better scheme of colonization can be found compatible with the safety and improvement of the Aborigines. We cannot admit the doctrine that the establishment of a civilized community in the neighbourhood of uncivilized tribes, *must* be injurious to the latter, without supposing something extremely defective and improper in the regulations and principles of the former. LET THESE BE CORRECTED, AND THE EVILS *MUST BE DIMINISHED.*'

The announcement of this opinion is important at the present moment, when two parties are in conflict on the subject; and a declaration in favour of British colonization *under a new system*, by this body, of which Mr. Fowel Buxton is President, is the more satisfactory, as the contrary doctrine was propounded last year by a committee of the House of Commons, of which the same gentleman was chairman. The Society's sounder view of the matter is in accordance with a previous report of the same committee in 1836, which resolves that the old 'SYSTEM' of government as to the Aborigines required reform, and that its reform was not difficult. In the Second Report,

* E. G. Philip's Researches, 1828; and Bannister's Humane Policy, 1830.

† In the first battle, the emigrants lost more than forty people, and destroyed more than 400 natives. In the last they lost 270 people. The numbers of the natives killed is not reported: 300 white women and children have been killed, and the war is now carrying on with the utmost fury.

that of 1837, there was a mysterious abandonment of the right impression of 1836; an impression made by the examination of witnesses during two Sessions of Parliament, and justified by the evidence taken in the third session, as to the desirableness and facility of a reform of the bad system. The effect of this abandonment and reaction was, that the Colonial office, where that bad system is fostered, has hitherto escaped the radical correction without which all efforts to protect and improve the Aborigines in and near our colonies, will be vain. At the Anniversary, Sir Edward Cullen Smith, responded satisfactorily to the opinions thus expressed in the Report, and strongly maintained that as 'colonization wrongly conducted was a great curse, so rightly conducted it would confer great blessings on a country;' and there can be no doubt that to turn the curse to a blessing there is now wanted in our administration of what concerns independent coloured people the same 'new principles and new machinery,' which Mr. Clarkson has called for in an analogous case. 'It is idle,' says he most justly, 'to talk of protection, or redress of grievances in a slave colony, unless you act on *new principles*. There ought to have been a code of laws framed expressly in behalf of the Coolies before the order in council was sent out, so as to be ready to be acted upon as soon as they should have set foot in Guiana. There should also have been set up some *new machinery* for the more impartial distribution of Justice.'—(Letter from Thomas Clarkson to Lord Brougham, on the New British Slave Trade, May 20, 1838: Commentator, No. IX., p. 197.)

The new *system*, thus indispensable to the reform of colonization, would have been a natural result of the labours of the Commons' Committee appointed in 1835 to inquire into the state of the Aborigines in and near British settlements. The Society of which we speak considers that 'one principal reason that no important practical measure of a legislative character' has been proposed, is the absence of Mr. Buxton from Parliament; and its Report contains only a few recommendations on the subject, stating that, although a general measure is needed, 'the Society, aware of its magnitude and difficulty, only ventures to call to the attention of the Government and legislature, without attempting to draw a Bill.'

Looking, however, to the names on the Society's Committee, comprising, as it does, six members of the House of Commons, and considering that scarcely a ship reaches England from the countries within the Society's range, without intelligence of some sanguinary events, it is deeply to be regretted, that a Bill has not been presented in the present Session by some of those able members. Dr. Lushington, Mr. C. Lushington, Mr. Baines, Mr. Hindley, and Mr. Pease, form a list not to be matched in any former ~~parliament~~

enlightened freedom from legal, civil and religious prejudice, and at the same time, for the legal ability individuals to the task. If all these gentlemen are too much id with other engagements to do justice to the subject in mind, it must not be forgotten that parliamentary leaders will be wanting if good matter be well prepared, and duly put out of doors. It may therefore be suggested with confidence to the Society, that the remainder of the present year can more profitably employed by its Committee, than in preparing materials for resolutions, for public meetings, and for petitions to the Queen, to serve as introductions to a new law, and particularly as the basis of a new law; and there is no slightest ground of doubt, that the Society's *Journal*, or *other publications* which its Report mentions, might in the next month to come before parliament meets again, be filled with information from every region under the sun where British rule exists, to justify and explain, the kind of system for which all parties now call. Such petitions well supported, will probably bring the Society usefully and honourably into the Parliamentary Session of 1839.

The subject of a new code is intimately connected with 'the Report of the Parliamentary Committee on Aboriginal Tribes, printed with comments,' by the Society; and it is not foreign to the formation of a new code to announce, that the Committee of the British and Foreign Aborigines Protection Society, have offered a prize of £50, given by one of their members, for the best Essay on the present state of the uncivilized and defenceless tribes on the causes which have led to the diminution of their numbers, and to their debased condition; and on the best means of rectifying them, and of promoting their advancement. A letter to be attached to each Essay. A letter, enclosing the Essay of the Author, and indorsed with the motto, must also be sent, and will be returned unopened to the unsuccessful competitors. The Essays addressed to the Secretaries, No. 4, Field-street, must be delivered on or before the 31st of December, 1838.

On frequent occasions will offer themselves for the discussion of various important topics which come within the range of this Society's labours; such for example, as *treaties* with Aboriginal tribes, colonization upon improved principles, and Colonial management in South Africa, as to all which, the Society has re-

It happens to know that the subject of a general law in behalf of the natives has been brought formally under the consideration of members of the House of Commons, unconnected with this Society.

corded in its 'comments' an entirely different opinion from that declared in the Report of the Parliamentary Committee of 1837.

These comments as far as they go, are made in an independent spirit; but while they charge 'abruptness of conclusion' upon the Parliamentary Committee, themselves also fall singularly short of the full merits of the case, as established by oral evidence, by late official papers, and by clear colonial history. The Society's Report goes beyond this fault of omission. For example, whilst all parties are agreed that the results of our existing *system* of colonization has been destructive to the Aborigines, and no man doubts but that the Home administration has long been guilty of persevering in that system against daily experience of its iniquity, the general inference from all the Society's documents taken together, as much as from the Report of the Parliamentary Committee, is that reform in the government itself is not needed. Both seem disposed to be satisfied with the Colonial office;—than which disposition, there could not perhaps be conceived one more fatal to the great objects involved in the question. A wiser spirit may be framed by a consideration of the truths declared in the following remarks from Mr. Howitt's able work on Colonization, which we hope shortly to introduce to our readers.

'We have now followed the Europeans to every region of the globe, and seen them planting colonies and peopling new lands, and every where we have found them the same—a lawless and domineering race, seizing on the earth as if they were the first-born of the creation, having a presumptive right to murder and dispossess all other people. For more than three centuries we have glanced back at them in their course, and every where they have had the Word of God in their mouth, and the deeds of darkness in their hand. Many are the evils that are done under the sun; but there is and can be no evil like that monstrous and earth-encompassing evil, which the Europeans have committed against the Aborigines of every country in which they have settled. And in what country have they not settled? It is often said as a very pretty speech, that the sun never sets on the dominion of our youthful queen; but who dares to tell us the more horrible truth, that it never sets on the scenes of our injustice and oppressions! For more than three centuries, and *down to the very last hour*, as this volume testifies, has this system, stupid as it is wicked, been going on. Thank God, the dawn of a new era appears at last!

'The cause of the Aborigines is the cause of three-fourths of the population of the globe. It is therefore with pleasure that I have seen the *Aborigines Protection Society* raise its head amongst the many noble Societies for the redress of the wrongs and the elevation of humanity, that adorn this country. Such a Society must become one of the most active and powerful agents of universal justice: it *must* be that, or nothing,—for the evil which it has to put down is tyrannous and strong beyond all others. It cannot fail without he deepest dis-

to the nation—for the honour of the nation, its Christian zeal, its commercial interests, are all bound up with it. *Where are we to look for a guarantee for the removal of the foulest stains on humanity and the Christian name? Our government may be well advised to adopt juster measures; but governments are not yet formed on those principles, and with those views, that will warrant us to deal upon them.*

VIII. *Strike but Hear: a Correspondence between the Compiler of 'What? and who says it?' and the Editor of the Christian Observer.* With a Dedication to the Conductors of that Work. By JOHN SEARCH. 8vo. pp. 64. London: Ward and Co.

THE editor of the 'Christian Observer,' has lately been making a dead set at the 'Eclectic Review.' His right to this is undoubted; the taste and temper displayed in it perhaps, questionable; its power to injure us is not very apparent. In the present article, it is not our intention to reply to the attack of our contemporary. We merely purpose showing, that he has committed one or two not unimportant mistakes; and that as for silence, he and his friends the other 'conductors of the Christian Observer' are the last persons that ought to complain. We have only at hand the July and August numbers of the 'Observer'—from the first, we learn that the editor attacked us in January, an extract from his article being given. In that act in advancing to his denunciation of the 'Eclectic,' he sets three names from the list of more than thirty gentlemen who promised us literary contributions when we entered on our course—these are, Dr. Smith, Dr. Vaughan, and Mr. Binney. These gentlemen are thus associated in the minds of his readers with what he is pleased to condemn. In the remarks, with which the extract of January is accompanied in July, Dr. Vaughan, Dr. Smith, and Mr. Binney again figure, and a readiness is expressed that if they will 'disclaim the doctrines which pass under their names as Eclectic co-operators, their disclaimer will be readily inserted.' This offer was made, especially, to Dr. Vaughan, his name having occasioned the July paper, but was, of course, common to the others who with him had attained to the honour of 'the first three.' Our friend Dr. Smith writes, disavowing of what the 'Observer' had given, expressing his perception, however, that the context would no doubt be found greatly to modify it, and speaking of our work in a most handsome and admirable manner. Instantly after this, Dr. Vaughan and Mr. Binney, and all whom they are supposed to represent, are called

up and required to do likewise. Dr. Smith being approved as far as he goes, and the wish being expressed that 'all the other gentlemen whom the editor of the 'Eclectic' is authorized to announce as contributors to his pages, Dr. Vaughan and Mr. Binney among the number, would unite in the disclaimer.'

In giving the above statement, we have thrown out everything but the naked facts connected with our three friends, because, it is in relation to them, and not to the particulars of the attack made on the 'Eclectic,' that we intend at present to speak.

It really strikes us as very singular, that these three names should have been selected by the editor of the 'Christian Observer,' as we have shown they are. Dr. Vaughan has again and again been abused by him for his connexion with the 'Ecclesiastical Knowledge Society'—his sanctioning, by his secretaryship, all the virulence of its publications; Dr. Smith has been attacked not only by the 'Observer' but by Church publications generally, for his advocacy of ultra-dissenting principles, and his horrible crime of supporting Mr. Hume; as for Mr. Binney, every one knows that no image or epithet has been spared to depict or express his supposed rancour and savageness. 'The Weigh-house corrosive sublimate,' was the 'Christian Observer's' own figure. Other editors described him both as 'bellowing blasphemy,' and 'roaring after blood.' Hardly any three men have been so spoken against as these very three. Certainly, if we omit Dr. Vaughan, no two men are so thoroughly disliked and ill thought of by church people as Dr. Smith and Mr. Binney. If half that has been said of them in church publications, be true; if the one-tenth of what has been asserted of the latter be believed—why should they, either or any of them, the last one especially, be called upon to disclaim the intemperance of the 'Eclectic?' What earthly importance can the readers of the 'Observer' be supposed to attach to their patronage or disclaimer of any thing? Surely, it would have been more consistent to have selected other names from our list—the names of 'pious' not 'political' dissenters, and to have attributed at once, every thing in our work that could possibly be called by a bad word, to Dr. Smith, Dr. Vaughan, Mr. Binney—Mr. Binney, Dr. Vaughan, Dr. Smith.

This is not all—these gentlemen are spoken of in a way that we never spoke of them; they are *studiously* represented by the 'Observer' as if connected with the actual conducting of our work—as if they were members of a body, that met monthly at the printers, or publishers, or elsewhere—gave their advice and voice in this matter and in that—rejecting one article, approving another, and sharing the responsibility of every paper and of every page. Dr. Vaughan is spoken of as one 'responsible as a *director* of the 'Eclectic Review,' and asked to reconcile 'his *corporate* advice' in his 'Eclectic' capacity with his personal.' He is asked,

whether he has 'disclaimed his *partnership* in the publication;' 'his share of responsibility for the offensive passages;' is another phrase. Expressions of similar import are to be found in various parts of the articles referred to and bearing on the other names.

Now, all this is adapted to convey a directly false and erroneous impression. We called upon or wrote to the gentlemen whose names we published, and obtained their promises of individual support, but they have, separately or combined, no connexion with the *management* of the work;—they are not a board of *directors*,—they are not a committee of *conductors*—they are not, therefore, to be held *responsible* in '*a corporate capacity*' for every thing in it. The editor of the '*Observer*' must know the difference between the official conductors of a work, and the '*contributors* to its pages.' The late editor of the '*Eclectic*,' in his parting address (January 1837), says, 'it will be gratifying to him still to be a *contributor* to the Review, though no longer engaged '*in its management*.' The distinction is clearly drawn, and the difference in the two cases apparent. Let any person refer to our own address (February, 1837), and it will be seen that it is the address of an editor, not that of a number of associated '*conductors*;' then let him turn to the address of the editor of the '*Observer*,' in which, at the close of last year, he announced the commencement of a new series, and let him mark the difference:—*there* the very first words are '*the* CONDUCTORS of the '*Christian Observer*' announce to *THEIR* friends,' and there is throughout the whole document the recognition of a number of persons united together in the actual and official management of the work—gentlemen who in every sense of the word *conduct* it—who determine what is to be inserted, and what not, and thus share the responsibility of all and every thing that appears in its pages, or is done by, or in the name of, their agent—the editor.

We have no wish to deprive ourselves of the sanction and support of the gentlemen whose names we published; nor to deny that we derive advantage from their appearing '*as contributors* to our pages;' nor to assert that they have not a stake in the general character and conduct of our work. Our object is simply to state the real fact, in opposition to the studious and systematic insinuation by the '*Observer*' of what is not the fact. Our friends are responsible each only for his own papers; they give no '*corporate advice*,' and have no existence or '*responsibility as directors*.' They even differ in some things among themselves and from us, though we agree in the greatest and most important principles. So long, as they approve, *on the whole*, our labours, and continue their contributions to our work, *we* shall feel sustained, and the public may feel confident. They have a right, however, to warn us if we do what they are compelled to question; if

charges were made against us involving our official integrity, they would be right in investigating their proofs; and, though they are not themselves the conductors of the work, and not, therefore, responsible for the acts of the editorial department, if that department was to be proved to be characterized by every thing mean, creeping, and crafty, they would be justified, from respect to themselves, in telling the public that they should cease to contribute to a work whose management was distinguished by what could not be sanctioned without dishonour.

While we thus admit that even the 'contributors' to a work, have an interest in the spirit and principles that preside over its management: we, of course, fully concur with what is so repeatedly obtruded in the language of the 'Observer,' that a 'corporate' body, by whose 'advice' that management is actually carried on, shares, in the fullest sense, responsibility with the editor. If he is honourable and honoured, they are exalted with him; if he is proved delinquent, they must share in his disgrace. Let us see, then, what John Search says, of and to, the editor and conductors of the 'Christian Observer.' The pamphlet before us consists, as its title announces, of a correspondence with the one, and a dedication to the other.

It is impossible for us to convey, in a brief article, any thing like an adequate idea of the humiliating condition, in which the editor of the 'Observer' appears in this pamphlet; he falls into it through a number of apparently little circumstances, which can only be understood by carefully reading the whole correspondence. Little things show the character. For a man to be able to do, what it is here shown the Observer did, he must have lost, by the habit of wrong-doing, the perception of its evil, and the sensibility which would have taught him *when* he approached it. Some men commit sin without the consciousness that it is sin; a circumstance that may palliate a particular offence, as there might be the absence just *then* of the intention to injure, but which fearfully illustrates the nature of the system in which they must have their habitual being. Things have come to a terrible pass if Christian men can have their faults excused, only on the ground taken by those '*accustomed to do evil*'—'*I meant no harm by it—I did not even know that I swore.*'

But this is anticipating. We proceed to say, that if our readers will turn to our number for November last, they will find a notice of John Search's previous pamphlet, '*What? and Who says it?*' in which we give them to understand that there was much in it respecting the 'Christian Observer.' The fact is, that '*What? and Who says it?*' contains many passages from the 'Observer,' and *proves* that it had grossly mutilated and garbled an extract which it gave from Mr. Binney, and flagrantly misrepresented both it and its author; that it had not only *surpassed*

his celebrated sentence by what it said of dissent, but had equalled it in its own attacks on the working of the establishment, claiming for Dr. Chalmers the great achievement of having 'clearly shown' 'that it was most ruinous to the souls of men.' These charges were sustained by quotations and extracts; by evidence which no sophistry could evade; and it was made manifest, also, that the time and circumstances of the things committed, greatly aggravated their inconsistency and injustice.

Will it be believed, that the information conveyed to the readers of our contemporary, of the character and contents of such a book, consisted of a *calumny*, reviling it as 'violent;' of a *falsehood*, affirming that it had done what it did *not*; of,—NOTHING, as to all it really *had* done to expose the dishonesty and inconsistency of the 'Observer?'

The thing is far worse than we have described: its tone of brotherhood aggravates the injury; the voice of Jacob attaches greater guilt to the hands of Esau. It is characterised, by qualities which we shrink from designating. Any one may judge of this for himself, by comparing the contents of 'What? and Who Says it?' with the notice of it by the 'Observer,' given, in full, in the first page of this 'correspondence.'

John Search writes and complains of this conduct; exposes the incorrectness of what the editor had said; and puts some questions to his *conscience* respecting his whole behaviour, which we should have been very sorry to have afforded ground for having put to ours. This was accompanied by the *whole* of what concerned him in 'What? and Who Says it?' with the request that he would put it before his readers, that they might fairly judge for themselves.

To this an answer is returned, in which all the way through, the editor shelters himself under the wing of his brethren 'the 'conductors of the Christian Observer:' in which he first speaks condescendingly to Mr. Search, as an anonymous writer, and then insults him by styling him a *pseudonymous* one; in which he insists on his ability to answer the book he had tried to strangle, confesses that 'it is clear,' he was wrong in what he said, professes his readiness to correct his own error if *Mr. Search will give him authority!* and ends by telling Mr. Search, that he writes 'only for his own eye;' and, in order to secure silence, he, by a characteristic trick, puts his own name into the postscript, to suggest, we suppose, to a writer he had injured and insulted, that he was not to dare to violate private confidence!

The bulk of the pamphlet consists of John Search's reply to this letter. There is not in it, from beginning to end, an angry or an ungentlemanly word, but its effect on the conscience of the editor of the 'Observer' (if he keeps a conscience, —he insinuates that neither Dr. Vaughan, Dr. Smith, nor Mr. Binney does) must have been

any thing but pleasing. Its exposure of him, its appeals to him, its constant reference to high moral considerations—the light in fact let in on the dark doings of editorial committee-rooms, and of the creeping things in the form of conductors of Christian publications, that weave their webs in these recesses of darkness—must have been positively excruciating. We would not have had such a document addressed to us either in our personal or ‘corporate capacity,’ for any amount of either praise or profit that periodical literature ever won.

Not only does ‘Strike, but Hear’ successfully appeal against being ‘*smitten* contrary to law by one who should judge according to law,’ but, as the Editor had expressed his belief that ‘What? and who says it?’ might be triumphantly replied to, at the same time showing, by his mode of speaking of it, that he did not accurately comprehend the nature and object of the argument it employs, *this matter* is also fully gone into, and the exact work which the Observer would have to do, clearly cut out for him, the argument of ‘What? and who says it?’ is explained—its authorities condensed, and the Editor of the Observer *dared* to the production of his ‘convincing reply.’

The Pamphlet in an Appendix gives the paper sent to the Observer with the first letter, and the book closes with a statement and declaration; for the latter of which we must find room, if we find none for anything else. We wish, however, to give, if possible, one or two other quotations from the work; and we *must* introduce a passage or two from the Dedication, with reflections upon which our notice must conclude. It is proper to say, that the Author again and again states his consciousness of the insignificance of the whole matter as it concerns himself, and that its importance is solely derived from the *principles* it involves. He makes his reflections bear on the critical, controversial, and periodical press in general, and we trust they will not be lost either on others or ourselves.

The following bears on the subject that gave rise to the correspondence:

‘I consider myself warranted strongly and seriously to remonstrate with you on your conduct in this matter. I am pained in doing it. I do not like to appear to take advantage of a brother in error; but I feel that something must be attempted to improve, if possible, the criticising and controversial *conscience* of the times. We are all deficient here;—but, I must say, that I regard my present, and my former proofs of *your* deficiency, to be peculiarly strong. Look calmly and fully at what you did. You began by a bold assumption about what you could not *know*, respecting what I *was*;—you went on to *assert*, what you are obliged to retract, respecting what I had *done*;—you represented yourself as perplexed to make out a meaning in my words, which, you now say, ‘*it is CLEAR*’ is not there;—you wrote in

away to produce other false impressions, as I before showed;—the whole thing appears flippantly dashed off; and yet, you gloss over all with the terms and accent of brotherhood—represent yourself as the injured party—wonder how any one could father 'the horrible images' of his fancy on yours, or could suppose you to think of what it turns out, nobody ever did think of but you!—and this is criticism and controversy!—criticism and controversy, too, by Christian Observers!

* * *
 The principle involved in your conduct towards me would sanction any controversial injustice whatever,—any criticism, however hasty or dishonest. But you 'did not review the work,' you say. True. But you dispatched it. At least, if it was not hung, it was pilloried; and that, too, for an imputed offence! Sir, you are a judge.—'The conductors of the Christian Observer' constitute a literary, and, in these days, a controversial, tribunal; their responsibilities, both to God and man, to the Redeemer and his church, are great; the functions they discharge demand care, conscientiousness, high moral principle, dignity, self-respect; and, if discharged otherwise, they may present, perhaps, to holy natures, a sight as painful and affecting, as, to a high-minded and just man, would be bribery or buffoonery on the bench. What would be thought, my brother, of a judge in a court of law, voluntarily summoning an individual before him, hastily charging him with a false accusation, condemning him, or even only sending him back into society with the character he had created for him, and then, when appealed to, and compelled to acknowledge his error, saying, 'My dear Sir, 'it is quite clear' I was wrong, but you know—I did not try you.' 'Certainly, my Lord, and that's the very thing I complain of; I was condemned untried, unexamined, unheard!'—pp. 16—19.

The following refers to a *fact* pointed out in 'What? and who says it?' but which, with all the rest in the book, the Editor calls 'argument, opinion,' &c.

Let me direct your attention to pages 11—13 of my former pamphlet. I place, side by side, a passage from Mr. Binney (*the passage, you know, which you have been perpetually parading and pelting with*), and a passage from yourself. I enter into no discussion; I have nothing to do with either the truth or falsehood—the right or wrong of your *opinions*; you may be both mistaken, for any thing I know, or care; that, with me, is not the point. My question is one of *fact*—Does, or does not, the one writer misrepresent the other? Does he, or does he not, mutilate the passage he professes to quote with 'the book before him,' and change its character, and attribute to it a sense which it carefully excludes? Does he, or does he not, reason on this sense? Does he, or does he not, complain of the absence of qualifying phrases—the very things which are in the passage, but which he has left out? These are not matters of 'argument' and 'opinion' and 'discussion.' I employed no discussion,—I want none. There are the two passages. Any number of plain men who have common sense, eyes, and honesty, whether they agree with either, or neither of the writers—whether

they have themselves a creed, or no creed—whether they be Christians, Jews, Turks, or Infidels—can judge of the question of *fact*—a question involving most serious charges against a book assuming a name indicative of ‘whatsoever things are *just, true, HONEST, and of good report* ;’ a book, which has just brought, *by its own acknowledgment*, an utterly unfounded charge against *me*,—me, ‘a *pseudonymous* writer!’—p. 21.

The following passage on the controversial character of the times merits deep attention :

‘The temptations that beset public Christian men in the present state of ecclesiastical controversy, and the present temper of the times, I know to be great. But they often spring from, and are always aggravated by, themselves. Some are precipitate ; many prejudiced ; very few patient of investigation, or superior to exclusive reading and sectarian associations. Some have no idea of any grand, spiritual consummation as their ‘ultimate aim,’ which, even if visionary, would sanctify their violence ; most depend for all information respecting their opponents on the pledged organs of their own party, instead of personally examining the books they blame ; and all, all, I fear, are chargeable with a low state of spirituality, which permits and prompts them to use the weapons of earth in the warfare of heaven—blinding them to the absurdity of thinking that they can serve God in the spirit of the devil, or conquer Satan through the power of Beelzebub. Christians of the present day, and especially controversial writers, and still more especially controversial editors, are all too much under the influence of what men of the world applaud as ‘spirit’—a wretched compound of selfishness, ignorance, vanity, and pride ; a thing without candour, patience, modesty, or courage ; which cares not how it commits injustice or inflicts pain,—and which will repeat a wrong rather than redress it, if the one course wins a cheer, and the other would involve an apology. We are all in fault here : ‘verily guilty’ in relation to this ‘abominable thing.’ Self, pride, party, are at once our idols and our tyrants ; and the love of them alike our crime and curse. We like our own errors better than The Truth, and our own sect better than The Church. We are indulgent and charitable to our party and ourselves, ungenerous and dishonest towards others. Breathing myself this infected atmosphere, and engaged in this blinding and perilous controversial occupation, I dare not affirm that, in relation to the ‘Observer,’ I have fallen into no error. I may have wronged and misrepresented you in my late work—in my former communication—in this letter ; but I do not *know* that I have. If I have, *I beg pardon of God and you.*’—pp. 41, 42.

The whole book concludes with the distinct specification of what John Search had proved against the Editor of the *Observer* in his first pamphlet. The offences are serious, and they were aggravated, as is shown, by circumstances. The following are the Author’s last words :

'Now the proofs of all this were lying under the eye of the editor of the *'Christian Observer'* exposed and remarked upon, in *'What? and Who says it?'* when he penned the account of that pamphlet, which originated this correspondence. He knew that there were these things in the book; yet he wrote what conveyed the impression (whether intentionally or not God only and himself know) but what *did* convey, *that*, there was nothing in it to concern him, but *one single thing*, which he has acknowledged *'it is clear,'* from the work itself, is not in it at all!!

'The readers of this book will form their own judgment on these facts. For my part, I do not hesitate to say, that any man who *can*, by any possibility, *thus mistake, misrepresent, and commit himself, whether he do it from ignorance, design, carelessness, or haste*, is NOT POSSESSED EITHER OF THE INTELLECTUAL OR THE MORAL QUALITIES WHICH SHOULD PRESIDE OVER A WORK THAT ASPIRES TO THE CONFIDENCE OF THE *'CHRISTIAN' PUBLIC*; aspires to be the guide and expounder of opinions; to sit in judgment on the contents of books and the character of authors; and to discuss matters connected with the principles of ecclesiastical systems, the movements and the motives of conscientious, reflecting, and religious men.'—p. 64.

Though we have thus done with the Editor of the Observer, we have not finished with his friends. He constantly refers to *'the Conductors'* of the work, flinging himself into their arms to avoid the danger that threatens himself. John Search therefore appeals to *them*. He dedicates his work to those who, on the Editor's principles as before referred to, are of course *'responsible'* in their *'corporate capacity.'* From this Dedication we take the following extracts:

'This, and my former publication. are intimately connected with a subject, on which you and other church writers, to use your own phrase, *'have so pertinaciously harped,'* that nothing has been heard about it, for four years, throughout the length and breadth of the land, but the piercing tones of your agonized instruments. You have filled the ears of your auditors with sounds of terror, indignation, and scorn; their minds with loathing, contempt, and hatred. You have done your best to make an individual *'infamous,'* and, through him, to attach infamy to his party and his principles. I have produced *facts* connected with *your* part in this affair, which bring into question your *MORAL HONESTY* as men; your *consistency* as writers—both as reasoners and as controversialists; your *competency* for the office you assume, or your *conduct* in discharging it; in short, the harmony of your character with the *name* you bear.

'These are not trifles. If my charges are false, they can be refuted; if my representations are wrong, they can be exposed; if your meaning is mistaken, it can be explained; if you can answer my argument, you can answer it. I have a right, however, to demand, that before you attempt this you will take the trouble to understand it. Read what I have written; and *so* read it, as not to attach to me what you may have to acknowledge *'it is clear'* I never meant. You are men,

doubtless, of education and ability; your minds have been disciplined by University exercises; you have studied mathematics and practised logic; you are acquainted with the nature of the *argumentum ad hominem*, and know that while it proves nothing it can silence noise. Carefully and scrupulously mark, then, the precise object of my former pamphlet, and the simple aim of my citations and references; weigh what I have produced as *proof* of your dishonesty and inconsistency; look at what you *did*—listen to what you uttered, and,—if you can, answer *me*, and defend yourselves.

* * * *

‘Gentlemen, in the last letter addressed to your editor, you will find a passage beginning with—‘I do not wonder at your fears,’ and ending with FOUR WORDS, which I will not repeat. Are these words strong? they are. Are they ungentlemanly, or unchristian? Let us distinguish:—no other words would clearly convey the ‘impression’ of what you *did* (I identify you with the acts of your official representative); if it be ungentlemanly or unchristian to call bad things by their right names, *what must it be to do them?* I wrote those four words calmly and seriously; I selected them as the most appropriate; I transcribed them; I sent them; they have reached your hand and met your eye;—the charge they contain against you, I here distinctly and deliberately repeat. My view of your conduct may be erroneous; but what it *is*, I have said. If you have any reverence for public opinion; if you have any self-respect; if you have any value for character, which you say is ‘your all,’ you will be ill at ease under such imputations, ‘even from an anonymous or pseudonymous writer.’ Purchase, then, the privilege of clearing your character by defence, or of retrieving it by contrition, by making an attempt to answer the charges which I have preferred. When you have done this, then, with calmness and dignity, without either ‘flippant’ airs, or noisy asseverations, demand the production of the document from which I gathered the ‘impression’ I described, and—*you shall be obeyed*. I am authorised to state, that it shall be given to the public *under the signature of the gentleman in whose possession it is*.

‘In conclusion, gentlemen, permit me to say, that I am influenced in my present course by a deep and solemn conviction, that a hasty, prejudiced, periodical press is one of the crying calamities of the time. Supported by either Churchman or Dissenter, such an instrument is one of almost unmixed mischief—one most disastrously successful in fomenting and perpetuating our religious animosities. It misrepresents good men to each other; it misjudges their motives and character; it comes in between them with its notices of what has been written, or its records and reports of what has been done, and by perverting both, keeps each side from examining the works, and from seeking to understand the wishes of the other.’—pp. iv—vii.

The former part of this last extract is both strange and striking; there is a reference to some communication which had been sent to the Editor, but which we cannot find in the pamphlet, and a mysterious allusion to some passage in it containing some

words—the bad names of bad things with which the conductors of the *Christian Observer* seem to have been charged in consequence of the acts of their ‘official representative;’ they are dared to meet the charges brought against themselves by John Search; to call for the evidence of the opinion he had expressed; and they are not only to be obeyed, but obeyed in a manner which anonymous writers are not entitled to demand, and pseudonymous ones have no right to expect.

We now close this imperfect review of what so affects the character and credit of our once respectable and respected contemporary, by a single remark bearing on the business with which we began. Four months we think have now passed away, since the *Christian Observer*, with its editor and conductors, were brought to the bar of public opinion by ‘Strike but Hear,’—there they have stood silent as death; yet, while dumb under charges that directly touch their ‘moral honesty as men,’ they have been reiterating demands on certain of the contributors to the ‘*Eclétique*,’ by name, to disclaim that which they never wrote, perhaps never read. Can they expect to be listened to? Have they a right to be regarded? Is their conduct *decent* even? Who are the conductors of the *Observer*? We furnished the names of some of our friends who promised to become ‘contributors to our pages,’ whom the editor of the *Observer* wishes to make ‘responsible as directors.’ Will he publish the names of those who are the ‘responsible conductors’ of his work? After the disclosures of John Search, is there any man, or any number of men, prepared to come forward to avow their share of official responsibility in the conducting of the *Observer*, or to defend its editor against the charges under which he lies? Will he himself tell us the ‘four words?’ Will he give us the passage which it would seem they closed, and tell us his reason for not doing that which might entitle him to demand the document referred to? It’s a bad business, we fear, from beginning to end, and both the editor and the conductors (if there are any) of the *Christian Observer* know it to be bad. The ‘contributors to our pages’ who have read the two pamphlets by John Search, may well be excused for declining to listen to the call of convicted and silenced delinquents.

Lest it should be insinuated by the editor of the *Observer*, that we have confined ourselves to that view of his conduct which affects our friends, Dr. Smith, Dr. Vaughan, and Mr. Binney, whom he has so frequently and improperly dragged into his pages, because we durst not face his charge as it affects ourselves, we think it proper to add, that we sought for the offensive article, and feel quite ready to reason with him

respecting it. After beginning with our December number, and going backwards, having no clue supplied by his two papers referred to in the preceding article, we at last found that the obnoxious piece was published by us in April, 1837. We endeavoured to read it with impartiality, and we do most conscientiously say, that while there may be some expressions in it, which in the exercise of our editorial discretion it might have been better for us to have softened, yet it cannot, we think, by any candid and unprejudiced mind, be admitted to sustain the interpretation, or seem justly to warrant the strictures of our contemporary. The very first sentence states, "that a crisis has arrived respecting the question of Church Rates, when the Church of England may not only *save herself with honor, but secure a moral influence in the hearts of the people, which will place her above the power of her enemies, and RENDER HER A LASTING BLESSING TO THE NATION.*" This does not look very intemperate. The fact is, that, like all other discussions by Dissenters of a similar kind, in order to be rightly understood, and justly judged, it requires the distinction to be kept in view, between the Church and *the Establishment*. Thus, in the very paragraphs from which the Observer selects the phrases which he condemns, after referring to the *political alliance* of the Church with the State, it is said, 'The dissenters do not deny that in a church thus constituted, the doctrines of the gospel may be embodied in symbols and formularies, and that *multitudes may exist within its pale that are sincere Christians and members of the universal church*, but they cannot regard it *as an institution* having entirely or chiefly in view the advancement of pure and spiritual religion.' It is also said, 'it is true that, by the compulsory exactions of the established churches of the realm dissenters are required to contribute to the support of Christianity; but are they not also required to contribute to support *something else which is NOT Christianity, and which* they believe to be not only foreign to its nature, but directly opposed to its genius and spirit.' Now it is to this "*something else*" that the phrases so offensive to the Observer are to be referred: namely, to the interference of worldly men with sacred things; to official patronage; to the power over spiritual appointments of the ministers of the day; to that part of the system, in fact, with its working, which the pious of the land, both churchmen and dissenters, equally deplore, and which cannot be better described than in the words of the Observer himself, as quoted by John Search in both his pamphlets. His language is positive and strong. He asserts, that 'it is *not even pretended, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, that either a private or official patron seriously sets himself to look out for the person best qualified for an appointment.*' He describes

Mr. Simeon as accused of the crime of spending large sums in the purchase of advowsons for the sole object, as our reviewer would express it, of the 'advancement of pure and spiritual religion;' 'but,' adds the Observer, '*no one pretends that such crimes are common. The auctioneers who daily knock down advowsons to the best bidder, never suspect that they are bought upon such Utopian principles. It is enough, the purchaser has somebody to provide for. So also in the case of public and official patrons.*' Our reviewer certainly uses strong language in speaking of the tendency of a system, of which this is a part, to deteriorate the character of Christianity, and injure its influence; but what does the Observer himself say? '*We have not a shadow of doubt that it is most mischievous to the cause of true piety. Dr. Chalmers has clearly shown that it has been most ruinous to the souls of men.*' If in his notion of what is 'not Christianity,' and which dissenters are not compelled to uphold, by paying to the establishment, our reviewer included those popish and dangerous dogmas, which are enforced by so many of its ministers, and which the British Critic asserts, in its last number, not only do not infringe 'one doctrine of the articles or prayer-book,' but are so pre-eminently 'church doctrines,' that as to adopting and advocating them, 'in the case of the clergy, this effect *must* follow, if they are honest, or a necessity of retiring from their existing engagements;' (the italics, in this last passage, are the British Critic's)—if, we say, our reviewer referred to these, in connexion with the political part and working of the establishment, as tending to make it 'as subversive of the influence of Christianity as any form of paganism,' &c., what does the Observer himself say on this matter, as quoted by Mr. Search? 'On this,' says he, 'our language has been, and will be, strong; the discussion relates to questions which involve *the whole economy of the gospel, of protestantism, of a standing or falling church, of the salvation of the souls of men, we believe the system to be anti-evangelical, anti-protestant, and a snare of our ghostly enemy to impede the progress of the pure gospel of Christ, and endanger the souls of men.*'

But, supposing our reviewer to have used the most dreadful language imaginable against the tendency of political establishments as such, let us see if the Observer cannot match him in the description of the tendency of dissent as such. Again we are indebted to John Search. 'We believe dissent,' says the Observer, 'to be *an evil greater than we can express, and if carried to the extent of the subversion of the national churches of England and Scotland, to say nothing of other protestant communities, nothing but a direct special miracle, which we have no right to look for, more especially when we have set aside the*

'obvious means of grace, could prevent the ultimate extirpation of Christianity from the earth! !' The Observer is very indignant at Dr. Chalmers being accused of blasphemy. We neither admire the individual who made that charge against him, nor maintain its propriety; but we would shrink ourselves from such language as the above, lest we should tread on the precincts of the sin. The idea, that if the political support of Christianity were to cease in *England and Scotland only*, the episcopal and presbyterian churches still remaining, all the sects also remaining, all things also remaining as they are in the other protestant countries of Europe, and in America; the idea, that if this *one thing* were to take place in this island, God's own truth, the gospel of his Son, the universal church with all her ministers, and ordinances, and multitudes, would vanish away, die, and determine, not only in Britain, but throughout all the world, is perfectly appalling. Without 'a direct special miracle,' however, this would occur it is thought, because, we suppose, in the truth of Christ, in the *ordinary* influences of the Divine Spirit, in the attachment of believers and ministers to the faith which they respectively profess and preach, in the power of prayer, or any other thing connected with the creed or character of the pious, the zeal of earth, and the promised co-operating might and mastery of heaven;—because, in all these there is *no security* for the preservation even, not to say the diffusion, of Christianity in the world, without the political establishment of it in ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND!!! The man who can deliberately write this as his 'belief,' and who can say also what he does, about the 'most ruinous' effect to the souls of men of the working of certain parts of *his own church*, ought neither to charge dissenters with making 'presumptuous party estimates,' nor to find fault with the occasional strong language, in relation to the establishment, of some of the contributors to the pages of the 'Eclectic Review.' Is it for this writer to charge Dr. Vaughan, Dr. Smith, and Mr. Binney, with 'not keeping a conscience?' Is it for him to describe them as determined to support *their party*, despite of either decency or truth? We will take our leave of him with a recommendation and a report. Our recommendation is, that he prepare his '*very* convincing reply' to 'What and who says it?' as speedily as possible, and prepare it, looking fairly at the *real question* he has to meet, and controlling, like his antagonist, both his temper and his pen; and that, till he has done this, he cease his attacks on us and our contributors. Our report, perhaps *fact*, is, that a gentleman, in conversing some little time since with the editor of a church periodical is understood to have said, 'Now you know, Mr. —, that the dissenters are not the men you re-

present, nor are they aiming at the ends you ascribe to them.' Oh! as to that,' was the reply, 'I am not up to my party yet.' Thanks to that grace to which we are so much indebted, Dr. Smith, Dr. Vaughan, and Mr. Binney, support no such partizanship as this in countenancing and contributing to *our pages*.

Art. IX. *Life and Administration of Edward, first Earl of Clarendon; with Original Correspondence and Authentic Papers never before published.* By T. H. LISTER, Esq. 3 vols. London: Longman & Co. 1838.

FEW statesmen occupy a larger space in English history than Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon. The part he acted in the early deliberations of the Long Parliament; his subsequent desertion of the popular leaders, and faithful adherence to the king; the zeal with which he labored to outmatch Hampden, Pym, and Vane, in the paper war which was carried on between Charles and the Parliament; the influence he exercised, over—with few exceptions—the contemptible and worthless clique which formed the court of the exiled prince; the part he took in the restoration; his unscrupulous rigor towards the Presbyterians, and the despotic character he imprinted on the restored dynasty; his treachery to English liberty, and the base ingratitude of his worthless master; have all conspired to invest his biography with the deepest interest,—to enrich it with a moral which statesmen and courtiers may profitably study. His life was amongst the most eventful of a period crowded beyond all parallel with the elements of deep tragedy; and whether viewed in its brighter or darker periods, in its seasons of prosperity or of bitter reverse, holds out an instructive lesson to the men of succeeding times. It is matter of surprise that the biography of Clarendon has not been worthily executed ere this. His position and services entitled him to early notice from his party, while the relation his biography sustains to the general history of his country claims for it an extended and detailed notice. We possess three Memoirs of Clarendon,—one written by himself; another included in a work published in 1708, and entitled, 'The Lives of the Chancellors;' and a third by Macdriarmid, in his 'Lives of British Statesmen.' Of these it is sufficient to remark, that the first is distinguished in an extraordinary degree by inaccuracies and omissions, and is moreover subjected to a partial coloring, natural in the circumstances of the writer, but destructive of historical fidelity; the second is a meagre compilation swelled out by long speeches, taken from historical

writings generally accessible; and the third is entitled to no credit, either for research or accuracy. The field was therefore unoccupied, and we are glad that a worthy laborer has attempted its cultivation. Of Mr. Lister's former publications, we are entirely ignorant. We know him only as the author of the volumes before us; and it is therefore with more than ordinary pleasure, that we commence our notice of his work by recording our favorable judgment. He has executed a task of no little difficulty in a manner highly to his own honor. Extensive research, and no inconsiderable degree of impartiality, are happily united in his case with a sound understanding, views generally correct, and a pleasing, if not terse and vigorous style. We frequently dissent from his judgments: but in doing so, we invariably honor his candor, integrity, and fair dealing. But we are anticipating ourselves. The appearance of his volumes affords us an opportunity, of which we gladly avail ourselves, to canvass the leading events in the public life of Clarendon: and the remarks we shall offer will sufficiently exhibit some of the points on which we differ from our author.

Edward Hyde was born on the 18th of February, 1609, at Dinton, in the county of Wilts. The circumstances of his parents were easy, without being affluent. His father was a member of several parliaments during the reign of Elizabeth, but spent the last thirty years of his life in the retirement of the country; where, the son says, his parents 'enjoyed and improved their estates, and kept good hospitality in their houses, brought up their children well, and were beloved by their neighbours.' The youthful statesman received his early classical education from the clergyman of his father's parish, and his progress was so considerable that in his fourteenth year he was sent to Oxford, where he entered at Magdalen Hall in 1622. His first destination was for the church, but this was subsequently changed for the law,—probably through the influence of his uncle, Sir Nicholas Hyde, afterwards Chief Justice of the King's Bench. During the early part of his residence in London, his health was seriously impaired, and the consequent interruption of his legal studies, induced habits of idleness, which seriously threatened his professional success. His companions, moreover, were, as Mr. Lister remarks, 'of a kind ill calculated to promote the diligence of a law student.' They were chiefly military men, whose habits were idle and dissipated, and whose influence was fraught with great peril to their youthful associate. He himself, in after life, was not insensible of the risk he had incurred, remarking, 'he had more cause to be terrified upon the reflection, than the man who had viewed Rochester Bridge in the morning that it was broken, and which he had galloped over in the night.' Happily for himself, young Hyde escaped the contaminations of the Society in which he moved, and his marriage, in 1629, to a daughter of Sir George

Ayliffe, of Gretenham, in the county of Wilts, served to arouse his faculties, and to induce a vigorous application to the studies proper to his profession. This connexion, though speedily terminated by the death of his wife, had an important influence on the fortunes of Hyde. It introduced him to the acquaintance of the ill-fated Duke of Hamilton, and paved the way for his subsequent promotion. A second marriage, contracted in 1632, and the death of his father, which occurred in the same year, further served to determine the bent of his mind. His time was divided between his profession, and such literary studies as were most congenial to his tastes, and best suited to improve the high powers with which he was endowed. His associates were chosen from the most eminent men of his day. He mingled but little with the members of his own profession, but spent much of his time with Ben Jonson, Selden, May, Waller, Hales, Chillingworth, and other distinguished literary men. The influence of these early companionships is clearly traceable in the productions of his riper age; and to them we are probably mainly indebted for the writings, which have secured him an imperishable name among English authors.

The state of public affairs at this period is well known to our readers. The crown was worn by a prince incapable of reading the signs of the times. A momentous revolution had for some years been going on in the sentiments and habits of the English people. Long before Charles the First ascended the throne, the precursors of change,—the intimations of coming strife were visible. The reformation had broken up the monotony of society, and divided the people into classes, whose activity and zeal were proportioned to the immense importance of the interests at stake. Intellect had become a recognized element of society, and its sportiveness and power on its escape from the enthrallment of ages, portended its subsequent achievements. The nature of government had come to be better understood, the worth of popular liberty was felt, men of all classes sighed for the hour of redemption, and began to declaim in free and ominous speech, on the limits of prerogative, and their own inalienable claim to freedom. The current had gathered strength during the feeble and debased reign of James, who left a heritage of folly to his son; which served to hasten his fate, and bring on the crisis of the struggle. Charles ascended the throne in the twenty-fifth year of his age, and soon made it evident that he was of all men least fitted to master the difficulties of his position. His confidence was given to Buckingham, a man of mean talents, of imperious carriage, and of repulsive selfishness. The rashness and pride of the minister, was only equalled by the absurd favouritism, and weak compliances of the king. While a storm was gathering which speedily convulsed the empire and overturned the throne, Charles

was intent only on gratifying the whims, and following out the policy, of his unprincipled adviser. The fearful struggle, which was to terminate in his arraignment and execution, commenced from the first hour of his reign. Three parliaments were successively convened, in the delusive hope of rendering the forms of the constitution subservient to the despotic policy of the king: but the guardians of English liberty refused to betray their trust, and the houses were consequently dissolved in contemptuous displeasure. The young monarch thought to play the tyrant with as high a hand as the last Henry; but the times were changed, and he fell before the wrath of an insulted and indignant nation. The last of these dissolutions took place in 1629, the year of Clarendon's first marriage: and a royal proclamation was shortly afterwards issued, declaring that it would be esteemed presumption, and be punished as such, for any to invoke the name of parliament, or to call upon the king to summon together the representatives of his people. Sir John Eliot,—one of the noblest of English patriots,—fell a sacrifice to the vengeance of the court: and a thousand means were devised by supple lawyers and unprincipled divines, to break down the spirit of the English people. Mercy was banished equally from the court and the church. The apostate Strafford ruled the one, and the mean-spirited and superstitious Laud the other. The capacious intellect of the former, found a ready instrument in the hard-heartedness and lust of power, which characterized the latter. It was a terrible struggle between tyranny and freedom,—the obsolete pretensions of a former age, and the equitable claims of a regenerated intellect. The scale trembled in the balance, and the most sagacious observer might well doubt the result.

It was at such a period,—so critical and momentous,—that Hyde was ushered into public life. We know but little of his early political prepossessions, but that little disposes us to infer that they were favorable to the court. On the publication of Prynne's *Histrio-mastix*, one sentence of which Laud and his chaplain Heylin so infamously misrepresented to the king and queen, Hyde took a prominent part in a masque performed by the four principal Inns of Court, 'as an expression of their love and duty to their majesties,' and, to use the words of Whitelocke, 'because this action would manifest the difference of their opinion from Mr. Prynne's new learning, and serve to counterfute' his work. On this occasion,—strange to say,—he was associated with Whitelocke and Selden, as well as with Noy, Herbert, and Finch. The expense of the pageant is said to have exceeded twenty-one thousand pounds. He was shortly afterwards introduced to Laud, when the latter was seeking, with the animosity natural to a mean and ungenerous spirit, 'discovery of past actions which might reflect upon the memory' of the Earl

of Portland, Lord of the Treasury, then recently deceased. Hyde had been employed by the merchants of London to draw up a petition against an order of the late treasurer, which being reported to Laud, he desired to see him. The young lawyer waited on the primate, and the flattering style of his reception, made a favorable impression, which strongly influenced his subsequent sketches of Laud. In the meantime, the government was conducted as a pure despotism.

‘Never,’ says Mr. Lister, ‘had the people of England, in so advanced a state of civilization, been subject to an oppression so general, so odious, so little redeemed by aught that could either flatter the nation, or even conciliate a particular class. No one powerful party was engaged to lend its aid for the subjugation of the rest.... Neither the aristocracy, the gentry, the merchants, nor the yeomen, were interested, as a class, in supporting the prerogative. The majority of each, if not inimical, were at least indifferent. The clergy alone, led on by Laud, appeared, as a body, to sympathise with the crown. But the church, while it sought strength from royalty, afforded none. It only swelled, by its pretensions, the number of malcontents, and aggravated their stubbornness by the addition of sectarian zeal. It gave a religious character to the contest. It afforded to the disaffection of the nonconformist a higher motive than pecuniary grievance. The bench was submissive; and an assumption of legal forms was, for a while, the most effectual device by which that reverence for law and order, which characterises the English people, was made an instrument for their subjugation.’

‘Under such auspices, and with such appliances, was pursued a system of comprehensive and manifold oppression, menacing all persons, tapping all rights, annulling immunities deemed indefeasible, breaking promises deemed inviolable—a tyranny of spies and tax-gatherers, carrying its vexations into every household, and poisoning the daily comforts of the people, thwarting their occupations, despoiling their property, meddling with their trade; yet, because this tyranny was not sanguinary—because it fined, maimed, imprisoned, but did not kill—we are told to wonder that the people should rebel.’—pp. 46, 47.

At length, the king was reduced to the necessity of again summoning a parliament. It met on the 13th of April, 1640, and was briefly assured by Charles, ‘that there never was a king ‘that had a greater and more weighty cause to call his people ‘together’ than himself. Hyde was a member of this parliament, and occupied a somewhat equivocal position in its debates, being opposed to Hampden on a question, which the popular party deemed of vital importance. A struggle commenced from its first meeting, the one party asking for supplies, the other demanding additional safeguards for liberty. Pym and Hampden had waited their hour, and now that it was arrived, they determined on gathering its fruits. Precedence was given

to the question of grievances, which were divided into three classes, innovations in religion, invasions of property, and violations of parliamentary privileges. Message after message was received from the king, urging the necessity of an immediate supply of his pecuniary wants; but the popular leaders knew their position too well to accede to his prayer. The lords were induced to enforce it, but their interposition was voted a breach of privilege, and the commons proceeded, temperately but firmly, to discharge their high trust. Perceiving, at length, that money would be voted only on conditions favourable to popular liberty, the short-sighted monarch, on the 5th of May, summoned the commons to the upper house, and then dissolved the parliament. 'There could not,' says Clarendon, 'a greater damp have seized upon the spirits of the whole nation, than this dissolution caused; and men had much of the misery in view which shortly after fell out. It could never be hoped that more sober and dispassionate men would ever meet together in that place, or fewer who brought ill purposes with them; nor could any man imagine what offence they had given which put the king to that resolution.'

During the summer of this year, Charles attempted to prop his tottering tyranny. He still clung to the hope of ruling without parliaments, and having marshalled an army, he proceeded towards the north to chastise the Scotch presbyterians. It is needless to say his efforts were unavailing. The troops abhorred the war in which they were engaged; and the necessity of the case, at length compelled the king, once more to summon the representatives of his people to meet him at Westminster. They obeyed his summons on the 3rd of November, and their policy was no longer equivocal or hesitating. The long parliament was the theatre on which Hyde properly began his political life. Its members were returned under a ferment similar to that recently witnessed, when William the Fourth atoned for the political blunders of his father and brother, by calling on his people to pronounce judgment on the question of 'Reform.' The feeling of the nation was united and strong, and generated a momentary patriotism in the hearts of phlegmatic and calculating politicians. Hyde was returned for Saltash, and took an early and prominent part in the deliberations of this celebrated assembly. At first, he went along with the popular leaders in denouncing the misgovernment of the king, and in bringing his advisers to punishment. No man save Pym and Hampden was more active than Hyde, and few spoke in stronger terms of reprobation. Those of our readers who are acquainted with the delusive account furnished in the 'History of the Rebellion,' of the state of the kingdom during the previous twelve years, will be surprised at the following language uttered by Hyde, at a conference of both houses on the 6th of July, when

ought forward the charges of the commons against the barons exchequer.

There cannot be a greater instance of a sick and languishing condition than the business of this day. Good God! how have the guilty late years been punished, when the judges themselves have been delinquents! 'Tis no marvel, that an irregular, extravagant, arbitrary like a torrent, hath broken in upon us, when our banks and works, the laws, were in the custody of such persons. Men who their innocence, could not preserve their courage; nor could we at they who had so visibly undone us, themselves should have due or credit to rescue us from the oppression of other men. It is by one who always spoke excellently, that the twelve judges were twelve lions under the throne of Solomon,—under the throne of obedience,—but yet lions. Your Lordships shall this day hear of those (be they what they will be else) were no lions; who upon fears delivered up the precious forts they were trusted with, without assault; and in a tame and easy trance of flattery and deceit, lost and forfeited (shamefully forfeited) that reputation, and reverence, which the wisdom, courage, and gravity of their noble predecessors had contracted and fastened to the places they held; and even rendered that study and profession, which in all time hath been, and I hope now shall be, of an honourable estimation contemptible and vile, that, had not this blessed day come, all men might have had this quarrel to the law itself, which Marius had to the tyrant, who thought it a mockery to learn that language, the source whereof lived in bondage under others.—pp. 80, 81.

There is ample evidence of the part which Hyde took against the bill. He served on different committees; and, as if to show his zeal, was on the 25th of March added to a committee for expediting the trial of this capital delinquent. We have no record of the vote he gave on the bill of attainder, but the impression is great that he supported it.

His name is not found in the list of 'Straffordians.' It is improbable that one who was hostile to the attainder, should have been chosen as the bearer of such a message, as he carried up to the lords on the 28th of April. Falkland spoke, and, it may therefore be presumed, voted, for the bill of attainder; and Hyde tells us, that his subsequent vote on the bill against episcopacy was the first in which he and Falkland had ever differed.—pp. 94, 95.

As far Hyde's political career had identified him with the royal cause. It had been consistent and straightforward, free from every selfish ingredient, and aiming only at the interests of his country.

In the summer of 1641, however, he began to waver. The question of episcopacy was then under debate, and Hyde signalised himself as its champion. As chairman of a committee, he resorted to the meanest artifices in order to arrest the progress of the bill for its extinction. His own pen has recorded his dishonorable chicanery; but Mr. Lister prefers questioning the accuracy of his report, to an admission of facts so disgraceful to his hero. There is something amusing in the facility with which our author resorts on this, and similar occasions, to any hypothesis by which to evade conclusions unfavorable to Hyde's character. We entertain no such views of the theoretical completeness of that character, and are, therefore, more disposed to regard his conduct 'as an instructive example of the character of a lawyer full 'charged with all the pitiful tricks of his profession.' 'I do not 'love Clarendon,' says Mr. Godwin, 'but I could almost find in 'my heart to compassionate the despicable figure he makes.' These are strong words, but they are not wholly undeserved.

His zeal on behalf of the bishops, recommended Hyde to the notice of Charles, who was now about to visit Scotland, in the hope of ingratiating himself with his northern subjects. The king sent him a message by the brother of the Earl of Northumberland, requesting to speak with him, and the interview which took place in consequence, was private and long. We have no other account of it than that which Hyde furnishes in his *Life*, written twenty-eight years after its occurrence; and as it exercised an important influence over his future fortunes, we shall give it in his own words.

'The king told Hyde, 'that he had heard from all hands how much he was beholden to him, and that when all his servants in the House of Commons either neglected his service, or could not appear usefully in it, he took all occasion to do him service; for which he thought fit to give him his own thanks, and to assure him that he would remember it to his advantage.' He took notice of his affection to the church, for which, he said, he thanked him more than for all the rest, which the other acknowledged with the duty that became him, and said, he was very happy that his majesty was pleased with what he did; but if he had commanded him to have withdrawn his affection and reverence for the church, he would not have obeyed him, which his majesty said, made him love him the better. Then he discoursed of the passion of the house, and of the bill then brought in against episcopacy; and asked him, whether he thought they would be able to carry it? To which he answered, he believed they could not; at least, that it would be very long first. 'Nay (replied the king), if you will look to it that they do not carry it before I go for Scotland, which will be at such a time when the armies shall be disbanded, I will undertake for the church after that time.' Why then (said the other), by the grace of

God, it will not be in much danger.' With which the king was well pleased; and dismissed him with very gracious expressions.'—pp. 114, 115.

From this hour Hyde is to be regarded as a deserter from the popular camp. In his autobiography, written many years afterwards, with an indistinct recollection of facts, and under the influence of strong party feeling, he represents himself as having been suspected of a leaning to the court from the first meeting of the long parliament. The statement is not improbable, nor would its truth impeach, either the sagacity, or fair dealing, of his illustrious contemporaries. The bias of his mind was probably visible from the first. The protégé of Laud, who according to his own account 'well knew how to cultivate the advantages' of having such a patron, was not likely to enter St. Stephen's devoted body, soul, and strength to the cause of the people. Carried along for a season by the impetuosity of a torrent which swept all before it, he soon regained his natural position, disengaged himself from the temporary associations into which he had been hurried, and pledged his talents and zeal to the services of royalty and the court. Like most of his profession, his prepossessions were in favor of the king. Mindful of the letter, but neglectful of the spirit of the English constitution, he was disqualified for taking part in that revision of the balance of powers, which was necessitated, by the enlargement of the national intellect, and the clearer perception of individual rights, which marked his age. At an earlier era he might have been an enlightened and safe adviser of the crown; but 1641 his notions were antiquated, and his counsels detrimental to his employers.

The position of public affairs afforded an apology, not wholly without force, for Hyde's secession from the popular cause. When parliament met on the 3rd of November, the king was surrounded by Strafford and Laud, and the meaner instruments of his tyranny. The Star Chamber and the High Commission Court were in full operation; the seats of justice were defiled by the presence of unprincipled judges; and the undefined powers of prerogative threatened to subvert the ancient safeguards of English liberty. The king was known to be alike despotic and faithless, alienated in heart from the best features of the English constitution, and intent only on giving consistency and permanence to the worst precedents of a former age. Every eye was therefore directed to the throne as the exclusive source of danger, and the hope of the nation was fixed on the sagacity and firmness of its representatives. But the position of parties had undergone a mighty change in the short interval which had elapsed. Strafford had suffered the due penalty of his crimes; Laud was a despised prisoner in the Tower; the guilty judges were in exile;

the arbitrary courts, where tyranny had sported in its lawlessness, were abolished, never to be revived; and the present parliament was insured against dissolution without its own consent.

Upon the change thus effected in the relative strength of parties, the defence of Hyde is rested by his advocates. The king, it is alleged, was powerless, the commons were triumphant; the former, however disposed, was now incapable of playing the tyrant; the latter were violently bent on arrogating to themselves all the powers of the state. The very principles, therefore, it is argued, which would have led a patriot to attach himself to the popular party at the first meeting of parliament, enforced an adhesion to the monarchical branch of the constitution. From having been the assailant, the king was become the rallying point, of freedom. These considerations are urged by Mr. Lister, and the soundness of the defence will be admitted or denied, according to the view which is entertained of the general dispute. One thing deserves consideration, as bearing conclusively on the validity of this reasoning in reference to Hyde. With the exception of ecclesiastical measures, no material difference had hitherto been evinced between him and the men, to whom he was henceforth so bitterly opposed. He had supported all the chief measures of the session, not excepting even the bill for perpetuating the parliament; and was not therefore in a position to plead the unconstitutional and dangerous tendency of the proceedings of the popular party. He had uttered no protest against their doings, save in the case of prelacy; but had been among the most active in forwarding several of their bills. In his subsequent vindication, when attempting to impugn the policy of his opponents, and to justify himself, his principal stress is laid upon the remarks of individuals—remarks made in the freedom of social intercourse, and without any pretensions to be regarded, as expository of the policy of the great leaders of the parliament. Had Hyde's secession taken place a year later, and had the conduct of parliament in the interim been exactly what history now records,—a supposition in the last degree improbable,—there would have been force and validity in the plea advanced by his friends. But it is scarcely fair to attempt to vindicate his secession, on the ground of actions occurring subsequent to that event, and greatly attributable to it. Mr. Lister's ordinary candor and fair dealing desert him on this point. He refuses to let the parliamentary leaders plead the faithlessness of the king in justification of their demands, arguing—inconclusively in our judgment—that the evidences of such faithlessness were furnished subsequently to these demands being made; while, at the same time, he seeks to defend the conduct of Hyde, on the ground of *violences* which were perpetrated long after his services had been transferred to

the court. The policy of such men as Hyde, Falkland, and Colepepper,—the recognized heads of the moderate party of the day,—only strengthened the hands of the king, without increasing the probabilities of a satisfactory adjustment of the great contest. They divided the strength of the liberal party, without obtaining in the councils of the monarch any compensatory weight. Charles gladly availed himself of their reputation, and promised to be guided by their advice; but there were other counsellors to whom he more readily listened, and by whom he was fatally led astray. A notable instance of this was furnished in his attempted arrest of the popular leaders; referring to which, in his 'History of the Rebellion,' Clarendon remarks, 'The three persons before-named, without whose privity the king had promised that he would enter on no counsel, were so much displeased and dejected, that they were inclined never more to take upon them the care of anything to be transacted in the house; finding already that they could not avoid being looked upon as the authors of these counsels to which they were so absolute strangers, and which they so perfectly detested.' By passing over to the king, Hyde and his associates strengthened the hands of a monarch who contemned their counsels, and pertinaciously adhered to the dogmas of an exploded tyranny. Charles was thus emboldened to refuse what he would otherwise have yielded: a delusive complexion was given to his cause which, serving to distract the real friends of freedom, rendered an appeal to arms inevitable.

The position occupied by Hyde, was less creditable than that of either of his friends. They became the acknowledged and responsible ministers of the crown, Falkland as secretary of State, and Colepepper, as Chancellor of the Exchequer. Hyde was intended for the Solicitor-generalship, in the place of St. John, who was to be dismissed, but he earnestly opposed the arrangement, assuring 'their majesties, that he should be able to do much more service in the condition he was in.' Duplicity and want of good faith were strikingly evidenced in the policy he now adopted. He was a spy in the popular camp, a liberal in profession, but a cavalier in heart, an intriguing deserter, who sought to recommend himself to his new master, by distracting the counsels and reporting the resolutions of his former associates. Every means which a cautious and timid policy could devise, were employed to conceal the part he was acting. His consultations with Falkland and Colepepper were held during the night, and his visits to the king were conducted with great secrecy. But it was impossible to elude the men against whom he was plotting. The place of 'the nightly meetings' was discovered, and Hampden—the most unspotted patriot in the long list of English worthies—reproached him

with his desertion, telling him, 'he well knew he had a mind 'they should be all in prison.' His opposition to the Remonstrance at length removed all disguise. This celebrated document, by which the popular leaders sought to stem the returning tide of loyalty, by reminding the nation of the grievous oppressions that had been practised, was zealously opposed by the king's friends. They dreaded its influence, and naturally endeavoured to prevent its adoption. The debate upon it was protracted and vehement, and Hyde exerted himself to the utmost. It was a crisis in the king's affairs, which compelled his adherents to throw aside all restraint; and from this moment consequently, Hyde, the secret associate of Falkland and Colepepper, became the open and zealous sharer of their councils.

The king's declarations were drawn up by him, and it is difficult to speak of them in terms too eulogistic. Their calm and constitutional tone was admirably adapted to serve the royal cause; and it is not, probably, too much to affirm, that Charles was mainly indebted to their influence, for the forces he was speedily enabled to array against the parliament.

'The complaints,' remarks our author, 'of the 'fruitlessness' of these declarations, and their insufficiency to 'convince the refractory,' proceed from a misconception both of their ultimate object, and of the party to whom they appealed. It was true, the time was past when the mighty quarrel could be decided by the pen. Every thing denoted an impending strife more terrible than that of words. It was improbable that the force of rhetoric would divert from their purpose the Parliament or the king, or that either expected to convince the other. Ostensibly they addressed each other, but virtually they appealed to a third party, the eventual umpire of the strife—the people. At this time, it was of little importance whether all that was published in the king's name gained for him one single vote in Parliament; but it was of great importance that he should be justified in the eyes of his subjects. To what extent his cause was strengthened by these appeals we cannot estimate; but it must be remembered that his success in mustering supporters greatly exceeded the expectations recorded by the candid and sagacious May, and said to have been expressed by Pym and Hampden. We must remember the flagrant imprudence (if it can be designated by so mild a term) by which the king had lowered the popularity of his cause: we must remember the superiority of means in the hands of the Parliament; and we shall then feel, that much of his unexpected success, in gathering adherents to his standard, may be attributed to the ability with which the royal cause had been thus pleaded before the nation.—Ib. pp. 182-3.

The paper war which Clarendon so ably conducted, was incapable of arresting the ill-fortunes of his master. It brought recruits to his standard, and gave a temporary air of triumph

to his cause, but no sooner had Cromwell—the master-spirit of the age—succeeded in re-modelling the parliament's army, than its force became irresistible, and the discomfiture of the king was complete. The future protector appealed to the enthusiasm of his troops, and gave it full scope. The exercises of devotion were strangely blended, in their camp, with the discipline of war; and the result is known to every Englishman. Naseby field testified their valor, and decided the contest. During the alternations of the struggle, Hyde did his utmost to serve the king: but the impracticable nature of the materials with which he had to work, and the strong disgust which a long course of misrule had awakened throughout the kingdom, neutralised his efforts, and secured the triumph of his opponents. He was made Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1643, but with the exception of Falkland, Colepepper, and Southampton, there were few men about the king whom he could trust. Most of them were reckless and ambitious adventurers, whose venality and selfishness distracted and disgraced the royal cause. The court was a scene of perpetual intrigues. Men of mean passions and sinister views sought to build their own fortunes on the ruins of their country. The loyalty of the cavaliers,—so much lauded by modern writers,—was, with few exceptions, an irrational and headstrong passion, which saw nothing to admire in English liberty, nothing with which to sympathize in the aspirations of a generous and noble-minded people. It was an unenviable post which the official advisers of the king occupied, and they felt it bitterly. The military, headed by Rupert, despised them; and Charles, with his accustomed infatuation, lent himself to their machinations. Never was there a party, making loud pretensions to honor, which presented less worthy traits to the eye of posterity. It is a melancholy picture which Clarendon draws of the state of things at Oxford, the headquarters of the king; and those would do well to study it, who can find nothing to censure in the royalists, and nothing to commend among their opponents. 'The discomposures, jealousies, and disgusts,' he says, 'which reigned at Oxford, produced great inconveniences; and as many times, men in a scuffle lose their weapons, and light upon those which belonged to their adversaries, who again arm themselves with those which belonged to the others, such, one would have thought, had been the fortune of the king's army in the encounters with the enemy's; for those under the king's commanders grew insensible into all the license, disorder, and impiety with which they had reproached the rebels; and they into great discipline, diligence, and sobriety: which begot courage and resolution in them, and notable dexterity in achievements and enterprises. Insomuch as our side seemed to fight for monarchy, with the weapons of confusion, and the

'other to destroy the king and government with all the principles and regularity of monarchy.'

Hyde's last interview with the king was on the 5th of March, 1645. On that day he departed with the young prince Charles to the West, in the hope of reconciling the dissensions, which existed among the royalist commanders, and of stimulating the zeal of the king's friends. The turn of affairs, however, speedily compelled the prince, accompanied by Hyde and Colepepper, to take shipping for Scilly, whence he escaped on the 16th of April, 1646, to Jersey.

From this time to 1660, Hyde lived in poverty and exile. The little court of the Second Charles exhibited in miniature all the worst features of that of his father. The prince himself was thoughtless, indolent, and depraved. Under the most favorable circumstances, he would probably have grown to manhood without developing any of the better qualities of our nature; but, circumstanced as he was, every vicious propensity was strengthened by unbridled indulgence. In the meantime, himself and his followers were suffering the extreme of poverty. In June, 1653, Clarendon writing to Nicholas, says :

'I do not know that any man is yet dead for want of bread, which really I wonder at. I am sure the king himself owes for all he hath eaten since April; and I am not acquainted with one servant of his who hath a pistole in his pocket. Five or six of us eat together one meal a day, for a pistole a week; but all of us owe for God knows how many weeks to the poor woman that feeds us. I believe my Lord of Ormond hath not had five livres in his purse this month, and hath fewer clothes of all sorts than you have; and yet I take you to be no gallant.'—*Ib.*, pp. 374—375.

Despairing of success in any open attempt against the government of Cromwell, the royalists now basely plotted his assassination. He himself had been charged with a similar design against the late king, but his high, though perverted nature, shrunk with scorn from the charge. It had never entered his thoughts;—it was equally abhorrent from his feelings and his creed. But it was otherwise with Hyde. He connived at, if he did not directly encourage, the plots formed against the life of the Protector. There is good evidence of this, and Mr. Lister admits the fact. It is proved by his correspondence with Colonel Titus, and brands him with an infamy, which renders perfectly ridiculous the exaggerated praises of his admirers. In the teeth of such a fact, it is sheer folly, or rank party spirit, to describe Clarendon as a man of high moral principle. Faithful he might be, and undoubtedly was, to the worthless masters whom he served; but there must have been a radical unsoundness in his moral constitution, to have permitted a concurrence in so detestable a scheme.

It cannot be pleaded on his behalf, that his judgment was clouded, or his heart misled, by the impulse of a frenzied enthusiasm. He was the cool-blooded and calculating politician, who, himself unseen, encouraged the assassin purposes of his base agents. Little as we admire Clarendon, we wish, for the honor of our nature, and the reputation of a man once eminent in the councils of the nation, that we could disprove the charge.

At length came the Restoration,—a natural result of the military usurpation of Cromwell. In eschewing his early faith, that celebrated man had prepared the way for the events of 1660; and the fact was instantly visible, when his great spirit ceased to animate the government. He had disappointed a nation's hopes, had outraged its most cherished prepossessions, and was doomed to experience the bitterness of unsatisfied ambition. After his decease, the nation for a time reeled to and fro like a drunken man, and in despair of otherwise obtaining rest, hailed as its deliverer, one of the most worthless and contemptible of mortals. Mr. Lister contends that the Convention Parliament was right, in not exacting from the prince conditions favorable to public liberty; and Mr. Hallam agrees substantially with him, alleging that the early measures of the Long Parliament had provided all necessary safe-guards. Yet we venture to suggest, that the peculiar position and irritated state of parties, the immense interests at stake, the sum of good or evil which was about to be inflicted on the nation; did call for, and rendered imperative, some distinct understanding, which should pledge the king, so far as he could be pledged, to a line of policy best suited to the interests of his people. We hold, therefore, that Sir Matthew Hale was right, when he proposed the appointment of a Committee to draw up propositions for the king's acceptance; and that Monk only perfected his treachery, by opposing the suggestion. 'What,' said the perjured dissembler, 'have you to fear from a prince who has neither wealth to corrupt, nor an army to enslave you?'

Charles entered London on the 29th of May, 'with a triumph of about 20,000 horse and foot, brandishing their swords, and shouting with inexpressible joy; the ways strewed with flowers, the bells ringing, the streets hung with tapestry, and fountains running with wine.' Evelyn, whose words we have quoted, was present on the occasion, and his gratified loyalty attributed all to the divine interposition. 'I stood in the Strand,' he says, 'and beheld it, and blessed God. . . . It was the Lord's doing, for such a restauration was never mentioned in any history antient or modern, since the returne of the Jews from the Babylonish captivity.' It would have been more pertinent, and not less religious, to inquire whether the scene was not similar to that enacted in ancient times, when God gave to Israel a king

in his wrath. If any inference can be drawn from the character of the monarch and the tendency of his government, the case does not admit of doubt. A more disgraceful period than that which followed, does not occur in English history. A host of rapacious and profligate adventurers broke loose upon society. The worst vices of the continent were transplanted to England, the common decencies of life were outraged, and every semblance of piety was banished from the court. The unblushing profligacy of the king was but too faithfully imitated by his servants.

Hyde had been made Chancellor prior to the restoration, and shortly after that event, was created Baron Hyde, of Hindon, and subsequently, Earl of Clarendon. He was at the head of the king's government, and the circumstances of the day gave him immense power, for good or for evil. 'He was the first in place, favour, and authority, among the ministers of a monarch, who, while invested by the public with sovereign power, still evinced towards him the deference of a pupil.' Under such circumstances there is no want of candor, in holding Clarendon responsible for the measures which were adopted. He was the head and soul of the Administration, and the airs of dictatorship which he assumed, and which rendered his presence so unpalatable to his associates, are evidence of the view he took of his own position. Mr. Lister fairly argues that, in estimating his policy, as Prime Minister, much allowance must be made, on account of the rapid transition he had experienced. 'Power,' he remarks, 'gained, not by gradual steps, but by one stride, is doubly corrupting; and seldom has change been greater than that which a few weeks effected in the fortunes of Hyde.' But, after every allowance which can be fairly claimed, the administration of Clarendon will remain an inglorious epoch in our history, dishonorable to the premier, and injurious to the country. Our space must prevent us from glancing at more than two or three of his measures. The Declaration from Breda, drawn up by Clarendon, to prepare the way for his master's restoration, had promised 'a free and general pardon,' save in the case of those who should be excepted by Parliament. The limitation was understood to point at the late king's judges, and many of them, in consequence, sought to provide for their safety by flight. To prevent, it would seem, their escape, a heartless and treacherous proclamation was issued on the 6th of June, summoning all members of the Regicide Court, to surrender themselves within fourteen days, under pain of exclusion from pardon. The proclamation admitted but of one interpretation; and several of the king's judges relying on the integrity of its framers, rendered themselves up. Ludlow was among the number, having been advised by Sir Harbottle Grimston, the Speaker of the Commons, that 'it would be the most horrid

'thing in the world' should proceedings be instituted against those who did so. But it was soon apparent that the proclamation had been issued in ill-faith,—that it was the base artifice of a revengeful and blood-thirsty faction, to possess themselves of the persons of their enemies. Clarendon attempted to explain away the royal language, and to justify the trial and execution of the men who had been deluded by it; but the blood thus treacherously shed, though unhonoured at the moment, was not unproductive in after times. The case of Sir Henry Vane was one of accumulated treachery and baseness. He had not only refused to take any part in the trial of Charles the First, but was well known to have opposed it, and to have retired in consequence, for a season, from public affairs. There was no shadow of a justification, therefore, for the proceedings instituted against him,—proceedings artfully urged on by Clarendon, who advised that he should be excepted from the Bill of indemnity as 'a man of mischievous activity.' The Commons opposed the proposition, but ultimately gave way on the suggestion of Clarendon, that the two Houses should petition for his life. The crafty Chancellor had thus attained his object: Vane was at the mercy of his foes, and though a petition was presented on his behalf, and the king promised to grant its prayer, no sooner was a House of Commons assembled 'more slavish and more zealous for royalty' than the present, than they accomplished his death. 'Certainly,' said Charles in a letter to Clarendon, 'he is too dangerous a man to let live, if we can honestly put him out of the way.' Thus coolly was the best blood of England shed by a perfidious monarch, and his no less perfidious minister. We regret that Mr. Lister's partiality for his hero, has led him to extenuate the baseness of these transactions. The ideal perfection he assigns to Clarendon, militates fatally against the honesty of his narrative.

Of the ecclesiastical policy of his administration, we need say but little. It is well known to our readers, and constitutes one of the darkest chapters in the history of religious intolerance. Charles was mainly indebted to the Presbyterians for his restoration to the throne. They had plotted and suffered on his behalf, and were now doomed to experience the folly of trusting a man, whom no engagements could bind, and no services render grateful. So long as his return was problematical, they were deluded with vague promises, and were addressed in flattering speech, by episcopal sycophants and the ministers of the prince. In the Breda Declaration, 'liberty to tender consciences,' was expressly promised. 'No man,' said Charles, in language prepared by Clarendon, 'shall be disquieted, or called in question, for differences of opinion in matters of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom.' Such were the promises of the king and his adviser,—their fulfilment must be looked for in the atrocious

statutes, which emptied the pulpits of the Establishment, desecrated the ordinances of religion to the vile purposes of a party, robbed a large section of the community of their political rights, and reduced to poverty and banishment thousands of the best men whom England contained. The infatuated loyalty of the Presbyterians was repaid by confiscation, imprisonment, and exile. They merited punishment, but not surely at the hands of Charles, for whose restoration they had intrigued and labored. We have no sympathy with the Presbyterians as a party. They were behind their age, and were selfishly devoted to their own aggrandizement. Their intolerance in the Long Parliament drove the army to the employment of force, and furnished a pretext for the unconstitutional proceedings of Cromwell. Had they been faithful to their high trust,—had their policy been as sound as their power at one time was great,—had they listened to the reasonable demand for toleration made by the Independents and other sectaries; the government of the Commonwealth might have been established on an imperishable basis, and the intellect and morals of the nation, have been saved from the debasement which followed the restoration of the Stuarts. But nothing can extenuate the hollow and perfidious policy which was now adopted towards them. Appearances were preserved so long as the Convention Parliament lasted. Meetings were even appointed between the bishops and some divines of their persuasion, but the temper of the former may be gathered from the fear expressed by Sheldon to the Earl of Manchester, lest the terms of conformity should be so lax as to permit the Presbyterians to conform. When Baxter, in the course of the Savoy Conference, entreated the bishops 'not to cast out so many of their brethren through the nation as scrupled a ceremony which they confessed indifferent,' Sterne, the bishop of Carlisle, malignantly remarked, 'He will not say in a *kingdom*, lest he own a king,'—a mean and base insinuation, belied, as the false prelate well knew, by every act of Baxter's life. 'And now,' says Burnet, having related the proceedings at the Savoy, 'all the concern that seemed to employ the bishops' thoughts was, not only to make no alteration on their (the Presbyterians') account, but to make the terms of conformity much stricter than they had been before the war.'

Clarendon was a zealous abettor of episcopal intolerance. He was a thorough-going Church-of-England man, and, as a natural consequence, a bitter hater of all who dissented from her polity. The state church was his idol, and he labored in her service with all the rancor of the polemic, and the exasperation of personal hate. No sooner had a parliament assembled whose bigotry and hatred of religion could be successfully appealed to, than the Minister hurried them on in the work of persecution. Advantage was taken of the insurrection of a few mad fanatics under

Venner, a wine-cooper, to stimulate the bad passions of his hearers against the nonconformists as a body. No man knew better than Clarendon that both the Presbyterians and the Independents reprobated the insurrection of Venner as strongly as he did; yet he basely availed himself of it as a colorable pretext for his barbarous and bigoted policy. 'The seditious preachers,'—an equivocal phrase as issuing from such lips, and addressed to such auditors, —were denounced in terms sufficiently grateful to the frenzied zealots of prelacy; and their suppression was enforced by arguments well suited to arouse the worst passions. 'If you do not provide,' said Clarendon, 'for the thorough quenching these fire-brands; king, lords, and commons, shall be their meanest subjects, and the whole kingdom kindled into one general flame.' The Minister well knew, while uttering this language, how it would be understood. He was no stranger to the character of the materials of which the assembly before him was composed. It had been returned, under one of those frenzied excitements to which the English people are periodically subject. Intolerance and bigotry was now rampant, and their ordinary malevolence was aggravated to fury, by the remembrance of unpalatable restraints, and of recent wrongs. A wise man, mindful of his country rather than of a faction, would have sought to throw oil on the troubled waters, but Clarendon aimed to exasperate passion in order to effect the success of his dark policy.

We have left ourselves no space to advert to the character of his general administration, or to narrate the circumstances which led to his fall and banishment. In illustration of the former, we can only adduce his own statement, which identifies him, beyond all question, with the abettors of prerogative as opposed to popular liberty. 'He did never dissemble,' he says, speaking of himself, from the time of his return with the king, that the late rebellion could never be extirpated and pulled up by the roots, till the king's regal and inherent power and prerogative should be fully avowed and vindicated, and till the usurpations in both Houses of Parliament, since the year 1640, were disclaimed and made odious.' It is sheer folly in the face of such an exposition of his views, to speak of Clarendon as friendly to the constitutional liberties of England. Had he succeeded in carrying out his views, the tyranny of Charles the First, in its most palmy days, would have been revived and strengthened.

Clarendon died in exile, discarded by an ungrateful and worthless master. Various causes contributed to his fall. A nation's voice was raised against him, and Charles, the most mean-spirited and debased of mortals, was not sorry of a pretext to banish him from the realm. The steps of Clarendon's rapid descent, from almost unlimited power, to the pitiable and cringing position in which he closed his days, furnish an instructive lesson, to which we should

gladly advert, if we had not already greatly exceeded our limits. Of his writings we shall take another, and early opportunity to speak; and in the meantime, content ourselves with commending Mr. Lister's volumes, to the perusal of all who are interested in this most memorable period of English history. Our readers will not need to be informed, that we differ greatly from Mr. Lister, in his estimate of Clarendon's political character and career. He has suffered his admiration of the genius of the Chancellor, and his sympathy with his great reverses, to blind his judgment to the many obliquities of his course. Hence there is an air of romance, a want of reality throughout his sketch. It is the flattering likeness of a friendly artist, who has painted from fancy, rather than from life; has exhibited what his hero should be, rather than what he was. Bearing this in mind, every intelligent and well-read student will derive both information and pleasure from the perusal of his volumes; in which commendable diligence and extensive research are combined, with no inconsiderable skill, and with more than ordinary good temper.

Brief Notices.

Strictures on a Life of William Wilberforce. By the Rev. W. Wilberforce, and the Rev. S. Wilberforce. By Thomas Clarkson, M. A. With a Correspondence between Lord Brougham and Mr. Clarkson; also a Supplement, containing remarks on the Edinburgh Review of Mr. Wilberforce's Life, &c. London. Longman and Co. 8vo.

The Messrs. Wilberforce have little reason to congratulate themselves on their prudence, in having so wantonly assailed an angel philanthropist, the friend and early associate of their father. Mr. Clarkson, in the pamphlet before us, has vindicated himself from their charges in a manner which admits of no reply. His defence is perfectly triumphant, and is conducted in a calm and dignified tone, worthy both of his years and of his character. He may now repose in peace; his reputation is secure, and the cause of human rights will be uninjured. What must be the feelings of his reverend detractors, it is not for us to say. One thing is obvious, that with the exception of the aid furnished by one kind relative in the Edinburgh Review, and the boisterous and unworthy zeal with which another cousin has undertaken their defence in the Christian Advocate, they are left to mourn their folly, without reaping its expected reward.

The Pilgrim's Progress. By John Bunyan. Most carefully collated with the edition containing the Author's last additions and corrections. With a Life of the Author, by Josiah Corder. Twenty-five Engravings. London: Fisher and Co. 8vo.

This is an exceedingly beautiful edition of a universal favourite. The 'Illustrations' and the 'Life' were first published in 1836, and

we see no reason, to reverse or modify, the judgment which the Eclectic then pronounced: 'In point of execution, the illustrations prove great manual skill in the artist; and they have been put into the hands of engravers who have done the utmost justice to the glowing and beautiful imaginings of the painter. Altogether, we have seldom seen a more truly ornamental series of designs to a popular work.' 'Vanity Fair,' by George Cruikshank—a rich subject for such an artist—is added to the collection, and leaves little more to be desired. The getting up of the volume is in harmony with the illustrations, and its value is greatly enriched by the brief memoir furnished by Mr. Conder. The present edition is fairly entitled to take precedence of all others, and as such we commend it to our readers.

Letters on Frequent Communion. By the late Rev. John M. Mason, D. D., of New York. With Introductory Remarks, by the Rev. John Morison, D.D. London. Ward. 1837.

This publication is a re-print of 'The Letters on Communion,' which Dr. Mason originally addressed to the Presbyterian Churches of Scotland, on their cold and infrequent observance of the Lord's Supper. In some churches, this ordinance was administered only once in the year; in others once in six months; and in none more frequently than once in three months. His aim 'was to induce the churches of his native land to observe this sacrament weekly, which he conceived was the practice of primitive times. And, in the pursuit of this object, he has shown the piety of a Christian, the research of a divine, the learning of a scholar, and the argument of a logician.'

The introductory remarks by Dr. Morison concur to elucidate and enforce the argument of these 'letters;' and the volume primarily addressed to the Presbyterian Churches, may be read with profit by Christians of every denomination. Every communicant may find it useful in imparting enlightened views of the ordinance, and in calling into exercise the feelings suitable to its profitable observance.

The Dissenter. Vol. I. Stockton: W. Robinson. London: Groombridge. 1837.

This unpretending, but honest and interesting periodical, should have been noticed before. We have to apologise for the omission; which has not, however, been intentional. It is not merely intended to supply an antidote to the malignancy and falsehood of '*the Churchman*;' it is also designed to diffuse information respecting the principles and practice of Nonconformists, in a cheap and attractive form. It contains Essays on 'Religious Establishments;' and some of the doctrines of the Church of England which have a popish origin, are exhibited in their true light. It points out the leading peculiarities of most of the various sects which exist in the present day. Very many important, but difficult Scriptures, are critically examined, and satisfactorily explained: in short, its contents are varied, interesting, instructive, and plain. We give the work our very cordial and earnest recommendation; and we hope its circulation may be extensive.

The Stage; its Character and Influence. By John Styles, D. D.
Fourth edition, revised. London: Ward and Co. 1838.

We are glad to meet with this very neat edition, of an admirable treatise which, cannot be widely circulated without the happiest results. It has been carefully revised by the author, and is now published at a greatly reduced price. With a keen perception of the charms of light literature, and a thorough sympathy with its better and more healthful forms, Dr. Styles exposes, with considerable power, the delusive pretensions and pernicious influence of theatrical amusements. We know few books more calculated for usefulness among the young, and parents and guardians will do well to place it in their hands.

Refutation of the Mis-statements and Calumnies contained in Mr. Lockhart's Life of Sir Walter Scott, respecting the Messrs. Ballantyne. By the Trustees and Son of the late Mr. James Ballantyne. London: Longman and Co. 1838.

A severe but well-merited castigation, inflicted by able hands, in a spirit equally honourable to themselves and to the parties whose character is vindicated. If Mr. Lockhart be the man we have supposed him to be, he will make prompt and full reparation for the injustice he has committed. Should he hesitate to do so, every ingenuous mind will know what inference to draw from his silence.

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1. *Arboretum et Fruticetum Britannicum.* By J. C. Loudon, F.L.S., &c. 8 vols. 8vo. London: Longman & Co. 1838.
 2. *The Suburban Gardener and Village Companion.* By the same Author.
 3. *The Architectural Magazine.* No. LIV., August, 1838.

The *Arboretum Britannicum*, which we have before noticed during its progress, is at length completed, forming four thick volumes of letter-press, and four of plates; and though it considerably exceeds the size at first contemplated, there are, we should think, few who would not deem this inconvenience compensated by the additional value conferred on the work. If any fault is to be found, it is with the reiterated promises to despairing subscribers of a more speedy conclusion, rather than with the impossibility of fulfilling such pledges. This truly valuable work is certainly the completest of its kind ever published (at least since the time of Solomon) and will form a necessary part of the library of every one who wishes to become thoroughly acquainted with the subject of Arboriculture. It contains portraits from nature of all the trees that endure the open air in Britain, with enlarged specimens of the flower and seed or fruit, besides numerous wood-cuts interspersed through the letter-press. The work displays great judgment, practical skill, and laborious research on the part of Mr. Loudon, and combines the cream of what has been before written on the subject with much that is original.

Of the second work, from the same indefatigable pen, we have as yet only seen a portion, and cannot pronounce on it complete; but

it promises to form a very useful work. It relates to the formation and management of residences in the suburbs of large towns; including advice on the choice of a house, or the site of one; the arrangement and furnishing of the rooms; the management of the Villa farm; and the laying out of the grounds, from the miniature garden of one perch to an extent of fifty or sixty acres. There is much valuable information which is applicable to country residences as well as to suburban ones; as, for example, the sections on the choice of a house. The book is illustrated by numerous wood-cuts.

The Architectural Magazine, another of Mr. Loudon's publications, is not so much in our way, but we must give it a good word in passing. We are glad to see it going on prosperously. It opens a vehicle for architectural discussion which cannot fail to advance the progress of this noble art; and there are many papers in it which must render it interesting to every lover of constructive science and correct design, as well as to the professional man.

Literary Intelligence.

In the Press.

Messrs. Fullarton and Co., of Glasgow, are about to publish a new edition of *Percy's Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, with an Introduction and Life by George L. Craik, Esq., of the Inner Temple; in which the History of the Song and Ballad Poetry of England and Scotland, and that of each of the pieces given by Percy, will be brought down to the present day, and the views and statements of the Original Work illustrated, and corrected, where necessary, by the light which more recent inquiries have thrown upon the various departments of our poetical archæology. The work, which will be embellished with copies of such of the Original Engravings as are referred to in the text of Percy, will be printed in Four Volumes, crown 8vo. of which the first will comprehend the Introductory Discourse, and other preliminary matter; and the others, the Poems, with the Notes appended to each.

Isaiah: a New Translation. With Preliminary Dissertations, and a Critical, Philological, and Exegetical Commentary. By the Rev. Dr. Henderson. Text-Book of Popery. By the Rev. J. M. Cramp. A new and enlarged edition.

A Narrative of the Greek Mission; or Sixteen Years in Malta and Greece: comprising allusions to the Domestic Habits, Moral State, Natural History, Mediæval Vicissitudes, Geology, Language, Poetry, and Politics of Greece; Notices of Malta, and Hints to Travellers and Missionaries. By the Rev. Samuel Sheridan Wilson. In One handsome volume, with Illustrations.

Aids to Memory; or the Principal Facts and Dates of the Old Testament History, and of the subsequent History of the Jews to the period of the Incarnation, embodied in short Mnemonic sentences on the plan of Mrs. J. Slater's *Sententia Chronologica*. By Mrs. Jukes. With a Recommendatory Preface by Professor Vaughan.

The Claims of Episcopacy Refuted; in a Review of the Essays of the Right Rev. Bishop Hobart, and other Advocates of Diocesan Episcopacy. By the late Rev. John Mason, D.D. With an Introduction and Appendix, by the Rev. John Blackburn, Minister of Claremont Chapel, Pentonville. In One small 12mo. volume.

The Transactions of the Royal Geological Society of Cornwall. Vol. V. 8vo. With many Tables and Plates. Containing: 1.—On the Metalliferous Deposits of Cornwall and Devon. By W. J. Henwood, F.G.S., H. M. Assay Master of Tin. 2.—On the China Stone of Cornwall. By John Hawkins, Esq., F.R.S. 3.—On the Serpentine of Pennare. By Rev. Canon Rogers.

4.—On the Elvan-dykes of the Land's End. By the Rev. G. Pigott. With several other Papers on the Geology of Cornwall, and tabular statements of the produce of the Cornish Mines for many years.

Just Published.

An Inquiry into the History and Theology of the Ancient Vallenses and Albigenes; as exhibiting, agreeably to the promises, the perpetuity of the sincere church of Christ. By George Stanley Faber, B.D. 8vo.

Conversations for Children; on Land and Water. By Mrs. Marcet.

Twenty Essays on the Practical Improvement of God's Providential Dispensations; as Means of Moral Discipline to the Christian.

Millennarianism Unscriptural; or a glance at some of the consequences of that theory.

Memoir of Mrs. Louisa A. Lowrie, of the Northern Indian Mission. With Introductory Notices by the Rev. E. P. Swift, the Rev. W. H. Pearce, and the Rev. Dr. Reed.

The Management of Bees. With a description of the 'Ladies' Safety Hive.' By Samuel Bagster, Jun. With Fifty illustrative Wood Engravings.

A Course of Lectures to Young Men and Others. By Ministers in connexion with the Christian Instruction Society.

Hoaryhead, and the Valleys Below; or Truth through Fiction. By Jacob Abbott.

An Essay on Apostolical Succession: being a Defence of a genuine Protestant Ministry, against the exclusive and intolerant schemes of Papists and High Churchmen; and supplying a general antidote to Popery. By Thomas Powell, Wesleyan Minister.

State Trials; Specimen of a New Edition. By Nicholas Thirning Moir, Esq. 8vo.

New Zealand; being a Narrative of Travels and Adventures, during a residence in that country between the years 1831 and 1837. By J. S. Polack, Esq., Member of the Colonial Society of London. 2 vols. 8vo.

Strictures on a Life of William Wilberforce, by the Rev. W. Wilberforce and the Rev. S. Wilberforce. By Thomas Clarkson, M.A. With a Correspondence between Lord Brougham and Mr. Clarkson: also a Supplement, containing Remarks on the Edinburgh Review of Mr. Wilberforce's Life, &c. 8vo.

Refutation of the Mis-statements and Calumnies contained in Mr. Lockhart's Life of Sir Walter Scott, respecting the Messrs. Ballantyne. By the Trustees and Son of the late Mr. James Ballantyne.

The Call upon the Church; considered in Two Essays. By W. Roberts, Esq., M.A., and the Rev. W. Nicholson, M.A. To which the Prize of Two Hundred Guineas was awarded by the Christian Influence Society.

The Life of St. Chrysostom. Translated from the German of Dr. Neander, by the Rev. J. C. Stapleton, M.A. F.L.S. Vol. I. 8vo.

Letters from Ireland, 1837. By Charlotte Elizabeth.

Essays on the Church. By a Layman. A new Edition, with some observations on existing circumstances and dangers.

Demonstration of the Truth of the Christian Religion. By Alexander Keith, D.D., Author of 'The Evidences of Prophecy,' &c.

The Evidences of Divine Revelation. By Daniel Dewar, D.D., Principal of Marischal College and University, Aberdeen.

A Vindication of the Book of Genesis, addressed to the Rev. William Buckland, D.D. By the Rev. Fowler De Johnson.

Lives of the most Eminent Literary and Scientific Men of France. Vol. I. (Lardner's Cyclopaedia, Vol. CV.)

Journal of an Expedition from Singapore to Japan, with a Visit to Loo-Choo; descriptive of these Islands and their inhabitants, &c. By P. Parker, M.D. Revised by the Rev. Andrew Reed, D.D.

Condensed Discourses, or Pulpit Helps; designed chiefly for those who are entering on the sacred office. By a Minister.

The Life of Hannah More: with Notices of her Sisters. By Henry Thompson, M.A., Curate of Wrington, Somerset.

THE
ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR OCTOBER, 1838.

Art. I. *Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History.* Translated by the Rev.
C. F. CRUSE, Pennsylvania. Reprinted by Bagster. London :
1838. 8vo.

WE cannot too loudly protest against the artifice concealed under the expression, 'the faith of the apostolic church;' by help of which it is virtually inculcated that whatever the church believed in the fourth century, was also believed in the first, because of the title 'apostolic.' We think it is one of the most grievous signs of want of candour in the new Oxford party, that they pertinaciously insist on calling the Fathers of the third and fourth centuries *witnesses* to facts which they never saw, as though they could 'depose' and give 'testimony,' concerning apostolic days. That little or no deviation of faith and opinion took place in three centuries, is possible; but certainly needs *proof*; yet these divines uniformly decline the attempt to prove it. Instead of doing this, they assert or take it for granted, so often, in so many forms, and with a tone of such assurance, as to lead the ignorant to suppose it is undenied and undeniable. They are for putting out one of the 'eyes of history,' as chronology has been called, by mixing the first four centuries together, and assuredly turn the whole study into an *ignis fatuus*.

Various considerations are of importance for enabling us to understand the causes of change in the ancient church. Her situation had numerous peculiarities to which there has been no parallel in after times; and before we make any remarks in detail on the translation of 'Eusebius's History,' which we are undertaking to review, it may be useful to dwell on the principal of these.

1. From the very necessity of the case, the earliest testimony borne to the facts and doctrines of Christianity, was *oral*. The

mass of mankind, out of whom, to serve the purposes of Divine Providence, the church was to be taken, could be addressed only by the living voice, and could not have appreciated mere written documents. Presently, indeed, the apostles committed to writing either narratives of the Lord's life, or letters to remind and instruct the churches, as the case demanded. Yet there was still need of oral testimony, to assure simple and unlettered men of the genuineness of the apostolic writings, and the amount of authority to be attached to such as were said to be the work of companions of the apostles. The art of criticism was but little known at all; the vulgar were unable to trust the decisions of the learned formed upon mere internal evidence: and it was evidently conformable to the genius of Christianity to rest on the common sense of the many, rather than on the acuteness of the few. In the first instance, therefore, the great point aimed at, was, to retain a *traditional testimony* both to the books that were to be considered apostolic, and to the primitive doctrines, which involved a sound interpretation of all that was obscure in the books. The effect, however, in the course of generations, was to introduce an inordinate reliance on the mere traditions of the elders, and to subject the understanding of the saints to the dictum of the bishop. Just as though the church had still been in her infancy, and as though the spirit had not yet been given, judgment was merged in mere memory, and the exercise of the senses in discerning good and evil was to a great extent superseded and repressed. Yet this had not been the state of things, even under the apostolic teaching, who appealed to the reason and to the conscience, to the spiritual understanding and good sense of their hearers, and with whom the use of a purely dogmatic style was comparatively rare and of limited application.

2. Out of these circumstances instantly rose in all the churches the ambition of tracing their origin to some apostle. A church which could not allege such parentage, seemed to shine as it were with borrowed light, and to be able to give no independent testimony to apostolic doctrine. The importance of being able to trace *the succession of their bishops* up to him who was first appointed immediately by Paul, or Peter, or John, may have been overrated, yet was undoubtedly real: and churches founded by Jewish teachers might find room for their willing credulity, in the similarity of their founder's name to that of some apostle. A Gentile who heard that his church was first formed by the preaching of Judas, or James, or Simon, or John, or Matthew, or Thomas, would instantly imagine that these were the apostles.*

* Eusebius (vii. 25), represents Dionysius of Alexandria, saying: 'I am of opinion there were many of the same name with John the apostle, who for their love and admiration and emulation of him, and their desire at the

called; being little aware how common the names were among the Jews. That such mistakes were sometimes made, we have full proof; and there is ground for suspecting that they were not infrequent. The Spanish churches to this day devoutly believe, that their founder was James the Just, the first bishop of Jerusalem (and represent him also as fighting with them on horseback against the Moors); of which story, so widely spread and tenaciously held, a possible solution is, that a person named James (Jacob) really had an important share in the evangelizing of Spain. A Latin inscription on an island in the river Tiber, *MONI SANCO, DEO FIDIO*, erected to a Sabine deity, was mistaken by Justin Martyr (a Greek, little versed in Roman antiquities) for a proof that Simon Magus had come to Rome to play off his old tricks of sorcery, and lay claim to divine honours, in opposition to Christ; and this simple notion was handed down afterwards as indisputable fact, by Irenæus, Tertullian, Eusebius, and others. The same Eusebius relates (i. 13), that 'Thomas, one of the twelve apostles, by a divine impulse, sent Thaddæus, *who has also one of the seventy disciples*, to Edessa, as a herald and evangelist of the doctrines of Christ.' But in the same chapter he gives another version of the same story, translated by him literally from the original Syriac, preserved in the public records of the city of Edessa, as follows. 'After the ascension of Jesus, Judas, *who is also called Thomas*, sent Thaddæus, ** the apostle, one of the seventy*; &c. &c.' Whatever explanation be adopted, the passage shows at least what strange errors may have been founded on the earliest 'public records' concerning the first founders of churches. A like difficulty arose out of the two Johns at Ephesus; John the apostle; and John the elder; who are clearly distinguished by Papias (Eusebius iii. 39), and of whom the latter is believed by many, to have been the author of the Apocalypse, and to be intended by the superscription 'John the theologian.' The Christian world at large, however, no sooner heard of an inspired writing by John, than they naturally assumed it to be by the apostle John. Just so, Irenæus states, that Papias was a hearer of John the apostle; whereas Eusebius shows by Papias' own words, that this was a mistake; and that Papias did not lay claim to personal acquaintance with any of the apostles; but had really heard John the presbyter. Again, because, Peter speaks in his first epistle concerning 'his son Marcus,' it was instantly imagined that this

same time, like him, to be beloved of the Lord, adopted the same epithet; *it as we find the name of Paul and of Peter to be adopted by many among the faithful.* The custom of taking a new name at baptism was probably prevalent with apostolic preaching; so that even Gentiles in the earliest times may have borne apostolic names.

In ii. 24, Eusebius speaks of the '*apostle and evangelist Mark.*'

Marcus was the nephew of Barnabas; and author of the second gospel: and on this basis appears to have been founded the improbable idea, that that gospel was* superintended by the apostle Peter. We call it improbable; because Peter was the apostle of the circumcision; but Mark's gospel was written in Greek, and, as all allow, for the Gentiles. As regards the mention by Peter of his son Marcus, we have good ground to believe that he meant his real son by nature; for the verse should probably be explained: 'My wife at Babylon, and our son Marcus, send greeting.' We know from Paul's first epistle to the Corinthians, that Peter did take his wife about with him; and in this passage, we find his wife and son settled at Babylon, then still a city of great importance. Here and in the country around, there dwelt a vast multitude of Jews, among whom it is most probable that Peter's mission lay, in the whole latter period of his life. He calls his wife *συνεκλητή*, as 'heir together with him of the grace of life,' instead of simply *σύννομος*, his 'partner.'

But this leads us to mention (although it is rather a digression), the too easily received tradition of Peter's preaching at Corinth and at Rome, and his death by crucifixion in the latter city. This tale, as so many others, grew with time. First, Clement of Rome, writing with much detail about Paul's labours, says only summarily concerning Peter, that he 'bore not one of two, but 'many labours, so having given his testimony;' (*οὕτω μαρτυρήσας*) words which admitted of being translated at least in the next generation, that Peter *so suffered martyrdom*: but concerning the place or mode, he says nothing. With Peter's labours in Greece or Rome, Ignatius appears to have been wholly unacquainted: but in his epistle to the Romans, he uses words which might be misinterpreted to allude to them. 'I do not,' says he, 'command' (*διατάσσομαι*) you, as though I were a Peter or a Paul: they 'were apostles, but I am the least of all men:' which words Whiston has actually rendered: 'I do not *make constitutions* for you, as Peter and Paul *have done*:' to favor the genuineness of the (so called) apostolic constitutions. A careless reader might honestly infer that Paul and Peter had been bishops of Rome. But Dionysius of Corinth, in the latter half of the second century, plainly asserts in Eusebius (ii. 25), that Paul and Peter were *joint founders* of the churches at Corinth and at Rome, and that after teaching in Italy, in like manner and *together*, they

* In Euseb. iii. 39, Papias, from whom the tradition primitively came, says, that John, the presbyter, used to say, that Mark was Peter's *interpreter*, and wrote under Peter's *instruction*. Yet Peter could himself write Greek sufficiently well. Possibly the foundation of the story is, that Peter used his son as his amanuensis on various occasions.

† *Ὁμολως ὁμῶς διδάξαντες*—We hope that it is not from a wish to cover this difficulty, that our translator has omitted the emphatic word *ὁμῶς*. 'Having in like manner taught in Italy,' is his version, 'they suffered martyrdom about the same time.'—p. 66.

suffered martyrdom at the same period. Yet this we know to be positively untrue. Peter may have taught at Corinth and at Rome; but certainly not until the churches were founded in both places; while it is improbable that Paul could at all have preached in Italy *with Peter*, whose sphere of working was so remote. Moreover if Peter had ever preached in Italy and in Rome, it seems almost inconceivable, that no more should be stated of the details than one which is false, that 'he and Paul *together founded*' the church there. Meanwhile, it is observed, that the false notion of Peter's assisting Paul in founding the church of Corinth might easily arise out of a misapprehension of passages in the first epistle to the Corinthians: as, 'some of you say, I am of Paul; and I of Apollos; and I of *Cephas*.' We may add, that it is stated in Ignatius's epistles to the Magnesians, that 'in Antioch the disciples were first called Christians, *while Paul and Peter were founding the church there*;' though we must judge from the narrative of Luke,* that Peter had nothing to do with it: also, as the Church of Rome was certainly founded by Jewish Christians, before the arrival of Paul, and probably before there was any preaching to the uncircumcision; the error might be the more easily propagated, that the church was founded by the apostle of the circumcision.

But this is not the whole legend. Simon Magus having been transported to Rome† by Justin Martyr's mistake, of course, it was requisite to carry thither to oppose him the same apostle as had rebuked his impiety at Samaria. But the fiction is here detected by the time assigned; viz., the reign of the emperor Claudius; at which time it is clear that Peter did not visit Rome. The excessive stupidity of the story, and want of detail, in Eusebius, makes us doubt whether the title Legend is not too dignified for it.

'Such was the wickedness of which that malignant power, the enemy of all good, and the waylayer of human salvation, constituted Simon the father and author at this time, as if with a view to make him a great and powerful antagonist to the divine purposes of our Saviour and his apostles. Nevertheless, that divine and celestial grace which co-operates with its servants, by their appearance and presence soon extinguished the flame that had been kindled by the wicked one, humbling and casting down through them, 'every height that elevated itself against the knowledge of God.' Wherefore, neither the

* Eusebius likewise (iii. 36) deduces the bishops of Antioch from Peter.

† On the words in Acts viii. 10, 'This man is the great power of God,' was founded the story, transmitted by Origen, that after Simon had been rebuked by Peter, he became a blasphemous apostate, assuming to himself the title, *the supreme power of God*.

conspiracy of Simon, nor that of any other one then existing, was able to effect any thing against those apostolic times. For the declaration of the truth prevailed and overpowered all, and the divine word itself, now shining from heaven upon men, and flourishing upon earth, and dwelling with his apostles, prevailed and overpowered every opposition. Immediately the aforesaid impostor, being smitten as to his mental eye by a divine and supernatural brilliancy, as when on a former occasion in Judea he was convicted of his wickedness by the apostle Peter, undertook a great journey from the east across the sea, and fled to the west, thinking that this was the only way for him to live according to his mind. Entering the city of Rome, by the co-operation of that malignant spirit which had fixed its seat there, his attempts were soon so far successful, as to be honoured as a god, with the erection of a statue by the inhabitants of that city. This, however, did not continue long; for immediately under the reign of Claudius, by the benign and gracious providence of God, Peter, that powerful and great apostle, who by his courage took the lead of all the rest, was conducted to Rome against this pest of mankind. He, like a noble commander of God, fortified with divine armour, bore the precious merchandise of the revealed light from the east to those in the west, announcing the light itself and salutary doctrine of the soul, the proclamation of the kingdom of God.—pp. 49, 50.

Finally, from the time of the Roman presbyter Caius, who was 'born when Zephyrinus* was bishop of Rome,' they used to show the tombs of Peter and Paul at Rome; and in the next century it was taught that Peter was crucified with his head downward. The first traces of this are found in Origen, as quoted by Eusebius, iii. 1. Origen manifestly had no sources of information beyond what we have; for when recording the labors of the various apostles, he barely states, (besides his death at Rome), that 'Peter preached through Pontus, Galatia, Bithynia, Cappadocia, and Asia, to the Jews scattered abroad;' which is manifestly drawn from Peter's first epistle, although an unjustifiable inference.

If these particulars are tedious, they are far from unimportant, as showing how uncertain are the traditions concerning even the chief of the twelve apostles, and how easy was the growth of any notion which exalted the dignity of the churches of Greece and Rome. It was, however, the reverence paid to the city churches, as apostolically founded, and the comparative ignorance of the country churches (which were generally colonies from the former); that began the principle of having one church dominant over another, and the city bishop a diocesan over the country bishops, who held a place proportionate to that of an English rector. This relationship was primitively one of good will and mutual benefit; but the precedent gradually hardened itself into a rigid and immove-

* The common tables make Zephyrinus die, A. D. 215.

able shape, and the meetings of the town and country bishops set the pattern which was soon copied on a larger scale.

3. Very prominent in the history of the three first centuries after the death of Christ, is the fact; that it was the period of progress from variety towards uniformity, from small and independent republics towards aristocracy and monarchy on a large scale. This is a state of things quite analogous with the growth of kingdoms in modern Europe. The successive amalgamations of small powers gradually induced despotic monarchy, where a state bordering on equality had before existed. At the same time various constitutional maxims grew up, which by the ingenuity of lawyers and by the craft of statesmen, were wrought into a fixed system, forming the basis of internal jurisprudence. Just such was the change which the Christian church underwent; the liberty of the several communities being subjected to the provincial synods, and ultimately to Archbishops and Patriarchs, if not to a Pope or Emperor. The principles of discipline were gradually formed upon precedents of past time, into a systematic code, of which the 'apostolical canons' (so called) is a very ancient digest. This singular book is considered to have attained an adult state early in the third century. It doubtless tended yet more and more to give compactness and uniformity of organization to the whole Christian body, and prepared the church to assume the position of *a kingdom of this world*.

But the progress towards outward unity was stopped by the same cause which so often arrests the growth of other kingdoms,—diversity of language. The Roman empire recognised within itself four different languages, as the vehicles of civilized reason and medium of public business; the Latin, the Greek, the Syrian, and the Egyptian tongues: and, accordingly, it proved impossible to form the churches into less than four different governments. Rome, Constantinople, Antioch, and Alexandria, were the respective seats of the four patriarchs who at length appear like independent monarchs. The Armenian church, beyond the boundaries of the Roman power, equally found its limits in the language of its people. Of other more eastern churches we have little historical knowledge; but every thing tends to persuade us that in those ages nothing but diversity of language or insuperable obstacles to physical communication, prevented the mass of professors from coalescing under a single ecclesiastical government. More especially after the introduction of written liturgies; productions which more than any thing else give a show of unity intelligible to the most unspiritual, and gratifying to those who dread the development of individual minds. By the use of them, the hesitation of the ignorant, the anxieties of the conscientious, the fastidiousness of the educated, the indolence of the careless and formal, find themselves most happily relieved; so that it is

not wonderful that the churches became more and more wedded to forms of this nature, the greater among them was the mass of zeal without knowledge, of literary spirit without piety, and of piety with a renunciation of private judgment. This, we conceive, is undeniable fact; but in so saying, we do not mean to prejudge the question whether liturgies used without compulsion or exclusion of unpremeditated prayer, have not a legitimate and real advantage.

We may again compare this order of progress, to the course of change by which numerous dialects are moulded into one or a few languages, as civilization advances. Many primitive idioms are hereby lost; much that was once genuine and unimpeachable comes to be considered vulgar, accidental deviations that were at first justly regarded as anomalous and wrong, establish themselves as pure and elegant phraseology. The great cities deviate most of all from the original tongue. And this process is carried on so silently and gradually, that no one is aware of the changes that are operating, except by comparing the speech of the living with the works of the dead. Just so was it with the early Christian church. Doubtless Origen and Dionysius could use the works of the dead as we use them, and in proportion as their minds were free from bias might hereby ascertain, whether the church in their day agreed with the apostolic doctrine; but then their witness would be the witness of critics, not that of contemporaries, and would stand on the same footing as that of Michaelis or Paley. Such witness of theirs is liable to be re-judged by us; nor are they to be treated with any peculiar respect on the ground of their having lived 1600 years ago, except when this implies a better knowledge of languages than we can attain, or access to important documents which we have lost.

4. Another peculiarity of the early ages may here be noticed, although it would require a volume to develop the character and effects of it:—the amalgamation of Pagan notions with the Christian religion. Both the superstitions of the vulgar, and the speculations of philosophers, gradually won a place for themselves in the received ecclesiastical system. In the first two centuries, philosophy played a subordinate part in the catholic church, and rather frightened than allured sober Christians by the monstrous conceptions introduced by the Gnostics, Valentinians, and numerous other heretics from the silly legends of the East. The only Christian philosopher of that age who attained great celebrity, is Justin the martyr; and as an apologist to the emperor in behalf of the Christians, and an opponent of the extravagance of heretics, he had great influence in recommending to his brethren his own philosophical views. But in the next century, the famous Alexandrian school produced Pantænus, Clement, and Origen, by

whom the conceptions and phraseology of the stoics and later platonists were triumphantly combined with Christian theology, not to be separated until the latest times; if even yet. Thus was Christianity set as it were in a foreign type; much that the Scriptures left indefinite, was now defined; principles of reasoning and interpretation were established, often greatly at variance with sober wisdom, and (what these philosophers would not have done) speculative doubt on such matters was branded as irreligious by the multitude who submitted.

The last new element received into the doctrinal system came from the school of Augustine; but though it has largely affected the Reformed churches, it never pervaded the whole of the ancient church. Augustine was a man of deep devotion, and his writings probably have done much service to experimental religion. In his school Luther was trained, having been an Augustine friar. Calvin upheld the same doctrines, but carried them yet farther. In the Romish church, its most reformed school, that of the Jansenists, was modelled wholly upon the doctrines of Augustine. Yet it appears to be beyond dispute, that several of his characteristic doctrines were importations from Manicheism, of which sect he had been a zealous follower before his conversion.

5. We apprehend that the church was not corrupted so much by any of the heresies which caused so deep alarm, as by the very reaction which took place from the dread of them. The Gnostic or Docetic theory seemed to their contemporaries like a monster ready to devour the simple sheep of Christ; but whatever mischief these and other wild systems may have done, was probably both partial and transitory. But the main remedy, indeed the great panacea, for all such evils, was that which Ignatius so often inculcates: *cleave to your bishop*. Hold no eucharist valid, save that consecrated by the bishop. Respect no ordination, but that of the bishop. Believe in no baptism for the remission of sins, but that which is sanctioned by the bishop. Admit no doctrines, but those approved by the bishop. Acknowledge no Scriptures as canonical, but what are received by your bishop. These, or such as these, were the perpetual exhortations of good, but misjudging men, who saw the difficulty which beset ignorant Christians from heretical teachers, but had not learned as we have, *by experience*, the opposite evil of leaning on a human authority, and believing him for his office, sake. The former danger was like an acute distemper, a fever or scorpion's sting; the latter brought on atrophy or lethargy, in a failure of all the powers of life. The grand apostacy into which the whole of Christendom fell, until heathen superstition had so infected the mass, that morals were both in practice and theory as bad, as the creed was absurd; the apostacy in which were taught

'doctrines of demons, by the hypocrisy of liars who had their 'own conscience seared;' was not brought about by believing the monstrous fables of heretics without the church, but by listening too uninquiringly to what was taught within the church; by renouncing private judgment, and by trusting to official decisions; in one word, by overvaluing the effect of the outward ceremonies of ordination, baptism, and the Lord's Supper. So rapid had been the progress of superstition, that already in the third century, these three ceremonies had established for themselves a belief in their necessary efficacy, such as inevitably drew in afterwards the mass of false religion which overspread the church until the reformers disclaimed this fundamental error. Justification by faith without the ceremonies of any church, is the sole antagonist of popish despotism, as, justification by faith without the works of the Mosaic law, was of Judaical sectarianism. And those who would clear off what they call the rubbish of Romanism, while they diligently inculcate the efficacy of Romish ordination, are lopping the twigs while they water the root.

6. But the great success which attended the efforts at consolidating the Christian church within the Roman empire into an organized body under the central power of episcopal synods; joined to the wealth which it began to manifest, and the great political importance which it assumed; gave rise to new phenomena of its history, which still fill us with surprise. They had become the object of deliberate and intense hatred to their heathen neighbours; a hatred almost without parallel, and perfectly amazing. We know that it is usual to pass this over as a thing of course, by representing it as the 'natural hatred of the human heart to Christ,' and stigmatising every persecutor of the church as actuated by simple 'enmity to God.' But, we apprehend, the facts will not allow of this ready solution. Neither Gallio, nor Felix, nor Festus, nor any other Roman officer, showed such a temper towards Paul and his doctrine; yet when the gospel was pure in its fountain-head, it ought most to have drawn out the enmity of the natural heart. When the church was purest, no fixed hatred of the nation against it existed, such as could have allowed a persecution like that of Diocletian; and the public authorities almost uniformly defended the Christians, as peaceable and good citizens. The first exception was the furious Nero; who seeking to get rid of the odium brought on himself by his atrocious burning of Rome, laid the crime on the Christians, as a set of men whose hatred of the religion of their ancestors might seem to accredit the charge of consuming the temples of the gods, and the abodes hallowed by ancient ceremonies. His horrible cruelties we have certainly no thought of defending,

when we say, that not even these were dictated by any special 'enmity to Christ,' of whom he probably knew no more than of Buddha or Con-foo-tze. The sovereigns who* afterwards assailed the church are generally those whom, in a civil history, we should comparatively reckon among the 'good' emperors. Such were Trajan, Marcus Aurelius, Septimius Severus, Decius, Valerian, Aurelian, and Diocletian; while the profligate Commodus, the tyrannical Caracalla, and the pusillanimous Gallienus, stopped the persecutions which their fathers had instituted. This is sagaciously accounted for by Joseph Milner, as though 'mere moral men' have a greater hatred of 'the gospel' than utter profligates. Forsooth, Trajan or Caracalla knew no more about 'the gospel' than does the emperor of China! By Trajan it is most manifest that Christians were persecuted for the same reason as free-masons by the Spanish Inquisition; not because their doctrines are known and disapproved, but because they are unknown and suspected: because they are a secret society, under a complex internal organization, bound by unknown oaths to obey a foreign and unconstitutional authority. We apprehend that the same evil principle actuated Trajan, as afterwards our own queen Elizabeth, or any other modern sovereign, who from policy, not from bigotry, has used severity to repress liberty of conscience; namely, the love of power; the fear of their prerogative being lessened, if men dare to think for themselves; the habit of regarding mankind as made to subject their minds and bodies alike to the will of the prince. This despotic temper is utterly bad; and when it leads to cruelties, far be it from us to plead in its defence. But we repeat, it is a mistake, and it tends to obscure the whole history, to imagine that such monarchs are, like 'mere moral men,' aiming their attack at 'the doctrines of grace;' or that Trajan was in any other sense the enemy of Christ than was Tiberius Cæsar. Each hated *liberty*; each used tyrannical violence to restrain it; but the former had far more excuse; for the organizing of a secret society draws natural suspicion. If the Christians had not only laboured to defend their *doctrines* as true (while whether they were true or false, politic despots cared not a straw), but had so conducted their communities as to take away all ground of suspicion on the part of the government; they might possibly have not only avoided public persecution, but, after the fright of novelty was past, have obtained a fair measure of good will from their heathen neighbours whom they failed to convert. Unhappily,

* Domitian's persecution was one of cowardice. It had been frequent with the emperors to banish from Italy the astrologers, and sometimes the Jews. Domitian similarly banished Christians, who were taxed with 'atheism and Jewish manners.' For this alleged crime he put to death his kinsman Flavius Clemens, probably dreading magical arts.

they did the very opposite. They even accumulated wealth and estates for their societies, against the law of the land ; which did not allow to unrecognised corporations this privilege : so that they became a mark to the cupidity of every informer, and gave to the sovereign a legal ground of attack. The organization, also, of the Christian body became more and more obviously formidable to the state; and that it was not causelessly dreaded by the sagacious monarchs who persecuted them, the facts of the history demonstrate. Having marshalled themselves as if to invite battle, they fell, unresistingly and enthusiastically, by the cruelty of their adversaries, until a king arose who was too humane to exterminate so large a fraction of his peaceable subjects, and politic enough to see, that by putting himself at the head of the Christians he should make the empire of Rome his own. It was certainly in this lower sense that 'the cross of Christ,' (seen, if so it must be, in vision,) carried Constantine on the wings of victory from Britain to Syria.

But it is important to remark, not solely on the *cause* of the persecutions, but likewise on their *effects*. Among these it is usual to reckon as the most prominent, that they cleared the church of false professors,* and raised the tone of Christian piety. Indeed, when a persecution was brought on by the improper ostentation of wealth on the part of the ecclesiastics, (to which Cyprian ascribes the persecution under Decius,) the spoliation which ensued was perhaps of use in reducing the prelates of large cities to a more apostolic lowliness, and counteracted the abuses ever connected with ample religious endowments. But after these storms had past, the 'lapsed' who had sacrificed to idols or otherwise compromised their loyalty to Christ, again sued for admission into the church; and, though not without humiliating penances, the majority would of course be re-admitted: nor do we know what facts warrant us in supposing, that four or five years after such a visitation, the church was freer from half-hearted disciples than before. Moreover, the violences inflicted on persons, are, we believe, (taking human nature in the mass,) alike a curse to him who inflicts and to him who suffers; just as 'the quality of mercy' blesses him who gives and him who takes. That a large increase of fanaticism on the whole took place in the church, appears to us certain, and that she came forth out of the fire of Dioclesian's persecution more worldly than ever, more ready to believe that the kingdom of Christ consisted in the saints being allowed to grasp, and appropriate to themselves exclusively, the dignities and emoluments of this world. We must

* 'No doubt,' says Milner of the Decian persecution, 'the effects were salutary to the church.' Had he known facts in illustration, he would probably have produced them.

not indeed ascribe all the ecclesiastical iniquities in the reigns of Constantine and his sons, to the persecution that preceded; it was sudden prosperity after dreadful depression, wealth after poverty, victory and power after tortures and death, which so fatally influenced the spirit of Christians. But no one can read the tales of the martyrs of the third century, without being struck forcibly by the fact, that a painfully inordinate premium was given by the persecutions to mere bodily fortitude. Perhaps the question is too long to be here discussed. We should be ashamed to seem for a moment to palliate the deliberate cowardice, which tells the opportune lie to avoid suffering, with the simultaneous intention of recanting a second time when the danger is past. But when we consider how unfit for the kingdom of God, which is 'righteousness, peace, and spiritual joy,' a noisy fanatical martyr may be; (indeed Moors and Hindoos, Parsees and Assassins, have had martyrs of their own to compete with ours;) and how widely different a spirit from that of mere fortitude appears to be the most necessary qualification for the company of the blessed: we feel it hard to interpret our Saviour's threat concerning those who are '*ashamed* of him before men' in so stern a sense, as to imply that he will disown all those whose physical courage has failed in a crisis, at which no wise man will dare to say how he himself would be enabled to act. Certain it is, that wild enthusiasm at these times of trial passed unrebuked, or rather was admired, by the whole Christian body. They were worked up into a state of false feeling in which the judgment cannot tranquilly decide between good and evil: all the powers of the mind and soul were adequately employed in upholding the single unflinching determination to resist inventive cruelty: no energy could be spared for other virtues: to look for *wisdom* from men so tried might seem highly unreasonable. It need hardly be added, that Christian loyalty was eked out by party spirit, by a sense of shame, and all the inferior motives so difficult to dispense with. We read in Eusebius (vi. 44) a story of Dionysius concerning one Serapion, 'an aged believer, who had passed a long 'life irreproachably,' but having sacrificed in the Decian persecution, no Christian would relieve his beggary, and he died (as would appear) of starvation. Then as by the eminent fame which accompanied martyrdom the spirit of multitudes was sustained, so those who for confessing Christ had been mutilated, or otherwise tormented short of death, thought themselves justified in assuming airs of great superiority; and their claims were too generally recognized. A superstitious veneration for the bones and relics of martyrs, and a belief in the virtue of their intercession, naturally connected itself with such times; and the widest foundations of error were laid upon their tombs.

7. But for an entire understanding of the events, it is requisite

farther to apprehend the change which had passed in two centuries and a half over the rulers of the Roman world. When Paul preached for the first time the glad news of eternal life to Greece and Italy, the proconsuls and tribunes under whose authority he fell, were generally men of cultivated mind, trained in the old Roman policy of tolerating all superstitions not inhuman or dangerous to civil society; men utterly averse to all bigotry, esteeming every religion alike untrue, but alike useful to the state. Even under the maddest reigns of that century, the same general policy prevailed through the empire at large; and when persecution arose under Trajan, in the opening of the next century from motives of policy, it was limited by policy. To terrify and to subdue was sternly aimed at; but no sanguinary detestation of persons, no gratuitous cruelty, found place in the imperial counsels. When, however, the old nobility of Rome were nearly exterminated; when foreigners had long swayed the imperial sceptre; when a peasant, an Arab, a slave, had obtained this dignity by mere military power, and the Roman senate had lost even the appearance of authority; all the old maxims of empire were overturned; illiterate brutality domineered, educated policy was unknown; and the last terrific persecution was permitted by Diocletian, a man who had been once a slave;—stimulated by Maximian and especially Galerius, unlettered, bigoted, savage peasants. Of the four emperors then in power, Constantius alone was a man of rank, education, and humanity; and accordingly he, though a pagan, forbade persecution of the Christians within his provinces. That Valerian and Decius were persecutors, is only explicable by the circumstance that they were, in a perverse way, Reformers; and, while seeking with patrician enthusiasm to bring back old Roman manners, they unhappily thought the old Roman religion was equally to be enforced on a corrupted age.

Such was the general nature of the times, the history of which Eusebius undertook to record. They were times which deserved the ablest pen, could any one have united learning and judgment, impartiality and zeal, devotion and genius. But we think ourselves happy in getting any record of facts, be they ever so tame and dry, ever so mingled with false judgment, bad taste and credulity; for nothing else can be expected. The new translation of Eusebius, which stands at the head of this article, is certainly a seasonable publication: but we think it a defect in every such production, not to prefix some account of the author, considering that it is not for scholars that the translation is intended.

There were two eminent bishops named Eusebius in the reign of Constantine the Great; the bishop of Nicomedia, and the bishop of Cæsarea; and both were in high favour with the emperor. The former held with the Arian party, and by his

abilities and character, as also perhaps his proximity to the new metropolis, was the most influential man at court of all the bishops of that day. The latter Eusebius was best known among the Christians by his history of the martyr Pamphilus, his very intimate friend and companion in study; whence he was honorably named for discrimination *Εὐσέβιος ὁ Παμφίλου*, 'Pamphilus's Eusebius;' not 'Eusebius Pamphilus,' as our translator (following a common error) gives it in his title-page, and in p. 332; (where, however, he shows that he understands it himself aright). This Eusebius also was suspected as a supporter of the Arians, although he at last signed the Nicene Creed: but his enemies have in every age charged him with dissimulation, as being an Arian at heart. This circumstance is peculiarly needful for the translator to clear up; for there is no imputation on a historian so unpleasant as want of truth.

But in fact, the most inveterate assailants of the bishop of Cesaræa, as Jerom among the ancients and cardinal Baronius of the moderns, have not ventured to impute to his history any taint drawn from his supposed want of orthodoxy. Their complaints have been,—that he did not choose to carry down his history so far as to include the Arian controversy; showing that he was afraid to meddle with the subject: that he speaks of Arius drily, and without vituperation; and alludes to the whole quarrel as an affair greatly to be deplored;—that in his life of Constantine, he represents that emperor as dealing out impartial reproof to both the contending parties, and shows his opinion, that both were wrong; and that some three or four passages, and points of phraseology, are suspicious, as indicating his adherence to Arian doctrine:—worst of all, that in his sermons against Sabellius, he most clearly declares his disapproval of *ultra scriptural tests*. His learned editor Valesius, while defending his general orthodoxy, cites this passage to record his entire disapprobation:

'While therefore, in matters which admit of investigation, it is idleness to shrink from investigating; yet, where investigation is needless, it is rash. What subjects then ought to be investigated? those which we find to be laid down in the Scriptures. But what we do not find in the Scriptures, it is better not to investigate.* For if it were proper that they should be known to us, certainly the Holy Spirit would have inserted them in the Scriptures. Let us not run such hazards, but let us speak safely; if however any thing is *written* on the point, let it not be blotted out. Confine yourself to Scripture language, and the debate will be soon terminated.'

Valesius considers it to be obvious, that such passages were directed against the non-scriptural term *ὁμοούσιον* (co-essential or consubstantial) inserted in the Nicene Creed; which was the grand topic of contention between the Arians and Catholics. And

if these were all along the sentiments of Eusebius, he must obviously have disapproved of the enforcement of the Creed, even while he agreed personally to its doctrine. That this was really the case, we have far stronger proof in his conduct; and beyond doubt it was this, not his writings, which so incensed the Catholics against him. Of his writings they are evidently very proud,—even the contumelious Jerom; but his manifest sympathy and cordiality with the dreaded and hated party, excited their indignation. He continued all along the friend of the bishop of Nicomedia; he was trusted by the court when the Arians were in power; he was one of the commission of bishops for trying Eustathius of Antioch, accused by the Arians of holding Sabellian doctrine and of scandalous morals: and even in the trial of Athanasius himself he officiated as president;—if he has not been confounded with his name's sake of Nicomedia. He is probably to be considered as Athanasius's most formidable adversary. Yet it is wholly groundless to charge him with insincerity in his professed adherence to Nicene doctrine. The uniform tenor of his public teaching, his letters and writings on occasions at which a prudent dissembler would have been silent, and might have been so without reproach, show that he sincerely held the substance of the faith intended to be enforced by the bishops who met at Nicæa. Indeed the rough draft of the creed was from his pen. But he considered the term *ὁμοούσιον*, which the rest inserted, to be of ambiguous import, and on many grounds objectionable, as indeed it had recently been condemned by the synod of Antioch in the trial of Paul of Samosata. The expressions alleged as proving his Arianism, are perfectly frivolous to those who know the uniform freedom of expression used in Ante-Nicene times. They only prove that he did not choose to deviate from antiquity, for the mere sake of manifesting dislike of the Arians: and when the historian Socrates, in defending Eusebius's orthodoxy, thinks an apology needed for his so frequent use of the phrase 'through Christ,' which was specially attacked, we may judge of the liveliness of the suspicion against him.

There is a point, however, on which it is difficult or impossible to defend his sincerity. To the Nicene profession of faith was added an anathema on the Arians, which, as much as the creed itself, we presume, must have been accepted by Eusebius. Whether by any special pleading he satisfied his conscience that the anathema was no part of what he subscribed, or by any subtle interpretation lowered the meaning of the term anathema, we have no means of ascertaining.

Violent odium was excited against him by his consenting to take part in the trial of Athanasius at the council of Tyre. A bishop present ~~on~~ that occasion, declared his suspicion that Eusebius had sacrificed to the gods in Diocletian's persecution; since

he had escaped out of prison uninjured: and this has been zealously caught at as though it were a proved fact, by such as are willing to believe all ill of him. But this certainly could not have been believed by the church of Antioch, whose behaviour towards him is perhaps his highest eulogium. We have mentioned that he was one of the commission, by whom, acting under the emperor's authority, Eustathius was ejected from the episcopal throne of Antioch. The people of this great city were vehemently attached to their bishop; insomuch that popular insurrection was threatened when he was deprived. Yet when the church had regained its calmness, (whether convinced, or not, of the justice of the sentence,) they voluntarily invited Eusebius to transfer his episcopal cares from Cesaræa to Antioch; a most signal proof of their confidence that upright motives alone had actuated him. The bishops wrote to Constantine, to beg him to use his authority with Eusebius in enforcing the translation. He, however, not allured by the ambition of becoming patriarch of that great see,—either preferring the greater literary ease attainable in the see of Cesaræa, or shunning the tumult and political broils of an ecclesiastical metropolis, or fearing to stain his character, if it might be thought that he had helped to depose Eustathius from personal interest,—whether, in short, his motives were prudential or truly spiritual,—most honorably declined their call. That he escaped out of prison in the persecution without bodily harm, is not at all to be wondered at. The soldiers and executioners whose part it was to enforce the inhuman orders of the government, were not always so brutal as they seemed to be; and those who most desired to spare the unhappy sufferers, often put on the guise of violence to delude their superior. Some were hurried past the altar, or even furiously cast out on the ground, and the soldiers cried out that they had sacrificed. Some had their mouths stopped, lest they should contradict; and were thus pushed out among the crowd. Stripes and other rough usage sometimes were freely bestowed, in hope hereby to save the need of more dreadful torture. These things prove, that the cases must have been very numerous, where a meek and quietly behaved Christian, who did nothing to exasperate the officers, might obtain favorable treatment. As for Eusebius, his accuser did not pretend that he was brought to the altar at all; but merely that he was committed to prison: which makes the imputation on him appear to be actually malicious.

But on his moral and spiritual character we have little to say that is more than negative. He was a decent, prudent, respectable man, a lover of peace and quiet, given to literary pursuits; but in no respect likely to originate any thing grand or generous, distinguished by any of the higher qualities of the heart; too

smooth a courtier to be an upright moralist, and fatally influential in bringing about an easy union of church and state. Such men as he, soothed the unhappy Constantine with baneful panegyrics; and while power was awfully hardening his heart to the murder of three-fourths of his relations, persuaded him that he was providing for the welfare of the empire and stability of the church. Concerning the death of the accomplished Crispus, eldest son of the emperor, the prudent bishop keeps silent; probably knowing that remorse for this deed was too deeply ranking in the imperial bosom to make flattery endurable: perhaps also, the case was too bad for the bishop to palliate to his own conscience. Yet he did not scruple to write a life of Constantine, which is only one continued panegyric on his character; as, under pretence of omitting political transactions, he selects only just so much of his actions as is reputable. With the same spirit, he tells us that in his history of the church, he omits whatever is discreditable in the conduct of Christians.

That the contemporaries of Eusebius did not causelessly give him credit for great erudition, may appear from the list of his works. He is recorded to have written: Twenty books of Christian Evidences; fifteen more of Evangelical Preparation; five on Θεοφάνεια (divine appearances?); ten on Ecclesiastical History, which are all extant, and are here translated: his Chronicle, or Universal History, of which only fragments were known until an Armenian version of it was found lately at Constantinople: a work on the Discrepancies of the Gospels; ten books on Isaiah; thirty books against the unbeliever Porphyrius; one book of Topics; six of Apology for Origen; three on the life of Pamphilus, which are praised by Jerom as most elegant, and which doubtless were his most popular work among his contemporaries; besides other Accounts of the Martyrs, Commentaries on 150 Psalms; Life of Constantine; a Dictionary of Scripture Geography; and many other things. He writes in a Greek style, which aims at being highly classical, but which is deficient in simplicity, and is the obvious production of rhetorical culture. It was observed of him, by Theodorus, that like others who had learned to write in the Egyptian school, his Greek style was 'somewhat hard.' But in truth, it is not so much the dialect that needs reproof, as the mind of the individual. There is an evident attempt at fine writing, which produces only pomp and verbosity; of which the reader may see a specimen in the passage above extracted, concerning Simon Magus and Peter—although the translation cannot adequately express the rhetorical artifices of the original. The tenth book of his 'History' is in fact a mere display of bombast, with hardly a single historical fact in it. We can only afford room for one specimen:

‘But when malignant envy and the mischievous spirit of iniquity, almost bursting asunder at such a display of grace and benevolence, was now arraying all his deadly forces against us, and like a dog in a fit of madness, first gnashing his teeth at the stones cast at him, and pouring his rage kindled by his assailants, against inanimate weapons, he levelled his savage ferocity at the stones of the oratories and lifeless materials, to produce, as he supposed, the desolation of the churches. Afterwards, however, he issued dreadful hissings and serpent-like voices, sometimes by the threats of impious tyrants, sometimes by the blasphemous ordinances of profane governors; and moreover, he himself, pouring forth death, and infecting the souls captured by him with his pestilential and destructive poison, almost destroyed them with the deadly sacrifices to dead idols, and caused every sort of beast in the shape of man, and every savage, to assault us.’—p. 379.

Such stuff may be found in plenty in the (so called) Wisdom of Solomon,—a production of the Jewish Platonic school of Alexandria; and indeed is hardly a caricature of some passages in the divine Plato himself. The entire absence of all that could be called philosophical in Eusebius’s narrative, makes the rhetorical style yet more offensive. There is no grouping of the events, such as to make it history, and not mere chronicles. Of historical criticism there is not even a pretence. One is provoked by the quiet credulity with which he repeats Justin’s rash statement that the Jews had expunged from the Old Testament apocryphal texts on which Justin lays stress;—likewise concerning the miraculous translation of the Septuagint, from Irenæus, with the more dangerous addition from the same, that the Scriptures were destroyed in the Babylonish captivity, but were *composed anew* by Esdras the priest, acting under divine inspiration. With equal simplicity, he attributes the Decian persecution to the spite which Decius bore to his predecessor Philip the Arab; as the assassin Philip was reported to have confessed his sins on his death-bed, and to have died a Christian.

The Author indeed plainly tells us that he measures the credibility of *anonymous* writers by their orthodoxy. From such a one, (p. 193) he adopts not only a narrative concerning Victor, bishop of Rome, excommunicating persons for denying the divinity of Christ, (which was intrinsically credible enough,) but a miracle wrought for the conversion of one Natalius from this heresy, who was ‘lashed by holy angels all night long,’ until brought to repentance; and who afterwards barely obtained readmission to the communion of the church by supplicating both clergy and laity, and ‘pointing to the marks of the stripes’ which he had received. So in p. 88: ‘That John was still living, it may suffice to prove, by the testimony of two witnesses. These, *as maintaining sound doctrine in the church, may surely be regarded as worthy of all credit*; and such were Irenæus and

'Clement of Alexandria.' He then quotes two direct statements of Irenæus that 'John lived till the time of Trajan;' and supports it by a legend from Clement, which doubtless *may* be true, but has not a feature of probability to recommend it.

Excessive credulity, however, as to miracles is no special reproach to our Author; he is perhaps less guilty of it than most ancient Christian writers. They looked on miracles as matters so naturally to be expected, within the sphere of the Holy Spirit's working, as to believe them on the most ordinary hearsay, and transmit them as undoubted facts. Where this is the state of public feeling, even a mind naturally sceptical is overpowered by the apparent force of testimony; when as it were the voice of a multitude proclaims a fact to be 'notorious,' and it appears like unreasonable incredulity to demand the testimony of eye-witnesses, to whom there is certainly no access for those who are not living on the spot. Most of the miracles transmitted by Eusebius are natural events converted into what is supernatural by slight exaggerations and by the enthusiasm which the critical times called out. The miracles wrought during the martyrdom of saints are always useless for ultimately saving them from their tormentors. The body of young Apphianus is cast into the sea, but (miraculous to tell!) the sea casts it up before the gates of the city, 'as if unable to bear it.' At another time the dogs and birds refused to eat the carcasses of the martyrs. At another time the very columns and walls of the city wept large drops,* as a reproof to the relentless persecutors. Again, bears and leopards refused to attack the person of a young man, who stood unbound and motionless, with his arms extended like a cross, intensely engaged in prayer to God. A wild bull let loose upon five saints who were cast bound on the sand, turned his fury on the attendants outside the rails, who were irritating him with brands of hot iron. Such are the miracles recorded by our Author. In the story of Polycarp's martyrdom, extracted by him from the epistle of the church of Smyrna, he even exerts critical discrimination of a certain kind, so as to drop a part of their narration which was too improbable to be received. He relates (p. 131) the great 'miracle,' that the flames ascended all round the body of the martyr like a wall of fire, and yet he was not consumed; but from the burning (of the wood?) there proceeded an aromatic odour, like the fumes of incense; doubtless indicating how acceptable to God was the sacrifice. The proconsul, learning how tedious was the progress of the fire, ordered the

* The translator annexes an ill-judged defence of this, as a real miracle. It was obviously a natural event, perhaps rather rare in that climate, produced by a sudden chill in the atmosphere. In Pagan stories the same miracle is common.

executioner to plunge his sword into him, on which the blood gushed forth so profusely as to extinguish the flames; and 'the whole multitude were astonished that such a difference should be made between the unbelievers and the elect.' The blow, however, was, mercifully, as fatal to the saint, as if he had been an unbeliever. But, what is most to our purpose, our historian suppresses the statement* of the church of Smyrna, that a *dove* issued out of the wound. Thus he was not so far gone in credulity as to believe *every thing* on the deposition of an orthodox church. But what is to be thought of his judgment, when the extravagance of this part of the story did not suggest to him that the rest also was the exaggeration of heated minds?

His learned editor, Valesius, is very angry with Scaliger for scoffing at the erudition of Eusebius; and complains that he is most unjust in denying him the praise which his greatest enemies conceded him. But it is not his erudition which Scaliger attacks, it is his judgment; and if Jerom highly esteemed his judgment as well as his erudition, this would influence but little one who thinks as meanly of Jerom. Scaliger, in fact, is making a universal attack on the critical acumen of the Christian Fathers. He selects Eusebius as a prime specimen; but he says: *If you know Eusebius alone, you know them all*. Nor can it be denied, as regards historical facts. Only in one matter do they show acuteness, (and this, it will be readily confessed, is one of paramount importance,) viz. in discriminating the genuineness of apostolic writings. In this respect Eusebius is to us a highly valuable author. He not only gives us the canon of the inspired books of Scripture as received in his day, but extracts from all earlier authors their account of the same. And it is of much importance that he always quotes the very words, and not the substance only, of the authors to whom he refers; so that in his work we find preserved numerous passages of authors otherwise wholly lost. Of the writings of the celebrated Dionysius of Alexandria we have nothing, but the extracts in Eusebius; and from them we may judge, that none of the ancient Christian writers equalled him as a critic, except his master, Origen; and Origen was more liable to be biassed by fancies and theories of his own. The critiques with which Eusebius furnishes us, of Dionysius on the authorship of the Apocalypse, and of Origen on that of the Epistle of the Hebrews, are both of peculiar interest.

No one must expect in our Author a description of the manners and morals of the Christians, as they changed from age to age; much less a systematic view of church order and discipline. Interesting and instructive as this would be to us, to his contem-

* As found in the book called 'The Martyrdom of Polycarp.'

poraries it would be unnecessary or unpleasing. The history of a single church, well written, would doubtless be far more valuable to us than the superficial narrative of the whole church which he sets before us. It is only now and then that we gain something useful or curious.—In vi. 43, we find a most intemperate letter of Cornelius, bishop of Rome, against Novatus (or Novatian), which contains a singular piece of information. Novatus, it seems, when supposed at the point of death, was baptized by sprinkling, in the bed on which he lay. Cornelius uses this fact to impeach the validity of his orders, as did all the clergy (he tells us) and many of the laity; ‘since it was not lawful that one baptized in his sick bed by sprinkling, should be promoted to any order of the clergy.’ As late as the reign of Gordian, Eusebius records that Fabianus was elected bishop of Rome by *the whole body* of the assembled brethren (vi. 29)—as in the reign of Antoninus he represents *the brethren* at Jerusalem entreating Narcissus to take the episcopate in that city (vi. 11).—About the same time the celebrated Origen while at Cæsaræa ‘was requested by the bishops to expound the sacred Scriptures publicly in the church, although he had not yet obtained the priesthood by imposition of hands.’ Demetrius, Bishop of Alexandria, complained of this; to whom the bishops of Cæsaræa and Jerusalem wrote back as follows: ‘He (Demetrius) has added to his letter, that this was never before either heard or done, that laymen should deliver discourses in the presence of the bishops.’ ‘I know not how it happens that he is here evidently so far from the truth. For indeed, *wheresoever there are found those qualified to benefit the brethren, these are exhorted by the holy bishops to address the people.*’

But although the freedom from mere formal rigour which distinguished apostolic times, was not yet quite abolished, the pages of Eusebius manifest the extent to which superstition had infected ‘the church.’ One example alone can here be given. The old Serapion above referred to, when sensible that his end was near, sent his grand-child for one of the presbyters to absolve him. But it was night, and the presbyter was sick. ‘As I had however before issued an injunction,’ says Dionysius of Alexandria, (Euseb. vi. 44,) ‘that those at the point of death, if they desired it, and especially if they entreated for it before, should receive absolution, that they might depart from life in comfortable hope, I gave the boy a small portion of the eucharist, telling him to dip it in water and to drop it into the mouth of the old man. The boy returned with the morsel. When he came near, before he entered, Serapion said: ‘*Thou hast come, my boy, but the presbyter could not come; but do thou quickly perform what thou art commanded, and dismiss me.*’ The boy moistened it, and at the same time dropped it into the old man’s mouth; and he,

having swallowed a little, immediately expired.' Such is the miracle, (pronounced by Eusebius to be 'wonderful indeed,') by recounting which, Dionysius sought to convince Fabius of Antioch that the lapsed ought to be re-admitted to communion. Thus in the middle of the third century the belief had established itself, that a bishop had power of absolving from sin, with the view to give a *quietus* to a dying man.

As regards the morals of the church, the most important and scandalous case detailed by our Author is that of Paul of Samosata, whose avaricious, haughty, and impudent conduct, has afforded a ground of triumph to the historian Gibbon. But the believer must not shut his eyes against fact, because the unbeliever scoffs. Eusebius (vii. 27—30) most clearly informs us that eight long years elapsed at Antioch, where 'a vast number' of ecclesiastics were assembled, in the endeavour to convict Paul, the bishop, of unsound doctrine concerning the person of Christ; and (according to our Author) they might ultimately have failed, but for the subtlety of one Malchion, 'a man who had been at the head of the sophists' Greek school of sciences at Antioch.' . . . 'This man (says he) was the only one, who was able to ferret out his sly and deceitful sentiments.'—So that it never occurred to the reverend conclave, nor to the metropolitan church, to eject on moral grounds a bishop whose conduct is described by the council as utterly disgraceful, and whom they do not scruple to accuse of enriching himself by sacrilege, extortion, and receiving of bribes! Forsooth, they must wait till they could convict him of heterodoxy; and that in a matter so deep and ambiguous, that it needed, as we might say, 'a lawyer' to sift it. Eusebius alleges it to have been, the maintaining that Christ was but a common man; but he must clearly mean that his was the *inference* deduced by the clever sophist; for had Paul professed this, the wit of his antagonist would have been needless.

But we must draw our critique to a close. As the translator is on the other side of the Atlantic, it is the less advisable, even had we room, to make remarks in detail on the translation. On comparing various passages with the original, we find them to be very correct: in a few places we complain of obscurity, and now and then* errors, generally of a minor kind. We shall

* In iii. 36, he makes Eusebius say that Ignatius wrote 'to those in Philadelphia, and to Polycarp, who was bishop there;' but his words are really: Ignatius wrote to those in Philadelphia, and to the church of Smyrna, and specially to their bishop Polycarp.' In v. 28, for, 'After this author had superintended the church,' it should be, 'After he (Victor) had superintended,' &c. In v. 20, he represents Irenæus asserting that 'he was the first that received' the apostolic succession; instead of, 'He received the primitive succession.'

only here notice a few that seem of theological importance. In the opening of the work, the Author makes various formal statements concerning the divine nature of Christ, in some of which we think the translator has made Eusebius's views unduly approximate to those advocated by Dr. Moses Stuart. In p. 7, he most strangely has the words: 'Called the Son of God by reason of his final appearance in the flesh;' a notion maintained indeed by Stuart, but allowed by him to be fundamentally opposed to all the Catholic authorities of antiquity. The original is; *υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου διὰ τὴν ὑστάτην αὐτοῦ ἐνανθρώπησιν χρηματίζοντα*—'Called the Son of Man by reason of his final assumption of manhood.' So in p. 4, he makes the author say that Christ is a 'self-existing substance, ministering to the Father and God of all, &c. But the Greek is *ὑφ' ἑστῶσα*, which means *subsisting, real*, not *self-existing*; and is opposed to *figurative*, existing as an abstraction of man's mind. He meant to say that by the reason and wisdom of God, was to be understood, not a mere quality or faculty of the Father, but 'a subsisting entity.' The doctrine obtruded on him, is contrary to that held by Catholics of his day, and contrary to his own words immediately following; where he quotes from Prov. viii. (LXX. version,) 'The Lord created me in the beginning of his way, for his works:' so in p. 10, he quotes Ps. cx. 3, 'I begat thee from the womb, before the morning star.' It was his doctrine, as that of Athanasius and the rest, that only the Father is unbegotten and self-existent; but the Son is begotten and derived, even as regards divinity. We are forced to say, that the translator appears to be somewhat unfair in this matter. In the following page, Eusebius calls the Lord *σοφία πρωτόγονος καὶ πρωτόκτιστος*, 'Wisdom first begotten and first created,' alluding probably to Prov. viii. already quoted, and to Col. i. 15, Rev. iii. 26; but the translator, in place of *first created*, substitutes, *existing before all creatures*. Indeed, his anxiety to conceal even the imputation upon Eusebius, is such, that he defends him from it only in *Latin* notes, while all his other notes are in English: thus, pp. 382, 393, 394, and even in the midst of an English note, breaks out into Latin. Without wishing to end by saying any thing severe, we are led from the specimens of the notes to feel no regret that there are so few. Indeed, when our translator repeats the flippant and absurd dogma that a Catholic church is one which holds, *quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*, it is clear that he so shuts his eyes to facts, that he might with Romish complacency hold any of his own doctrines to have been 'universally' received.

- Art. II. 1. *Thoughts on the Past and Present State of Religious Parties in England.* By ROBERT VAUGHAN, D.D., Professor of Ancient and Modern History in University College, London. Jackson and Walford.
2. *Dilemmas of a Churchman, arising from the Discordant Doctrines and Political Practices of the Clergy of the Establishment.* By CHARLES LUSHINGTON, Esq., M.P. Second Edition. Ridgway.

THESE publications are producing a singular effect upon the minds of the less moderate among the parties especially interested in the topics they discuss; and this not so much as they involve the main points of controversy between churchmen and dissenters, as that they exhibit the novel position which the writers appear to have taken in reference to the very different ecclesiastical politics which they profess to repudiate and sustain. To Dr. Vaughan, many a churchman, judging of him by the impression he has received from this work alone, is ready to say, 'Come in, thou blessed of the Lord, why standest thou without?' while not a few dissenters almost suspect his abandonment of their cause on the principal question which justifies their separation from the Established Church, namely, its union with the state. The 'dilemmas' of Mr. Lushington, on the contrary, in the estimation of all high churchmen, have rendered him unworthy of the character he has assumed; while the dissenters regard him with a fraternal complacency, and already welcome him to their fellowship as 'a brother beloved.'

We do not believe that either of these gentlemen has given just occasion to the parties they have thus provoked and conciliated to regard them as faithless or lukewarm, or even as in the slightest degree vacillating from their known principles,—the one a staunch dissenter; the other a sincere and liberal churchman. Yet is the impression that prevails easily to be accounted for, and with equal facility we think it may be removed. We shall attempt to do both.

We are not surprised that Dr. Vaughan's inscribing a work on the subject of Dissent to a prelate of the national church, should have excited a good deal of speculation as to his motives and object. Is it courtesy? it has been asked; or is it compromise? We believe it to be neither one nor the other. In presenting the effusions of the meeting-house to a high church dignitary, accustomed to regard both the conventicle and its ministers with aversion and contempt, Dr. Vaughan can scarcely be considered as performing an act of courtesy. A Barrington or a Bathurst, had they been living, might have appreciated such an epistle dedicatory as a compliment offered by an eminent pastor of another Christian communion. But in what light can it be regarded by the Lord Bishop of London, who on so many occasions has rendered him-

self conspicuous for his illiberal treatment of the dissenters? Was *he* likely to receive as a courteous civility the dedication of a work that aims to soften the asperities of churchmen against their nonconforming brethren, who, in his eagerness to extend and perpetuate them, recommended, without having himself perused it, an infamous book to the clergy of his diocese; a book which violates all the decencies of life by poisoning the weapons of controversy, which declares that 'the devil was the first dissenter,' and most unceremoniously abandons the whole body to his delusions now, and to his final custody hereafter?

Something far beyond courtesy then, and so important in the view of Professor Vaughan, as to induce him to risk the charge of impertinent intrusion, must have compelled him to become the public correspondent of a prelate, who is described by the canon residentiary of St. Paul's, as himself 'the Church of England here upon earth.' Is it through this its venerable impersonation that the minister of dissent seeks to conciliate the hierarchy towards himself as an individual, and a certain portion of his brethren who are anxious to have it understood that they belong not to that class of Dissenters who are stigmatized as political agitators, and the enemies of religion, because of their strenuous endeavours, by constitutional means, to rid the nation of every civil injustice and oppression arising out of that monstrous engine of both—the church by law established? The colourable support which seems to justify this impression, is derived from Dr. Vaughan's implied admissions in his interrogations, and the somewhat vague statement of his peculiar views on the subject. After stating very fairly and forcibly the wrongs inflicted upon the dissenters by the dominant church, the 'scorn and the contempt which nothing could exceed,' heaped upon them in addition to their hereditary grievances, in the periodical and general literature of churchmen, the Professor bespeaks the bishop's candid interpretation of *the excesses in the conduct of the persecuted and the injured*, into which the prospect of obtaining partial redress may at any time have hurried them. We cannot think that there are many dissenters who will receive with perfect satisfaction, what the following interrogatory appeals imply, and must have conveyed to the mind to whom they were addressed, as well as to others, whose effusions from month to month disgrace the pages of the British Magazine and the Christian Observer.

'It is not, assuredly, in your Lordship's nature, nor in the nature of any educated, honourable mind, to look considerably on the condition of a people beset *with so many obvious, and so many nameless forms of civil disparagement and wrong*, on account of their religion, and then to say of them that they have been *wholly without excuse* in

claiming of grievance, or that they have become justly liable to heavy censure, if, when the moment for partial redress has seemed ripe, *their desire of change has been found to carry them somewhat to excess.* It is the force of the previous constraint which determines the strength of the rebound. Thrust men into one unnatural frame, and you prepare them *to rush into another, in an opposite direction*, on the first opportunity. The elements of *insurgency* are so *volcanic* as when called forth by the rigours of despotism. *enters are no exception to this tendency in human nature.*

If, indeed, we are to consider their vocation to have been, that they should exemplify a perfect intelligence and rectitude in our weak disordered world, it must be confessed that they have not always acted in their proper character. In that case, they should have acted so comprehensively, and so profoundly, on the numerous and contentious questions which have recently come into debate, as to have roughly to have understood them. They should have made large allowance for the force of prejudice, and the feeling of interest, in connexion with ancient and opulent institutions. They should have remembered how much there is in the unavoidable weakness of human nature that may lead to self-deception, even in the case of the well-meaning. They should have been careful to acquaint themselves with the good, as well as the evil, included in the existing order of things, and should have looked to the contingent injuries which changes recently the most desirable are often found to carry along with them. If precluded from their place as citizens, and scoffed upon and down in not a few connexions as religionists; they should have known how to be silent under such treatment, or how to have uttered language of complaint, influenced more by pity and forbearance than by resentment. And *within the last few years especially*, they should, perhaps, have been content with calm and dignified efforts to *in a removal of their more immediate grievances*: and if they had nevertheless failed in their object, as in that case they probably would, they should have known how to bear such disappointments, so as not to be greatly distressed by them, *and so as to have been capable of reaping good for evil, and blessing for cursing!* But, my Lord, does not our opponents, in the greater part of whom this ‘meekness and wisdom’ has been so lamentably wanting, to demand it from others on a scale of this sort? Having acted the firebrand during so many years, is it seemly in these persons to affect astonishment, and a sense of horror, on seeing that *Dissenters are not always engaged in the work of the peacemaker?* Can it be true charity that is found thus capable of hoping all things on one side, and incapable of bearing with the usual indications of human infirmity on the other? True, my Lord, we are imperfect beings; we have not always spoken wisely, acted wisely; but of this I am confident, that from the beginning of this day, we have been a people ‘more sinned against than sinning.’

—Vaughan, pp. xiii—xvi.

On further accounting for the impression we shall presently exhibit, that Dr. Vaughan is less staunch as a Dissenter than

those whose zeal he censures by implication as inconsistent with 'calm and dignified effort,' and who believe that 'the question of questions' is the severance of church and state, we quote what we doubt not has been greatly misunderstood by the unreflecting on both sides.

'The great charge against us, so far as I am able to ascertain, is, that we are aiming at nothing less than the destruction of the Established Church. Now it is not denied that the principles of Congregationalism are opposed to the existence of any civil establishment of Christianity. But it is one thing to be persuaded that a nation might have chosen a wiser course than it has done, and another to fall into a justly censurable mode of proceeding, in order to correct a prevalent error. It may be strictly lawful that there should be no Established Church; but in the state of society existing in England it may be far from expedient. The whole question, though truly one of principle, *is also one to be determined, in a great degree, by circumstances.* While the social system of England shall be what it is, and while the prevalent feeling in favour of an Established Church shall be what it is, *there ought, as I conceive, to be such a church.* The Dissenter may say, that the State, in this respect, is exercising a power which it ought not to have assumed; but *so long as the State is not so persuaded, it should not be expected to relinquish the policy which has naturally resulted from its different consciousness of duty.* Principle, on this great question, may be of as much moment to the Churchman as to the Dissenter. And if there are Dissenters, who, having looked to the monarchy and to the court of England; and to the prepossessions, on this subject, of the persons who constitute the upper, and even the lower House of Parliament; and have expected to see these parties concur in any thing approaching toward an extinction of the State Church, such expectation must surely have been indulged in some of those delusive moments when the passions do not allow the understanding to perform its proper office. But, my Lord, if there are circumstances which seem to require that there *should be an Established Church*, it should be remembered that there are other circumstances which demand, and not at all less imperatively, that it should be one of moderate pretensions. If there be a majority to combine in support of such a church, there is a minority dissenting from it, and one sufficiently powerful to render it necessary that the Endowed Communion should bear their faculties meekly. Were the Church of England to become so far intolerant as to disgust the liberal portion of her members, and to occasion their withdrawal in any great number to the side of Dissent, her days, secure as she may now seem, might not be many.

'On the whole, my Lord, my own humble conviction in regard to the Church of England, and that, as I believe, of Dissenters generally, is, not that she should be demolished, or despoiled, *but that she should be regarded as pertaining to the religion of the majority, according to the real state of things in England, and not as embodying the religion of the nation*, according to the perfect theory of an Ecclesiastical

Establishment, as carried out in Portugal or Spain ; that on this ground, such a period should be put to the ecclesiastical favouritism of the State, as may prevent any further grants of public money or exclusive privilege to the Endowed Church ; and that in regard to the few matters which as Dissenters we still feel to be vexatious indications of civil inferiority in consequence of our religious preferences, we should continue to seek a removal of them until it be obtained.'

—ib., pp. xvi.—xix.

In attempting to vindicate dissenters as a body from the charge 'of aiming at nothing less than the destruction of the Established Church,' perhaps Dr. Vaughan might have more happily expressed his own sentiments on the general question; and we regret that he should lay himself open to misapprehension in such sentences as those we have printed in italics. They would seem to convey the idea that the Professor thinks it right to oppose expediency to principle, by denying a thing to be lawful and yet pleading for its continuance on the mere ground of its existence. To this objection, which we have heard from more than one quarter, we reply, that the expediency for which Dr. Vaughan contends, regards a choice of measures, and the period and the manner of urging them, in order most effectually to accomplish the destruction of whatever is unlawful in the existence of an Establishment. We cannot for a moment imagine when he admits that 'the principles of congregationalism are opposed to the existence of any civil establishment of Christianity,' that he can desire congregationalists to compromise their principles, or to cease from attempting to remove the great obstacle that separates them from the fellowship of a large portion of the universal church. That Dr. Vaughan cannot mean this, whatever party ingenuity may be able to extract from the Dedication, is sufficiently evident from the work itself. We refer to an admirable paragraph on this very point. Addressing his dissenting hearers, he says:

'We have gone up at once to the times of the New Testament, and have determined to unlearn every thing not to be learnt there. And have we not done well in being thus decided and thus bold? But having learnt by so doing to set at nought the terrors of superstition, and having cast off the bands of a haughty priesthood, is it when we come to the question concerning the province of the magistrate in regard to religion that we must begin to do homage to error,—and all, forsooth, because it is very prevalent and has lasted very long? If it be come to this, then let us go out upon the spaces of the past, and learn the *whole* of the lesson it has to teach; let us cease to be the men we have supposed we were, and let us fall back in all things upon that state of childhood which we have flattered ourselves with having outgrown. But we are not, I presume, disposed to furnish any such exemplification of consistency.'—ib., p. 18.

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ablishment, as carried out in Portugal or Spain ; that on this and, such a period should be put to the ecclesiastical favouritism of State, as may prevent any further grants of public money or exclusive privilege to the Endowed Church ; and that in regard to the few dissenters which as Dissenters we still feel to be vexatious indications of inferiority in consequence of our religious preferences, we should continue to seek a removal of them until it be obtained.'

—ib., pp. xvi.—xix.

In attempting to vindicate dissenters as a body from the charge of aiming at nothing less than the destruction of the Established Church, perhaps Dr. Vaughan might have more happily expressed his own sentiments on the general question ; and we regret that he should lay himself open to misapprehension in his sentences as those we have printed in italics. They would seem to convey the idea that the Professor thinks it right to oppose expediency to principle, by denying a thing to be lawful and pleading for its continuance on the mere ground of its existence. To this objection, which we have heard from more than one quarter, we reply, that the expediency for which Dr. Vaughan contends, demands a choice of measures, and the period and the manner of urging them, in order most effectually to accomplish the destruction of whatever is unlawful in the existence of an Establishment. We cannot for a moment imagine when he admits ; 'the principles of congregationalism are opposed to the existence of any civil establishment of Christianity,' that he can require congregationalists to compromise their principles, or to cease from attempting to remove the great obstacle that separates them from the fellowship of a large portion of the universal Church. That Dr. Vaughan cannot mean this, whatever party enmity may be able to extract from the Dedication, is sufficiently evident from the work itself. We refer to an admirable paragraph on this very point. Addressing his dissenting hearers, he says :

We have gone up at once to the times of the New Testament, and are determined to unlearn every thing not to be learnt there. And are we not done well in being thus decided and thus bold ? But having learnt by so doing to set at nought the terrors of superstition, having cast off the bands of a haughty priesthood, is it when we come to the question concerning the province of the magistrate in relation to religion that we must begin to do homage to error,—and all, because it is very prevalent and has lasted very long ? If we come to this, then let us go out upon the spaces of the past, and learn the *whole* of the lesson it has to teach ; let us cease to be the men we have supposed we were, and let us fall back in all things upon the state of childhood which we have flattered ourselves with having outgrown. But we are not, I presume, disposed to furnish any exemplification of consistency.'—ib., p. 18.

There are two statements in this somewhat untoward letter to the Bishop of London, which are indeed substantially one, that have drawn upon the writer animadversions which prove at least the jealousy with which the dissenters are accustomed to regard every thing that looks like concession to the Established hierarchy. While we acquit Dr. Vaughan of at all intending to concede in the slightest point to the principle which he condemns, we cannot help sympathising with the feeling which the following sentences have awakened in many bosoms. 'While the 'social system of England shall be what it is, and while the 'Protestant feeling in favour of an Established Church shall be 'what it is, *there ought, I conceive, to be such a church.*' 'My own 'humble conviction in regard to the Church of England, and that, 'as I believe of dissenters generally, is, 'not that she should be 'demolished, or 'despoiled, but that she should be regarded as 'pertaining to the 'religion of the majority.'

This certainly is language to which the dissenters are unaccustomed, and which churchmen hail from such a quarter with exultation. We mean, of course, the simple declaration that the Church of England, because it pertains to the religion of the majority, ought to be continued in the plenary possession of its exclusive temporal privileges in union with the state. We do not know of any dissenters who desire that the Episcopal Church should either be despoiled or demolished—but we believe that every conscientious dissenter, from the sacred reverence he pays to the divine Law-giver, as well as from the deep interest he feels in maintaining the civil equality of all sects, and his conviction that every act of legislation which makes a *compulsory provision for any church*, is an injustice and a wrong inflicted both on the religious and the social principle;—we believe that every such dissenter must repudiate with all his heart the doctrine, that a state may establish a church pertaining to the majority of a nation which is to draw its resources *equally from the whole*, not only taking from them their property without their consent, and without an equivalent, but at the same time violating their consciences and compelling their allegiance to a hierarchy whose claims they deny, and whose fellowship they renounce. The moment a state presumes to legislate in matters of religion, with its rewards and emoluments, its pains and penalties, that moment it steps beyond its legitimate province—from that moment legislation ceases to be the plain and simple thing, which, as an ordinance of God, to maintain civil rights and social happiness, it was ordained to be; the machinery becomes involved: antagonist authorities belonging to two separate worlds, are forced into monstrous coalition—and the relations of citizens and subjects are merged in the aggressive and odious distinctions which spring out of theological dogmas, or different forms of

ecclesiastical polity; and thus the whole community are divided into the favoured and the oppressed—the privileged and the persecuted: the churchman, with the seven heavens of the hierarchy opening golden visions to his cupidity and ambition—the dissenter, doomed to civil degradation, proscription, and contempt.

With dissenters, these views of state interference with religion have long been cherished as household principles. They would have resisted the original assumption, however overwhelming the majority that might have proposed it;—and are they to remit a religious and sacred hostility, as Christian men, to what they deem a usurpation of the rights of the great Lord of conscience, because it has been maintained through a course of centuries? Can time sanctify the enormity? As the friends of constitutional freedom, of just and impartial liberty, because they have been compelled to submit to a tricentenary of oppressions and wrongs, are they to listen to the persuasions of the state as though it possessed a conscience and a mind to be reasoned with, when the subject is no less than the redress of grievances which have involved the sacrifice of their dearest rights as members of the body politic? We are persuaded that Professor Vaughan does not mean to convey, in the sentence we shall now submit to his attention, what the enemies of the dissenters impute to him. ‘The dissenter may say, that *the state* in this respect is exercising a power which it ought not to have assumed; but, so long as *the state* is not so persuaded, it should not be expected to relinquish the policy which has naturally resulted from its different consciousness of duty. Principle in this great question may be of as much moment to *the churchman* as to the dissenter.’ If this observation mean any thing, does it not go far to forbid dissenters taking any measures to induce, on the part of the state, the relinquishment of a policy of which they have reason to complain, on the ground that such relinquishment would compel the state to violate its conscience? By the state we suppose Dr. Vaughan must intend the councils of the majority so far as they control or direct the work of legislation.

Are then the dissenters to leave these counsellors to themselves? Because the lords and commons in parliament assembled, chose in the sacred name of religion to perpetuate the most flagrant injustice, and to urge the plea of conscience in their defence, are those who suffer daily aggression from imposts and taxes to build and repair the edifices of a church from which they conscientiously separate, quietly to bear it all? are they to be despoiled of the fruit of their labour, to support a priesthood in luxury, that fulminate against them the terrors of damnation? Without petition or remonstrance; without using all their civil and social influence in every capacity they sustain in life, are they quietly and for ever to succumb to a tyranny, rendered infinitely odious by urging the plea of conscience

to justify its impious violation. What can be more galling to the oppressed and wronged, than for the majority conscience to avail itself of its civil strength, to wound and to violate the minority conscience, by taking a mean and cruel advantage of its power of endurance? We confess that we have little sympathy when the state complains that the restoration of human rights to those who have long been deprived of them goes strongly against its conscience. We are reminded of Milton's reply to the complaint of Charles I., that the enemies of his tyranny wanted to wrest from him the incommunicable jewel, his conscience—'our complaint, on the contrary,' is,' said Milton, that 'he would have his conscience not an incommunicable, but a universal conscience, the whole kingdom's conscience. Thus what he seems to fear we should ravish from him, is our chief complaint that he obtruded upon us: we never forced him to part with his conscience, but it was he that would have forced us to part with ours?' The distinction between the conscience of one part of the community and that of another, which gives the majority a right to impose its terms of communion upon the minority, or to deprive them of their civil and social privileges as members of the state, is a palpable desecration of the sacredness of conscience, and a fundamental error in legislation. We cannot amalgamate what is essentially one. Conscience must stand alone in its own hallowed individuality. What is it but disguised popery to constitute a certain aggregate of consciences, a high commission court to subjugate all the consciences in the land? Every man is bound to obey the dictates of his own conscience, irrespective of all human, all legislative authority. There is no medium between this and the conscience which Charles and Laud attempted to bind upon the people as a badge of slavery, but which they indignantly refused to wear, and which cost the great criminals that would have imposed it, the forfeiture of their heads on the scaffold. It is humbling to contemplate a puissant nation, like that of England, after having achieved its liberties, submitting to a second and even more degrading enthrallment. But the sun is again rising, and conscience will, at last, be free, notwithstanding the veto of the state, and the unguarded assertion of Dr. Vaughan, that considering the Protestant feeling and the present social system of England, 'there ought to be an Established Church.' Yet the friends of conscience must be true to themselves.

What course Dr. Vaughan would recommend to them, he has not sufficiently indicated. From what we have been able to gather from his pages, he is far from being satisfied with the past conduct of the Dissenters. Their efforts have not been, 'calm and dignified'—they have 'not always been engaged in the 'office of the peace-maker;' their 'desire of change' when a favourable opportunity has presented itself 'has been found to 'carry them somewhat to an excess.' We are free to confess

that we have not so read the records of the past. For the present state of party feeling which is distracting the country from one end to the other, the established churches of England and Scotland have only themselves to blame. In labouring to obtain a redress of their peculiar grievances, it does not seem to us that the dissenters have been betrayed into violence, nor in any instance have they invaded the law. Agitation has been resorted to on one question only, and that was provoked by the constant aggressions of the hierarchy and its increasing rapacity: while church-rates exist, we trust this agitation will never cease. It is a grave question, and one which we should have been glad to see met by Professor Vaughan, namely; what ought to be the conduct of the dissenters at the present crisis? If as he tells us, we 'have gone up at once to the times of the 'New Testament,' and have determined to unlearn every thing not to be learnt 'there;' then surely we can never, for a moment, admit, that one sect should claim superiority over another, or that any church has a right to restrain the free exercise of private judgment or the most perfect liberty of conscience. We must denounce with a lofty indignation every interference of a human legislature to constitute and to govern the churches of Christ. Nor with the 'New Testament' in our hands, are we able to imagine circumstances, feelings, or prejudices, affecting the majority or even a whole nation, that can justify us in saying, 'that there ought to be an Established Church.' We do not call upon dissenters to form political associations, nor do we desire them with untimely pertinacity to press either their own wrongs, or,—which alone can place all the classes of the community on one equal basis of civil rights,—the severance of the church from the state; but what we do contend for is, the assertion of their principles on all occasions, and the employment of their influence whenever and wherever it can be exerted, for the purpose of teaching the legislature to unlearn on the subject of an ecclesiastical establishment what cannot be found in the 'New Testament,' or in the practice of the primitive church. Passive resistance to iniquitous demands for rates and imposts, may surely be numbered among 'the calm and dignified' measures which may be constitutionally adopted by all who regard them as unjust and unscriptural; and dissenters who possess the least control over the literature of the age, and the various mediums of imparting knowledge to the people, would be no better than renegades from the faith and practice of their fathers, were they not through all these channels to present arguments in favour of universal freedom, and in opposition to every encroachment on the prerogative of their great lawgiver and Lord who has solemnly declared, 'my kingdom is not of this world.' In one word, dissenters who do not seek by all lawful and peaceable efforts the re-

moval of every disability under which they still labour, are unworthy of the liberty wherewith Christ hath made them free;—we will not reason with them for ‘they deserve not to have themselves ‘convinced.’ We wish all parties to remember, that the severance of church and state is in strictness a national and not a dissenting question. Christians of every name and sect, and, more especially, the members of the episcopal church who perceive the injury which Christianity sustains by being dragged into association with the State; as well as all the subjects of the British empire, who whether they profess a creed or not, feel the grievous wrongs which this alliance inflicts on a community entitled to the enjoyment of equal rights, and to be governed by equal laws; are all bound to unite in obtaining, through the legislature, and, by the force of public opinion, the entire abolition of a system equally at variance with the dictates of the gospel, the security of the state, and the happiness of the people.

Whether Dr. Vaughan has perceived on the part of dissenters generally any indication of an unchristian treatment of the question of the Church of England’s connexion with the State, or any unconstitutional agitation of it in public assemblies and on political occasions, he has given us no opportunity of judging; and some are of opinion, that in thus opening the subject with the Bishop of London, he has left too much to the uncharitable surmises of our enemies, while he has needlessly alarmed some who have usually ranked themselves among his warm admirers. But let the whole of his volume be read, and let some of the passages quoted be seriously considered, and the churchman need not proudly rear his crest, nor the dissenter feel his own abased. He that has personally resisted the payment of church-rates in his own neighbourhood; who, in an able exposition of the iniquity of this impost, has taught the same practical lesson to his brethren; and we may add for the satisfaction of the ‘Christian Observer,’ he who still retains his connexion with this journal, and continues to favour it with his contributions, however mistaken by some and misrepresented by others, must ever be regarded as one of the ablest champions of dissent, and, therefore, an equally decided foe of civil and ecclesiastical tyranny.

We can easily imagine a sensitive mind like that of Dr. Vaughan feeling as if the hallowed cause of religious freedom suffered contamination when touched by the rude and impious hands of a worldly infidelity, and this may probably account for the style and tone of some portions of his work. But let him, at the same time, remember that the union of men of this character with pious dissenters in promoting a common object is purely accidental, and that this union is more apparent than real; that while dissenters aim at the attainment of that liberty which

will secure to them their rights as citizens, as well as prevent the ecclesiastical favouritism of the state from bestowing any further grants of public money, or exclusive privilege on the 'endowed church'—the object of merely worldly men, call them infidels, radicals, or what you please, is to pull down existing and glaring abuses which are our national disgrace, and which equally affect the whole community, the infidel and the catholic, the churchman and the dissenter. Are the dissenters to blame, because, while the potsherds of the earth strive with the potsherds of the earth, they exert themselves to save and perpetuate all that can be retained of pure and useful in an institution, which the infatuation of some, and the irreligion of others have devoted to destruction. We mean the Episcopal Church of England, of which those who would sever her from the state are the best conservatives;—an institution which, when it falls, will fall by suicidal hands—or to preserve a favourite metaphor dear to churchmen, the venerable 'MOTHER,' will perish under the parri-
cidal strokes of her own faithless sons.

But it is time to notice the work on the preliminary portion of which we have felt it to be our duty to offer these few friendly animadversions. Detained so long in the porch, we can only catch a glimpse of the interior of the temple, and this we the less regret, as we trust we have done something towards opening it to the candid of all churches. These 'thoughts on the past and present state of religious parties in England,' which are the substance of a discourse delivered on the second of January last, in Union-street chapel, Southwark, to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the opening of that chapel, are valuable on many accounts; but in our view, chiefly, as they trace the growth and vigour of a principle which for centuries has had to struggle against pride and prejudice—the spirit of the court, the laws of the land, the persecutions of the church, and the brutal ignorance of the people; like the first lion, having reared his head above the surface, pawing himself, by continued and repeated efforts, from the rugged soil, till he became the free and independent ranger of the forest. To this principle, to this great truth, we are thus introduced by the author.

'The progress of truth, in every form,' he tells us, 'is the progress of the free principle, however much the ignorance and selfish passions of mankind, strengthened, perhaps, by artificial circumstances, may tend, for a time, to impede or divert its natural course of action. It is the case with the several departments of truth, as with all the great objects which discipline the human faculties—there is not only harmony between them, but a kindred principle pervading them, so that the successful study of any one prepares the way to a more adequate knowledge of others, until the whole circle is brought, by this law of association, under the full light and cognizance of the mind. In this

manner the progress of the arts favoured the revival of letters, and both conduced powerfully to the reformation of religion as achieved by Luther. Between all such things there is a constant action and reaction; and while affinities bring them together, combination gives them power to make free.

In the history and present position of the body of Protestant dissenters distinguished as holding the principles of congregationalism, we see an instructive illustration of these remarks. In England, the adoption of this system has always been attended by loss and suffering, particularly under the last of the Tudors, and under the house of Stuart. Its continued existence, accordingly, must be viewed as the effect of a strong conviction *somewhere* in regard to its truth. Consistently with this view of it, we find its voice raised at all times on the side of free discussion and unrestricted liberty; and, though long regarded as a most pestilent heresy on this account, it has remained steadfast in its demands on these points, until 'the little one has become a thousand,' and myriads who have not imbibed its temper to the full are constrained to do homage to it in part. It is not difficult to trace the steps by which the truth, allied with these generous sentiments, has been rendered so expansive and efficient. The personal responsibility of man in matters of religion, was the great truth proclaimed by the Reformation. By the pious men whose names are conspicuous in the early history of congregationalism, that truth was not only embraced with much sincerity, but was seen with a clearness long peculiar to themselves in the great results to which it leads. In this one principle there was a ray of light, which could not be made to bear exclusively on the false authority of popes and conclaves. On the contrary, it fell with no less effect on all kindred forms of ecclesiastical power, and led to the adoption of many other principles, all in harmony with each other, and with the one source from which they were derived. Thus, to be made free from one error, was to be freed from many more which had long existed in natural alliance with it. By the same law, the mind passes from the principles of ecclesiastical to those of civil freedom; and thus viewed, the most feeble and scattered elements of truth, whether natural, moral, or religious, will appear as a prolific seed, the germination of which is in the way of a constant tendency toward an ever-growing freedom.—ib. 2—4.

The section which states the present position of English congregationalism, as it is the last, so it is in every view, the most valuable portion of the work. It seems that one feature of congregationalism continues unchanged; in this respect it is now what it was from the beginning, '*it finds the body of its adherents among the middle class.*' A comparison of its present condition with that exhibited in its former history shews its similarity, in some respects, to the little stone cut out of the mountain without hands—it has grown prodigiously in numbers; it has achieved to a marvellous extent its own freedom—its civil grievances are melting fast away, while its religious influence is widening and strengthening, *by its greater activity*; the greater average of

ability with which all its offices are filled, and the restless spirit for social improvement which characterises the times, and of which the dissenters participate in no ordinary degree. The growth of the principle in the form of multiplication, is thus developed.

‘In the southern, or Surrey suburb of London, where, two centuries ago, the only persons meeting for the worship of God except in the manner enjoined by the state, were those included in the small brotherhood which is still represented by the church assembly in Union-street, there are now about fifty congregational churches including independents and baptists; and the largest portion of accommodation for persons so disposed to meet for the worship of God in that extensive district, if we take in all denominations, has been provided, not by the state, but by the voluntary efforts of the population. Thus, in a locality where, two hundred years since the state did little for religion, and the people nothing, and where almost every man seemed to receive his faith in the shape expounded to him by the two Houses of Convocation, and by the two Houses of Parliament, there has been such a working of the small germ of independency, that all the provision which the state has made for the advantage of its favoured denomination, is equalled, and even surpassed, by that which has sprung from the free and spontaneous zeal of the people themselves. By the side of the principle which is supposed to be so necessary to the existence of religion, but which refuses to do it service except through the machinery of state enactments, we see another make its appearance, having its origin and guidance from the intelligence and feeling which disposes men to consider religion as a matter of individual responsibility, and as of high concernment in their relation to God, rather than to Cæsar; and this last principle, though so recently called into exercise, and acted upon in the midst of artificial circumstances tending to place the selfishness and prejudice of multitudes in the most determined array against it, is seen taking precedence of the former one as a source of provision for the religious wants of the surrounding community. Nor is this peculiar to the Surrey suburb of the metropolis; it is rather a sample of what has taken place, with slight variation, in every populous department of the country. It is admitted, they are not all congregationalists who are now acting, more or less, and with so much general effect, on this principle; but it was reserved to the body so designated to bring out this principle, and to procure for it the various amount of practical homage which is now rendered to it.

‘Congregationalism is not like methodism, a system of compromise and adjustment, formed in deference to the prejudice and feeling of the hour. It is the effect of a devout and firm-hearted appeal to the exact nature and design of Christianity; and the result to be expected from principles so adopted has been realized. Derived from what is unalterable in the injunctions and spirit of our benign and holy religion, it has itself been permanent. It has grown with our population, our wealth, and our intelligence, and, especially, with our attachment to even-handed justice, and equal liberty; and whatever its enemies may fondly promise themselves, we are satisfied that its course in the future

will be as in the past. If, in addition to the increase of their numbers, congregationalists are justified in looking on every thing free in the temper and proceedings of the religious bodies around us, as the effect of their early avowed principles, then have they much reason to thank God and take courage. In fact, when searching for encouragement in any effort to do good, our inquiries should never be confined to the positive and unmixed benefit we may have been able to confer. This may be very small, while the evil prevented, and the indirect or partial good bestowed, may be of vast amount.—ib. 72—74.

The state of the Established Church, of the several parties distinct and belligerent which exist within her pale, and of the third body of methodists occupying a considerable space between the Church of England and the older and more regular dissenters, are subjects treated with great candour, discovering enlightened research and devout wisdom. The solemn and judicious counsels addressed to the congregationalists, deserve the profound, instantaneous, and practical attention of that body. They would do well, without delay, to realise the views of their reverend adviser in giving the utmost efficiency to their public institutions, by encouraging and providing for the increase of learning in their colleges, and thus, especially, raising the standard of ministerial qualification. Most deeply are we impressed with the importance and seasonableness of the suggestions on this last topic. The subject we feel to be a delicate one. But we may ask with concern, What are the actual qualifications of a numerous portion of men who have been, and who may be at this moment, students in our various colleges? Do not many consume funds, and waste resources of the most valuable kind, which, if devoted to individuals of adequate mental powers and moral energy, would raise the dissenting ministry to the elevation which it ought to attain? Young men should not be admitted into our seminaries, who must afterwards be doomed to go the round of our churches only to betray their incapacity, and then to enter upon secular employments because of their universally acknowledged inefficiency as preachers and pastors. We long for the period when ministerial qualification of a high order will be more equally diffused. We want neither giants nor dwarfs. We desire not that one greater star should overpower the less,—but that each should be an orb of glory at least equal to the sphere in which it is destined to move. The ministers demanded by the moral state of the country are men to whom population alone is important, and whose talents and piety will enable them to raise a congregation where none previously existed. We cordially thank Dr. Vaughan for his book. We have freely animated on some of its statements, and are assured that none of our readers will commend our doing so more heartily than himself. The narrative is peculiarly interesting; we should be glad to receive many such histories; and we hope that *example; and*

that of the Rev. Thomas Adkins, of Southampton, will be followed by many others—and that our dissenting churches will not be without their devout and able chroniclers.

Mr. Lushington's 'Dilemmas of a Churchman,' prove him to be very much of a Churchman indeed, or he never could continue his connexion with an institution, the practical operation of which is so repugnant to his principles and so vexatious to his feelings. We have no doubt, that disclosures like those which this pamphlet contains must have a powerful effect upon the laity within the establishment; and though it is not probable, that they will ever be found in the ranks of dissent, yet if the formal attempt of the Oxford clergy to renounce protestantism as the distinction of the Church of England should succeed—if that party headed by the Bishop of Exeter, should place the canons above the law of the land, and not only claim for their church an independence of the state, but a power and authority which may set it at defiance; if, at the same time, the clergy both evangelical and orthodox should not only preach a crusade against the dissenters, but continue their iniquitous spoliation of their property in the form of imposts and grants from the consolidated fund, for the building of churches and other ecclesiastical purposes; if instead of fundamental reform, by which the establishment may be rendered 'less despotic in its constitution, less secular in its spirit, and less intolerant in its administration,' all reasonable propositions of this nature are scouted, and their authors covered with reproach; if these things concur, and we confess that they seem to us rushing together to a crisis;—we have no doubt, that an immense body of the laity will take the matter into their own hands, and with a few of the clergy who may participate in their views and feelings will effect the severance of the church from the state, simplify its orders, and by one simultaneous volition, rid themselves of the wolves that devour the flock, and the little foxes that spoil the vintage; or that they will form a distinct communion of their own on the basis of an episcopacy which will not seek to affiliate itself on the mother of harlots. We find it more difficult to defend Mr. Lushington from strong dissenting tendencies than to rescue Dr. Vaughan from imputations of an opposite nature. Yet, perhaps, he is the truest churchman who is most anxious for the spiritual efficiency of his system; who looks fearlessly into its corruptions and abuses, and desires to apply a timely and an effectual remedy. Those who charge the liberal members of their communion with being dissenters, are hardly aware of what the imputation implies. According to this doctrine no man can be a consistent churchman who is not intolerant—who is not a blind and furious bigot. Mr. Lushington is not a churchman of this stamp; yet may he be found somewhere in the sacred inclosure, though certainly not in the *media* of Dr. Pusey.

At least Mr. Lushington, as the church is now constituted, has quite as good a right to put in his claim of membership as the clergymen who figure in the following quotation with which, for the present, we take leave of the publications before us. At parting, however, we cannot refrain from paying a tribute of respect to Mr. Lushington—to which from us especially he is justly entitled—and in which we are persuaded the liberal of all parties and churches will heartily concur. As an enlightened statesman, a useful member of the community at large, and a Christian, mild, firm, intelligent, and superior to sectarian antipathies, he occupies a distinguished place among the benefactors of his age and country.

‘Allusion has been made to the divisions of opinion among the clergy of the establishment. If these controversies had been on unimportant points, the clergy might have been left alone with their wrangling; but it becomes a serious subject of anxiety, when the doctrines preached and disseminated by one section of the Established Church are denounced by the other. The Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge was charged in November, 1836, by a clergyman of the Church of England, with ‘having put forth twelve volumes of tracts, so unfit, in his judgment, for the purpose of circulation, that he studiously concealed them from the eyes of his family, as unsound and delusory statements of the truth of the gospel.’ A sermon on death, by the Rev. Mr. Beresford, appears to have been adopted as a tract by the above society, on which the clerical editor of the ‘Record’ pronounced, that the men who approved of its circulation had no ‘conception of the nature, sanctions, and requirements of the gospel of our salvation;’ that they were ‘blind leaders of the blind;’ and that in the tracts which they approved, ‘the gospel of Christ is either not preached at all, or is so blended and encrusted with error, as to rob it of all its freeness, clearness, and glory; so that the unhappy readers are led away by their instrumentality to another gospel which is not another. The unfortunate theology of Dr. Spry is declared to be ‘darkness visible.’ Another clergyman, the Rev. Mr. Acaster denouncing ‘the poisonous influence of the establishment’ on the spiritual character of the ministry of the Church, speaks ‘of millions being lost for ever and ever from that cause.’

‘The system inculcated in the Oxford Tracts,’ says the *Christian Observer*, edited by a clergyman of the establishment, ‘even weeping, we believe to be anti-evangelical, anti-protestant, and a snare of our ghostly enemy to impede the progress of the gospel of Christ, and to endanger the souls of men.’ On the other hand, the Rev. Mr. Newman, the editor of the Oxford Tracts, while seeking for what he calls a *via media* between Romanism and Protestantism, not only admits* in a sub-

* Lectures on the Prophetical Office of the Church, &c. By John Henry Newman, B.D.

stantial sense the allegation of the Roman Catholics, that scarcely ten or twenty neighbouring clergymen in the English church can agree even in its elementary and necessary doctrines, but openly pronounces, that 'in the church by itself,' 'even among its appointed ministers and teachers,' 'may be found differences as great as those which separate Greece from Rome.'

'Speaking of the new Oxford school of opinions in matters of church and state, to which Dr. Pusey belongs, the Edinburgh reviewer (in a recent number) remarks upon the extraordinary fact, that 'numbers, especially among the clergy heretofore attached to what are called evangelical principles, have gone over and fraternised with the new sect, with which they had no one quality in common but enthusiasm;—passing, as it were, without an effort from one pole to the other of religious opinion and sentiment, for the sake of the new excitement.' The school in question is characterized as forming 'one of the three extremes of opinion, the other two being represented by the evangelicals and the Latitudinarians, which are comprehended within the church's tolerant embrace.' 'The alliance may subsist tolerably well, as long as the confederates are sunk together in the darkness of opposition.

'Concordes animæ nunc et dum nocte premuntur;
Heu quantum inter se bellum, si lumina vitæ
Aspiciant, quantas acies stragemque ciebant!'

'Should they ever emerge into the day-light of power, the ill-concealed contrast of parties and principles will soon burst out into open hostility, and end in permanent separation.' (Ed. Rev. No. cxxxiv. p. 413—415).

'This view of the state of the Church as composed of three extreme parties, agreeing in the dark, bound by law to uniformity, yet at the opposite poles of religious opinion and sentiment, and incapable of permanent union, allowing it to be correct, is ill-adapted to alleviate the dilemmas of a thoughtful churchman. The want of steadiness of opinion among the evangelicals, as indicated by the numerous converts to the tenets of Dr. Pusey, is also a staggering circumstance; more especially when taken in connexion with the extensive spread of the millenarian fanaticism among the same class, and the still more melancholy instances of evangelical clergymen who have become followers of Irving, and believers in the tongue.'—pp. 52—56.

Art. III. *The Rural Life of England.* By WILLIAM HOWITT.
In 2 vols. London: Longman & Co. 1838.

TO the unpractised nothing appears easier than Essay-writing. But this is altogether a mistake. The simplicity of Addison, in particular, and the easy flow of Goldsmith, will be found very difficult of imitation. We know that Addison's papers, with all their smoothness and apparent spontaneity, were elaborated slowly and with great pains. And the style of Goldsmith was the result of many years passed in study, the fruit of laborious days and nights, of penury and want, endured by a hack-author writing for his bread. To success in this department of literature, elegance appears to be almost an essential requisite. This is a quality which it is very difficult to define: but the cultivated mind perceives it at once. It requires delicacy of taste, and an exquisite ear, in the author; for language is a kind of music, and its nice construction demands no less skill than in the musical composer. A tolerably good prose style is not uncommon in the present day: but the 'curiosa felicitas,' the 'words that burn,' are the result of a rare combination of genius and taste. This felicitous collocation, this perfect charm of words, is more frequently found in poetry than in prose, and is an essential element in poetical composition. It is beautifully exemplified in the eclogues and the *Æneid* of Virgil; in the poetry of Milton, who, realizing his own description in *Comus*,

'Takes the prison'd soul, and laps it in Elysium;'

and, among modern poets, in Gray, Rogers, and Campbell. We have seldom felt the magic spell of language so irresistible as in these authors. Poets have been thought to write the best prose, having gained facility by their poetical efforts. Of this Goldsmith and Cowper are illustrious examples: to whom may be added Scott, Byron, and Southey. But perhaps no English prose author of the present day altogether equals the late Robert Hall for that charm of language, which at once delights the ear, and penetrates the heart. It is a charm which is indescribable and irresistible.

We have made these remarks because beauty of style is one great means by which many of our Essayists gained their celebrity. And we wish that our young readers, who are meditating attempts of a similar kind, would labour to acquire the same simplicity of thought and expression, and the same elaborate polish. The labour will not be lost. Beautiful sentiments, on whatever subjects, have a ten-fold charm when accompanied with the seduction of musical words.

Mr. Howitt's '*Rural Life of England*,'

ies of Essays

which, though they have one common title, are on separate and independent subjects. It is unquestionably a work of no ordinary interest. He has engaged in it with the ardor of an enthusiastic admirer of nature, and is a keen and shrewd observer of human manners and customs. His book is rendered more interesting by copious extracts from various authors; and he pours a flood of light, both borrowed and original, on whatever object he exhibits to his readers. Much, however, as we admire these volumes, and interesting as we have felt them as a whole, they are not altogether to our taste. Their style is occasionally objectionable, and is evidently formed on a bad model. A book which treats of the beauties of nature ought to be characterized by eminent simplicity: it cannot otherwise be in accordance with its subject. Oratorical flourishes and high-flown phrases are here out of their place. When Mr. Howitt writes simply and plainly he writes well; but there are occasionally very evident attempts to be fine, there is sometimes a straining for effect in that semi-poetical diction which is so common among an inferior class of writers in the present day. This is unworthy of the author, who is capable of better things than to imitate the turgid compositions of *Blackwood's Magazine*. This imitation, which we had suspected as we went through the first volume, we found almost confessed at the commencement of the second, where he eulogises 'that wonderful series of articles by Wilson, in *Blackwood's Magazine*,—in their kind, as truly amazing, and as truly glorious, as the romances of Scott, or the poetry of Wordsworth.'

Having thus freely mentioned Mr. Howitt's faults, we must, in common justice, point out his excellencies. The very title is a recommendation to the book; for all classes of persons either are, or affect to be, enamoured of a country life. The inhabitants of cities, and especially of the metropolis, eagerly seize an opportunity of breathing the country air; and descriptions of rural scenery and customs are doubly dear to them, pent up as they are in brick-walls, amid the smoke and pollutions and turmoil of a crowded population. The rural enjoyments of England surpass those of most other countries. If we want the deep blue sky of Italy, and the vines, the olives, and orange-groves of Spain, we have the beauties and luxuries of a more temperate climate in great variety. Fickle as our weather may be, and damp and foggy as is our island, we still have no lack of sunshine. Who has not repeatedly witnessed a sun-rise or sun-set so gorgeous that the very imagination can conceive of nothing more glorious? Foreigners are enraptured with the exquisite cultivation of England, which looks like a vast garden in which art tempers and improves the wildness of nature. We have on a small scale an epitome of the earth, in all its forms of grandeur and beauty;

hills and mountains, woods and forests, rivers and lakes, interspersed with towns and villages, with the mansion and the cottage. The charms of the country multiply with observation. An eye accustomed to perceive its minute beauties looks for them at every step. Every hedge-row is redolent of sweets, and profuse in blossoms. Nature sends up her luxurious shoots from every bank, and arranges them more gracefully than the painter could do with his utmost art. Even her vilest weeds mingle harmoniously with the rest, and help to complete the universal picture. Nothing appears ugly or homely in her grouping. The dock, the thistle, the dandelion, the nettle, are no ungrateful adjunct in the foreground of the landscape. He who views the country with the eye of a painter, sees everywhere masterly touches which no art can imitate. Old and battered buildings are beautified by the pencil of time with innumerable weather-stains broken into every hue; nature has spread her colouring of mosses and lichens on every rock and stone; while the trunk of every tree is itself a world in which the minute forms of vegetation appear in endless variety.

To a mind fully capable of appreciating them, the pleasures of the country are boundless. Yet perhaps none surpass those which are supplied by a garden. Horticulture, in all its branches, is delightful; but the cultivation of flowers is pursued by the genuine flower-fancier with a zest and enthusiasm altogether inconceivable to the uninitiated. Many a poor artisan in our large manufacturing towns finds a delightful recreation in the culture of what are technically called florists' flowers. His polyanthus, auriculas, tulips, ranunculuses, carnations, are the delight of his eyes and his heart. Morning and evening he preserves his health, and lightens his cares by watching over them; shows them with exultation to his friends in their season of bloom; and exhibits them at some annual prize-show to thousands of visitors with as much ambition as stirred the heart of a competitor in the Grecian games. Any thing which tends to encourage a love of gardening adds to the sum of human happiness. The most sacred authority has pointed out this occupation as congenial with man's best dispositions; as encouraging the best feelings of the human heart. A garden was the scene of perfect man's residence, and to dress and keep it was his occupation in the days of his innocence.

These are pure pleasures, entirely uncontaminated and unalloyed by any sinful mixture. The unvitiated mind has a large range, its tastes find a continual gratification in rural scenes, and it is not liable to the satiety and disgust which attend base pleasures. The ardent lover of nature will find much in Mr. Howitt's volumes congenial to his taste, and that will well repay him for the perusal. A considerable part of his work, in every relation

to things of a more questionable kind. When we turn from the face of nature to the haunts of men, the pure pleasures forsake us: all then becomes mixed; and though there may be much to amuse, there is much to grieve. Field sports and rural pastimes come under this predicament.

It will not be denied that there is something exciting in the chase, whether the object be fox, deer, or hare. The baying of the hounds, the sound of the horns, the shouts of the hunters, the scarlet dresses and picturesque grouping, together with the adventurous interest of the scenery, combine to produce an excitation and glow which to most persons would be irresistible. But there are considerations which, in a humane mind, not hackneyed in field sports, interpose to alloy the pleasure. When pleasure is bought by the infliction of pain which amounts to agony, it will scarcely bear reflection; and we suspect that many a keen sportsman does not altogether like, in his cool moments, to examine too closely into the nature of his emotions. If there be one kind of sport less exceptionable than the rest, it is angling. The delightful treatise of old Izaak Walton on this subject has allured multitudes to the river's brink; and it is difficult to rise from the perusal of it without believing with him that an angler must be necessarily possessed of all the virtues. Yet, in spite of all the delightful old man can say, we cannot help suspecting that there is cruelty in impaling a worm, or baiting with a live frog, though we may, all the time, treat him tenderly, and like a brother. The only real exception which we can find is in favour of fly-fishing, by which we mean, of course, fishing with the artificial fly. Here no more pain is inflicted on the unhappy victim than in the ordinary method of killing animals for food; nor a hundredth part of what is often wantonly inflicted by barbarous butchers and servants: and if the neck of the fish be broken by forcibly turning its head back as soon as it is caught, the suffering is but small, for the death is instantaneous. Fishing with the fly for trout or salmon affords a pleasure which no one knows who is inexperienced in the art. Along the brooks and rivers of Scotland and Wales, and, in England, especially those of Devonshire, the beauties of the scenery tend, in no inconsiderable degree, to increase the pleasure. This pleasure it would perhaps be difficult to analyse; but we apprehend many persons will agree with Paley that, of the various delights of a sufficiently happy life, few have been found more delightful than those enjoyed in fly-fishing.

Mr. Howitt's first volume supplies some animated notices of the various kinds of sport, and we were particularly struck with his description of grouse-shooting in the Highlands of Scotland. The irruption of embryo sportsmen into the moorlands previous to the twelfth of August, is pleasingly told, and will afford the reader much amusement. But we extract a paragraph or two from the

close of this chapter, in which the author has 'a word with the 'too sensitive,' and perhaps he has urged all that can be said on the subject:

'I have not attempted to defend the hunter, the courser, or even the shooter, in the preceding chapter, from the charge of cruelty, which is perpetually directed against them—they are a sturdy, and now a very intelligent people; often numbering amongst them many of our principal senators, authors, and men of taste, and very capable of vindicating themselves; but I must enact the shield-bearer for a moment, for that very worthy and much-abused old man, Izaak Walton, and the craft which he has made so fashionable. Spite even of Lord Byron's jingle about the hook and gullet, and a stout fish to pull it, they may say what they will of the old man's cruelty and inconsistency—the death of a worm, a frog, or a fish, is the height of his infiction, and what is that to the ten thousand deaths of cattle, sheep, lambs, fish, and fowl of all kinds, that are daily perpetrated for the sustenance of these same squeamish cavillers! They remind me of a delicate lady, at whose house I was one day, and on passing the kitchen door at ten in the morning, saw a turkey suspended by its heels, and bleeding from its bill, drop by drop. Supposing it was just in its last struggles from a recent death-wound, I passed on, and found the lady lying on her sofa overwhelmed in tears over a most touching story. I was charmed with her sensibility; and the very delightful conversation which I held with her, only heightened my opinion of the goodness of her heart. On accidentally passing by the same kitchen-door in the afternoon, six hours' afterwards, I beheld, to my astonishment, the same turkey suspended from the same nail, still bleeding, drop by drop, and still giving an occasional flutter with its wings! Hastening to the kitchen, I inquired of the cook, if she knew that the turkey was not dead. 'O yes, Sir,' she replied, 'it won't be dead, may happen, these two hours. We always kill turkeys that way, it so improves their colour; they have a vein opened under the tongue, and only bleed a drop at a time!' 'And does your mistress know of this your mode of killing turkeys?' 'O yes, bless you Sir, it's our regular way; mine often sees 'em as she goes to the gardens, and she says sometimes, 'Poor things! I don't like to see 'em Betty; I wish you would hang 'em where I should not see 'em!' I was sick! I was dizzy! It was the hour of dinner, but I walked quietly away,

And ne'er repassed that *bloody* threshold more!

I say, what is Izaak Walton's cruelty to this, and to many another perpetration on the part of the tender and sentimental?'
'I do not mean to advocate cruelty—far from it. I would have all men as gentle and humane as possible; nor do I agree that because the world is full of cruelty, it is any reason that more cruelty should be tolerated; but I mean to say, that it is a reason why there should not be so much permission to the greater evils, and so much clamour about the less. Is there more suffering caused by anything than by taking fishes by the net? Not a thousandth,—not a ten thousandth part!

Where one fish is taken with a hook, it may be safely said that a thousand are taken with the net: for daily are the seas, lakes, and rivers swept with nets; and cod, haddock, halibut, salmon, crabs, lobsters, and every species of fish that supplies our markets, are gathered in thousands, and ten thousands—to say nothing of herrings and pilchards by millions. Over these there is no lamentation; and yet their sufferings are as great—for the suffering does not consist so much in the momentary puncture of a hook, as in the dying for lack of their native element. Then go, those tender-hearted creatures, and feast upon turtles that have come long voyages nailed to the decks of ships in living agonies; upon crabs, lobsters, prawns, and shrimps, that have been scalded to death; and thrust oysters alive into fires, and fry living eels in pans, and curse poor anglers before their gods for cruel monsters, and bless their own souls for pity and goodness, forgetting all the fish-torments they have inflicted.

‘Aye, but,’—they turn round upon you suddenly with what they deem a decisive and unanswerable argument,—‘Aye, but they cannot approve of making the miseries of sentient creatures a pleasure.’ * * * ‘Nobody does seek a pleasure, or make an amusement of the misery of a living creature. The pleasure is in the pursuit of an object, and the art and activity by which a wild creature is captured, and in all those concomitants of pleasant scenery and pleasant seasons that enter into the enjoyment of rural sports,—the *suffering* is only the *casual adjunct*, which you would spare to your victim if you could, and which any humane man will make as small as possible. * * * The principle of chase and taking of prey, which is impressed on almost all living things, from the minutest insect to the lion of the African desert, is impressed with double force on man. By the strong dictates of our nature, by the very words of the Holy Scriptures, every creature is given us for food, our dominion over them is made absolute.’—Vol. I., pp. 63—68.

In attempting to account for the decline of those popular pastimes which gained for our country the name of ‘merry England,’ Mr. Howitt has the following sensible remarks, which, however, in their abridged form, will be read to disadvantage.

‘Amongst the many attempts to account for the sedater cast of the modern popular mind, Mr. Bulwer, in ‘England and English,’ has attributed it to the spread of Methodism. Had he attributed it to Puritanism, he would have been nearer the mark. Methodism may possibly have done something towards it, but it neither began early enough, nor spread universally enough, to have the credit of this change. The decay of popular festivities has been noticed and lamented by writers for the last century. It has been going on both before and since the rise of Methodism, and is equally felt where Methodism is not allowed to show its face, as where it exercises its fullest power. * * * Mighty and many are the causes which have wrought this great national change; causes which have been operating upon us for the last three-hundred years; and are so intimately connected with our whole

national progress, political and intellectual—with all our growing greatness, with all our glory and our sorrow, that had not Methodism existed, that character would have been exactly what it is.

The Reformation laid the foundation of this change. While we had an absolute pope, and an absolute king; while the people were neither educated, nor allowed to read the Bible, nor to be represented in parliament; while the monarch and a few noble families held all the lands of the kingdom, the lower classes had nothing to do but to follow their masters to the wars, or live easily and dance gaily in time of peace. The retainers of great power, the labourers in the fields, foresters, and shepherds following their solitary occupations, constituted the bulk of the nation. Merchants and merchandise were few; our great trading towns and interests did not exist; the days of newspapers, of religious disputes, of literature, and periodicals were not come. The people were either at work or at play. When their work was over, play was their sole resource. They danced, they acted rude plays, and pantomimes, with all the zest and gaiety of children, for their heads were as unoccupied with knowledge and grave concerns as those of children. * * * It was equally the concern of the civil government and the hierarchy to encourage sports and festivities, to keep them out of dangerous inquiries into their own condition, or rights. * * * While the system continued, this spirit and national character must have continued likewise; but the Reformation burst like a volcano from beneath, and scattered the whole smiling surface into disjointed fragments, or buried it beneath the lava of ruin.

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The struggle with enemies abroad, and with the rapidly maturing spirit of religious freedom at home, kept Elizabeth engaged, and induced in her a rigour of persecution, and in the people a rigour of resistance and the soul of martyrdom. Before the development of these antagonist powers, all lightness fled; singing gave way to preaching and listening; dancing, to running anxiously to know the fate of sufferers, and the doctrines of fresh-springing teachers. So completely had the old relish for merriment and pastimes died out, that her successor, James, endeavoured to compel the people, by the publication of his 'Book of Sports,' to be jocose and gamesome. But it would not do. * * * Charles II., indeed, could revive licentiousness, but he could not bring back the holiday guise of 'the old profession.' And what has been the course of England since? One ever-widening and ascending course of mighty wars, expanding commerce, vast colonization, and the growth of science, literature, and general knowledge. * * * Our minds have been stirred mightily, and, like animals that during their wintry torpor feel no hunger, yet feel it keenly the moment they are awake, they have become hungry for congenial aliment. We have fed on much knowledge, and are no longer children, but full-grown men, with manly appetites and experienced tastes. Could we now sit, as our ancestors did, for nine hours together at a mystery? Could we endure to read through the chronicles and romances of the middle ages—books which spun out their recitals to the most extraordinary length, and were never too long; for books then were few? If we could not,

so neither could the simple pleasures and rural festivities satisfy the peasantry of this. We are the creatures of new circumstances, and of a higher reach of knowledge. A combination of causes, too puissant to be resisted, has made hopeless all return to the juvenilities of the past.'—vol. ii. p. 143—150.

The chapters on forest scenery are admirable; and we can bear witness to the fidelity of our Author's description of the New Forest in particular.

'It has not acquired, like Windsor, too much of a park-like character by containing a royal residence; nor has it been enclosed, and shaped into quadrangular fields: but there it is, in its original extent, vast, wild, stocked with deer; with its alternations of woods and heaths, morasses, and thickets; interspersed with hamlets and farms; and forest-huts, as were the forests of old. As you go from Southampton to Lyndhurst, you have a fine ride through its lower regions, and see enough to make you desire to steal away into the beautiful woodlands. Lovely streams come winding out of its shades, and hasten towards the sea. You get glimpses of forest glades, and peeps under the trees into distant park-like expanses, or heathy wastes. The deer are wandering here and there: here you see whole troops of those ponies peculiar to this forest; pheasants and partridges come often running out on the way before you. All about grow hollies, which were encouraged in most ancient forests for winter browse; and you have glimpses of forest-trees that were enough to enrich all the landscape painters in the work. But if you wish to know really what New Forest is, you must plunge into its very heart, and explore its furthest recesses. You may go on from wood to wood, and from heath to heath; now coming out on the high ground, as on the Ringwood road, the wild forest lying visible for miles around, and the country towards Southampton and to the very sea, all spread out wide and beautifully to the eye:—now descending into profound solitudes, and the depth of woodland gloom. It is a wild, wide region, in which you may satiate yourselves with nature in its primitive freedom.' * * * When you step into the New Forest, you step at once out of the present world into the past. You do not see it existing before your eyes as a remnant of antiquity, but as a portion of it, into which, as by some charm, you are carried. It is not a decaying relic; it is a perfect and present thing. The trees are not scathed and hollow skeletons, except in some few places, but stand the full-grown and vigorous giants of the wood. This is owing to the timber being cut down for the navy ere it begins to perish, and yet being left to attain a sufficient growth, and to furnish vast woods that extend over hill and dale, and give you foot-room for days and weeks without fear of exhausting the novelty. It looks now as it must have looked to the eye of one of our Norman monarchs, except that the marks of the conqueror's ravages and fires are worn out; the ruins of churches and cottages are buried beneath the accumulated mosses and earth of ages; and peaceful smoke ascends from the woodland habitations.'—vol. ii. pp. 84, 85.

Among the multifarious contents of these volumes, many subjects of great interest will be found. There is a beautiful chapter on 'the favourite pursuits of English Cottagers.' We have the country life of the rich and of the poor displayed with equal faithfulness. There is a historical and descriptive account of the gypsies. 'The Terrors of a Solitary House,' are depicted with admirable truth and effect. Out-of-the-way places are brought to light, such as we had previously no knowledge of. The chapters entitled 'Nooks of the World,' and 'Life in the 'Dales of Lancashire and Yorkshire,' will, to most of our readers, be novel and striking. All these are interspersed with personal narrative and adventures, written in a very vivacious manner. We take our leave of Mr. Howitt with quoting one of them from his description of 'the Village Inn,' which will give a fair specimen of his manner in this kind of writing.

'The scene presented is worth describing, as a bit of rural life. About half a dozen villagers occupied the centre of the great circular wooden screen, at one end of which I was seated. Before them stood the common three-legged round table of the country public-house, on which stood their mugs of ale. The table, screen, fire-irons, floor, everything had an air of the greatest cleanness. Opposite to me, in one of the great old elbow-chairs, so common in country inns in the north, some of them, indeed, with rockers to them, in which full-grown people sit rocking themselves with as much satisfaction as children, sat an old man in duffil-grey trowsers and jacket, and with his hat on; and close at my left hand a tall, good-looking fellow of apparently fifty-five, who had the dress of a master stone-mason, but a look of vivacity and knowingness, very different to the rest of the company. There was a look of the wag or the rake about him. He was, in fact, evidently a fellow that in any place or station would be a gay, roystering blade; and if dressed in a court dress, would cut a gallant figure too. He eyed me with that expression which said he only wanted half a word to make himself very communicative.

'The check which my entrance had given to the talk and laughter which I heard on first opening the door, had now passed, and I found a keen dispute going on upon the important question of how many quicksets there are in a yard, when planted four inches asunder. The old man opposite I found was what a punster would term a fencing-master; a planter of fences; a founder and establisher of hawthorn hedges for the whole country round; and; out of his profession the dispute had arisen. The whole question hinged on the simple inquiry, whether a quickset was put in at the very commencement of the line of fence, or only at the end of the first four inches. In the first case, there would be evidently nine; in the latter, only eight. The matter in dispute was so simple and demonstrable, that one wondered how it could afford a dispute at all. Some, however, contended there were eight quicksets, and some that there were nine; and to demonstrate they had chalked out the line of fence with its division into yards, and sub-

division into four inches, on the hearth with a cinder; but the dispute still went on as keenly as if the thing were not thus plainly before their eyes, or as disputes continue in a more national assembly on things as self-evident: and many an earnest appeal was made from both sides to the old hedger, who having once given his decision, disdained to return any further reply than by a quiet withdrawal of his pipe from his mouth, a quiet draught of ale, and the simple asseveration of—'Nay, I'm sure!' The debate might have grown as tediously prolix as the debates just alluded to, had not my left-hand neighbour, the tall man of lively aspect, turned to me, and, pointing to the cindery diagram on the hearth, said, 'What things these stay-at-home neighbours of mine can make a dispute out of! What would Ben Jonson have thought of such simpletons? Look here! if these noisy chaps had ever read a line of 'Homer' or 'Hesiod,' they wouldn't plague their seven senses out about nothing at all. Why, any child of a twelve-month old would settle their mighty question with the first word it learned to speak. Eight or nine quicksets indeed! and James Broadfoot there who should know rather better than them, for he has planted as many in his time as would reach all around England, and Ireland to boot, has told them ten times over. Eight or nine numb-skulls, I say!'

'O!' said I, a good deal surprised—'and so you have read 'Homer' and 'Hesiod,' have you?'

'To be sure I have,' replied my mercurial neighbour, 'and a few other poets too. I have not spent all my life in this sleepy-headed place, I can assure you.'

'What, you have travelled as well as read then?'

'Yes, and I have travelled too, master. Ben Johnson was a stone-mason; and if I am not a stone-mason, I am a sculptor, and that is first cousin to it. When Ben Jonson first entered London with a hod of mortar on his head, and a two-foot rule in his pocket, I dare say he knew no more that he had twenty plays in his head, than I knew of all the cherubims I should carve, and the epitaphs I should cut; and yet I have cut a few in my time, and written them too beforehand.'

'O! and you are a poet too?' he nodded assent, and taking up his mug of ale, and fixing his eyes steadfastly on me over the top of it as he drank with a look of triumph—then setting down his mug—'And if you want to know that, you have only to walk into the church-yard in the morning, and there you'll find plenty of my verses, and cut with a pen of iron too, as Job wished his elegy to be.' Here however, lest I should not walk into the church-yard, he recited a whole host of epitaphs, many of which must have made epitaph-hunters stare, if they really were put on head-stones.

'Well,' I said, 'you astonish me with your learning and wit. I certainly did not look for such a person in this village—but pray where have you travelled?'

'O! it's a long story—but this I can tell you—I have gone so near to the end of the world that I could not put sixpence between my head and the sky?'

'At this, the whole company of disputants forgot their quicksets, lifted their heads and cried. - 'Well done Septimus Scallop. That's a good 'un. If the gentleman can swallow that, he can any thing.'

'O!' said I, 'I don't doubt it.'

'Don't doubt it!' they shouted all at once—'don't doubt it? Why, do you think any man ever could get to where the sky was so low as he could not get in sixpence between his head and it?'

'Yes, he could, and often has done—make yourselves sure of that. If a man has not a sixpence, he cannot put it between his head and the sky; and he is pretty near the world's end too, I think.'

'Here they all burst into a shout of laughter, in the midst of which open flew the door, and a tall figure rushed into the middle of the house, wrapped in a shaggy coat of many capes, dripping with wet, and holding up a huge horn lantern. A face of wonderful length and of a ghastly aspect glared from behind the lantern, and a voice of the most ludicrous lamentation bawled out—'For —'s sake, lads, come and help me to find my wagon and horses! I've lost my wagon! I've lost my wagon!' Up jumped the whole knot of disputants, and demanded where he had lost it. The man said, 'that while he went to deliver a parcel in the village, the wagon had gone on. That he heard it at a distance,' and cried 'woa! woa! but the harder he cried, and the farther he went, the faster it went too.' At this intelligence, away marched every one of the good-natured crew excepting the wit. 'And why don't you go?' I asked.—'Go! pugh! It's only that soft brother of mine, Tim Scallop, the Doncaster carrier. I'll be bound now that the wagon hasn't moved an inch from the spot he left it in. He has heard the wind roaring, and does not know it from his *own* wagon wheels! Here these poor simpletons will go running their hearts out for some miles, and then they will come back and find the horses where he left them. I could go and lay my hand on them in five minutes. But they are just as well employed as in grinning Mrs. Tappit's hearth-stone. Never mind;—I was telling you of what the hostler said to Ben Jonson, when Ben was reeling home early one morning from a carouse, and Ben declared that he was never as pricked with a horse-nail-stump in his life—

BEN.—Thou silly groom
Take away thy broom,
And let Ben Jonson pass:

GROOM.—O! rare Ben!
Turn back again,
And take another glass!

'Septimus Scallop, laughed at the hostler's repartee, and I laughed too, but my amusement had a different source from his. There was something irresistibly ludicrous in the generous rushing forth of the whole company to the aid of the poor carrier, except the witty brother! But he was quite right: in about an hour, in came the guest—

natured men, streaming with rain like drowned rats, and declaring, that after running three miles and finding no wagon, they bethought themselves of turning back to where the carrier said it was last; and there they had nearly run their noses against it, standing exactly where he left it.

• So much for the village inn.'—vol. ii. pp. 238—243.

And so much for plain, sensible English. This is a great deal better than semi-poetical prose.

Art. IV. Speeches of Henry Lord Brougham, upon Questions Relating to Public Rights, Duties, and Interests; with Historical Introductions, and a Critical Dissertation upon the Eloquence of the Ancients. 4 vols. 8vo. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black. London: Longman and Co.

IT has lately become the fashion for great men to superintend the publication of their *collected* works, and instead of entrusting their fame to the care of some chance-editor, to take an opportunity of pleading their own cause with posterity; of explaining what is intricate, and illustrating what is obscure; of clearing up allusions, and rendering asterisks and dashes significant. All this is done by notes of their own, instead of leaving the said notes to be supplied from the judgment, the conjecture, the fancy, the ignorant self-sufficiency, or blind partialities of the commentator. This custom we deem a laudable one. If there have been one or two individuals of somewhat doubtful claims to immortality, who have been needlessly solicitous about the superintendence of their 'whole works'—who have been superfluously anxious to set themselves right with posterity without asking themselves whether posterity will at all trouble itself about the matter—who have, so to speak, been employed in ceremoniously celebrating their own exequies—performing the part of their own undertakers—emblazoning their fore-doomed productions in fair type, and embalming them in goodly paper;—if there have been one or two such, it cannot be denied that we owe to this custom some of the most interesting editions of collected works, which have ever issued from the press. We need name only the Scott edition of the Waverly Novels, Southey's Works, and now, the Speeches of undoubtedly the greatest orator, and in many other respects, one of the most remarkable men of the present day. Such, we are convinced, all our readers will admit the Right Honorable Lord Brougham to be, whatever the views they may take of some portions of his recent political conduct, and whether

their estimate of his political character in general be favorable or otherwise.

There are not a few, once enthusiastic admirers of this great man, who have been exceedingly dissatisfied with some things he has of late done, and with still more that he has said. Of these grounds of dissatisfaction we shall speak briefly by and bye. But we trust never to forget—what many seem in danger of forgetting—that he has been for more than thirty years identified with every cause dear to the hearts of his countrymen; that of every such cause he has been the most unwearied and consistent advocate, and to its furtherance devoted the whole of his all but superhuman energies. We never can forget that to him—directly or indirectly—England is *more* indebted than to any other living man, for the advancement of education—the abolition of slavery—the maintenance and extension of liberty, whether civil or religious; and to him, *as much* as to any man, for parliamentary reform, and the consequent reforms of all other kinds;—for that new adjustment of power, that introduction of a sanative element into our constitution, which, if it will not always secure a good government, will infallibly preserve the people, so long as they please, from a very bad one; and, neutralizing the very corruptionists themselves, compel them, should they regain office, to do no mischief if they will do no good, and to do good if they do any thing. If reform has not brought us all the positive advantages that were promised and are still hoped for, the circumscription of evil,—the clipping and paring of the talons of corruption,—must be deemed the greatest advantage of all. If the demon has not been cast out, its destructive potency has at least been arrested by the spell which has been cast upon it.—Of this great revolution, and of all the most important events which immediately led to it, Lord Brougham may say with decent pride and exultation, '*Pars MAGNA fui*.'

Into the question how far he was impelled by less noble motives than those inspired by patriotism in making these gigantic exertions, we feel no inclination, and we see no necessity to enter. There is no reason to doubt that he was honestly animated by a desire to benefit and bless his country; while of other and inferior motives, we apprehend there was no larger alloy than enters into the conduct of *other* statesmen; which, by the bye, many readers may consider no very flattering compliment. That he has had his ambition, egotism, vanity, may be all true enough; still the main facts of the case remain as they were; and his claims upon the gratitude and reverence of all who love freedom, hate oppression, and desire improvement, are strong and unimpeachable.

As to the tone and spirit which he has lately sometimes manifested, we certainly do not feel ourselves called upon to express a like approval. And if there were the slightest chance of our

humble pages meeting his Lordship's eye, we should assuredly take the opportunity of expressing our deep regret that his resentment, his want of dignity and self-control, his haste and irritability of temper, his apparent impatience of loss of power, should hurry him to do any thing that may dim his fair fame, and render the hour of his setting less brilliant and fair than it undoubtedly may be. A little more magnanimity would have placed him in a truly lofty and enviable position—nor is it even now impossible that he may attain it.

We believe that we are by no means the only persons who regret that Lord Brougham should ever have become a Lord and a Lord Chancellor,—or a man in office at all. For his coronet and seals, he bartered power far greater and more substantial than any which coronet or seals could bring him,—even had he been better fitted by nature and habit to make the most of his losing bargain. He himself seems to be of the same opinion. At least it is hard to conceive that the following sentence, in his speech on the change of ministry in 1834, was not edged by bitter reflections on an event less remote in history than that to which it refers. 'Lord Chatham,' says he, 'took an earldom and left the House of Commons, *which no one ever did voluntarily*, without bitterly rueing the step, when he found the price paid to be the loss of all real power.'

We have said that the acceptance of a coronet and office would still have been a sacrifice, even if nature and habit had better fitted him for the change. But both nature and habit had just exactly fitted him for the post he relinquished. As to the very audience, before which he was to exercise his incomparable oratory, half its power was lost in the Lords. His scanty audience—*not* 'fit though few,'—was formed for the most part of the most intractable, ceremonious, and unsympathizing hearers. We know that this alone is half sufficient to damp the most fervid eloquence. If Lord Brougham—the most accomplished speaker of his day—has failed in any point as an orator, it has been in not knowing how to adapt himself to the spirit and tone of his lordly auditory: 'to hit the house,' as Burke said, with his usual felicity, of Charles Townshend, 'exactly between wind and water.' But with such qualities, as his lordship's eloquence possesses, it would have been a Herculean task indeed to fulfil this condition. He frequently provoked them by his energy and impetuosity—his rough 'Saxon;' while his occasional attempts at conciliation and compliment—his strange praises of hereditary wisdom—were equally infelicitous. Cerberus regarded neither the sop nor the blows, but continued to regard the unwelcome visitant with a grim and unrelaxing visage. The only occasions on which his oratory has been truly acceptable to the House, have been when attacking his former friends, or employing his rare powers of irony and sarcasm in making, like

Sampson, sport for the lords of the Philistines. On such occasions, he reminds us of Milton's description of the elephant gambolling before our first parents in Paradise :

‘ — The unwieldy elephant,
To make them mirth, used all his might, and wreathed
His lithe proboscis.’

As the House of Peers was about as fit an element for Lord Brougham to live in, as the air would be to a fish, or the water to a bird, so the duties of *office* were about as fit functions for him, as flying would be to the former, or swimming to the latter. Office, if he knew his own strength, he would never covet; nor regret the loss of it. With (we verily believe) quite as much honesty and patriotism as the generality of statesmen, he wants other qualities of which no successful statesman was ever destitute. The very powers which mark him out as the great popular champion—the first to enter the breach, and lead the onset against political corruption, unfit him for the duties of a cool, self-possessed, calculating man in office. His impetuosity, his eagerness, his irritability, his impatience of silence, his disposition to speak out all he thinks, and just when he thinks it, his apparent inability to let things pass, to watch his advantage and bide his time,—all these render him a questionable ally of any ministry. The very frequency with which he speaks,—at all times, on all subjects,—must tend to impair his weight and to cheapen what he says, as was the case with Burke, and as has been the case with many great political speakers. In a word, we question whether there ever was a man of such great accomplishments, of such transcendent talents, distinguished by less prudence or self-control; he can perform wonders with his tongue, but it would be a still greater miracle than any his eloquence has achieved, if he could govern it. He knows but too well how to speak, if he would but learn when to be silent.

For ourselves, therefore, it is no matter of regret that he is out of office, nor have we any wish to see him reinstated in it. All we are anxious for is, that he should use aright those talents with which it has pleased God to endow him almost beyond any man of his age, in a manner that shall benefit his country and do honour to himself; not in party-squabbling, not in the everlasting interchange of sarcasms and recriminations with his former friends, not in petty attacks and petty defence on this or that point connected with the history of the late and present administration. No, we wish to see the vast energies of his mind exclusively engaged in the discussion of great principles, or the preparation of great measures, without reference to the support or hostility of parties; giving government a hearty and honest support where he can, but

not eager to multiply and exasperate the points of difference between himself and them. In a word, we do *not* wish to see him engaged as he too often was during the last session.

We are well known to be no thorough-going advocates of the present administration, and we have never ceased to exclaim loudly against many of their acts. But we cannot think they have met with candid treatment at Lord Brougham's hands. He may reply that neither has he met with such treatment from them. We do not at all feel called upon to maintain the contrary; nor is it necessary that we should do so for our present argument. It is against the undignified and pernicious strife itself, that his lordship should be on his guard. He has entered in his fourth volume, (in the Preface to his speech on what he calls the 'Maltreatment of the North American colonies,') into a defence of the sentiments and opinions to which he has given expression during this session. He tells us that he has always held these opinions and sentiments, and that he is but consistent in giving expression to them. 'It is respectfully asked,' he says, 'why Lord Brougham alone should be complained of, for continuing, since Nov. 1837, to abide by the very same principles which he had not taken up for the first time in Nov. 1830, but held in all former times.' Now to this representation we might demur; but we do not rest our reply at all upon this. We might say that, though such defence may be as to certain points conclusive, we fail to perceive such an entire consistency between Lord Brougham's opinions and declarations in office and out of it; still less between his tone and manner in the two cases. We cannot believe that four years ago he would have approved of those 'essential alterations' in the Reform Bill, for which he now pleads; that he would now maintain what he once did, that the minority in Ireland had a right to their ecclesiastical establishments in defiance of the majority; we do believe that he has thoroughly renounced the scheme of slave apprenticeship, which he once maintained. Do we blame Lord Brougham for having reconsidered, perhaps revised, certainly altered some of his opinions? By no means. We merely adduce these facts to show that he has sometimes been the advocate of views which he has not 'held in *all* former times;' and that a little moderation and forbearance might therefore be expected from him in urging those views in opposition to his former colleagues, who unhappily may still remain 'in the starkness of their ignorance.'

But as we have already said, we do not rest our reply to Lord Brougham's defence of himself, on the inconsistency of his opinions. That inconsistency is, perhaps, no greater than may always be expected between human nature *in* office and human nature *out* of office. But can Lord Brougham be ignorant, that the

main objection which many of his friends and admirers have taken to some portions of his recent conduct lies for the most part less against the substance of what he has said on great occasions, than against the manner in which his opposition has been displayed, and the spirit by which he has appeared to be actuated? It is the *animus* of his opposition, more than the opposition itself, which convicts and condemns him. It is the impetuosity and frequency of his assaults; the vigilant eagerness with which he watches to detect any vulnerable point, and the mortal animosity with which he drives his keenest weapons there; the apparent disposition to find his old friends and colleagues in the wrong; the tone of bitterness and contempt with which he speaks of them—the readiness which he has displayed to make their alleged weakness and imbecility the topics of grateful invective, at times and seasons, which rendered the introduction of such matter not particularly relevant—as for example, in the wonderfully eloquent speeches delivered last spring before the great Anti-slavery Meetings at Exeter Hall; it is these things which make his enemies say—‘there spoke ‘soured ambition—there is the resentment of a man of great mind ‘and a little soul—of great genius and no magnanimity.’ If the noble lord knew the feelings with which such exhibitions are witnessed by his friends—and we profess ourselves amongst the number who sincerely admire his genius, and wish to see it worthily employed,—we verily believe he would abstain from them. If not; if he persevere in the same course, he must commit suicide on his splendid reputation. The reputation of great abilities, of a mind of vast compass and power he cannot divest himself of; but the dearer and more imperishable reputation founded on moral respect, he will assuredly impair.

It is still possible to regain his true position. If he cannot command an audience so much to his taste, so disposed to sympathise with his views, and so likely to be wrought upon by his eloquence as the House of Commons, he can, at all events, speak in the House of Lords; as some one said, when he heard his lordship addressing to some listless dozen of his frigid auditory, ‘he can speak *through* them to the nation. He may use their lordship’s house as a *sounding-board* to convey his opinions over the empire. And what a proud and dignified position might he there occupy! concentrating the energies of his mind upon great matters; rising only on occasions worthy of his eloquence—not wasting his powers, nor cheapening his character by impatiently thrusting in a word on every trumpery discussion about matters of form, little party disputes, and insignificant petitions.

If ever there was a man in our country who was qualified by nature or by habit for exercising a powerful influence over the popular mind by his eloquence, it is Lord Brougham. We have

not the slightest doubt, that whatever other greatness he may be celebrated for by posterity, he will be chiefly remembered as the greatest orator of his day ; perhaps, with the exception of Charles James Fox, the greatest orator this country has ever produced. Certainly, with that single exception, we know of no man who combines so many of the qualities of the highest and truest kind of eloquence as Lord Brougham ; none, who approximates so nearly to that greatest of all orators, whose eloquence Lord Brougham has so deeply pondered, which he has so successfully illustrated, and with the spirit of which he is so thoroughly imbued—Demosthenes. It is evident, that he has made that prince of orators, the subject of his intense study, and that sort of unconscious and never servile imitation, which is the result of a keen perception and profound admiration of the excellences of the models we propose to ourselves. Nor is there any man, so far as we know, whose example may more clearly show, in spite of the superficial notions of some despisers of rhetoric, the advantage which must accrue from having early imbued the mind with just notions of what the highest kind of eloquence is, and must be : such a systematic knowledge of its nature, constantly, though imperceptibly, influences and guides the mind in its efforts to attain it.

But whatever study and practice may have done for this great orator, there can be no question, that the original structure of his mind is by no means dissimilar to that of him who ‘fulminated over Greece.’ Possessed of an intellect, at once capacious and acute ; of an imagination quite strong enough to serve the purposes of concise and energetic illustration, but not so strong as to suffocate and enfeeble his eloquence with excessive ornament, or to induce him to forget, as has been the fate of so many orators, the limits between eloquence and poetry ; possessed of the most tremendous command of sarcasm and invective ; distinguished by the utmost intensity and impetuosity of passion ; and uniting with all this the most imperial command over our vernacular English,—an instrument he seems to use absolutely at will ; his eloquence often exhibits that involved stream or rapid succession and intermixture of argument, illustration, and impassioned feeling, which constitutes the eloquence of Demosthenes. Even the very structure of his sentences (making all allowance for the immeasurable superiority which results from the superior genius of the Greek language), often reminds one of his great model. The long and involved periods in which he indulges beyond any other orator of the day, and which are yet perfectly clear and perspicuous, despite their length and intricacy,—periods in which the meaning seems continually to grow, and unroll without any prospect of termination,—are often most powerful ; and leave one almost at a loss to imagine how a language which from its want of

inflections, is so little adapted to this species of style, could be made to such an extent pliant and tractable. In the extraordinary compression and energy too of expression, in the very sparing use of ornament, in that simplicity of diction, which those of vitiated taste would call nakedness, he bears a strong resemblance to the Greek models. But though each single expression of a sentiment is often brief and startlingly energetic, it must be confessed, that there are sometimes superfluous repetitions of them. He has not, in this respect so successfully copied the moderation of his great master, though no one was ever more sensible of this excellence than his lordship; we mean, that of 'never over doing,' as Lord Brougham himself calls it,—the being satisfied with a single phrase or word when it fully and forcibly conveys all that the orator means. Lord Brougham well describes this in his celebrated 'Inaugural Discourse.' He says, 'in nothing, not even in beauty of collocation and harmony of rhythm, is the vast superiority of the chaste, vigorous, manly style of the Greek orators and writers more conspicuous than in the abstinent use of their prodigious faculties of expression. A single phrase, sometimes a word, and the work is done; the desired impression is made, as it were, with one stroke, there being nothing superfluous interposed to weaken the blow, or break its fall.' Now, it must be admitted, that his lordship does sometimes 'over-do;' his expression is too varied and ample—whether the result of his speaking so much, and often necessarily with so little preparation, we cannot say. Still, we must confess, that we think it is more frequently the fault of his later than his earlier efforts.

Having spoken in such high terms of Lord Brougham as an orator, and even ventured to do—what we are sure he would not do for himself—to mention him, as in his best moods, not unworthy of being associated with Demosthenes, we must justify the audacious praise by one or two short extracts, which are, in our opinion, as truly eloquent as any thing to be met with in the whole range of English oratory.

Perhaps, it is in his lordship's speeches, on the 'Slave-trade' and 'Slavery,' that he has displayed the greatest power and splendour of eloquence. Nor is this to be wondered at. The very nature of the topics themselves was fully calculated to inspire that intensity of passion which is requisite to stimulate the full energies of his intellect. It is to these speeches, then, that we shall confine ourselves. We know of no invective more tremendous than that which closes his speech on negro-slavery, delivered in the House Commons, in 1830.

'Sir, I have done; I trust that, at length, the time, is come, when parliament will no longer bear to be told, that slave-owners are the

best law-givers on slavery ; no longer allow an appeal from the British public, to such communities as those in which the Smiths and Grimshalls are persecuted to death, for teaching the gospel to the negroes ; and the Mosses holden in affectionate respect for torture and murder : no longer suffer our voice to roll across the Atlantic in empty warnings, and fruitless orders. Tell me not of rights ! talk not of the property of the planter in his slaves ! I deny the right ! I acknowledge not the property ! The principles, the feelings of our common nature, rise in rebellion against it. Be the appeal made to the understanding or to the heart, the sentence is the same that rejects it. In vain you tell me of laws that sanction such a claim ! There is a law above all the enactments of human codes ; the same throughout the world, the same in all times—such as it was before the daring genius of Columbus pierced the night of ages, and opened to one world the sources of power, wealth, and knowledge ; to another, all unutterable woes ;—such it is at this day : it is the law written by the finger of God on the heart of man ; and by that law, unchangeable and eternal, while men despise fraud, and loathe rapine, and abhor blood, they will reject with indignation the wild and guilty phantasy, that man can hold property in man ! In vain you appeal to treaties, to covenants between nations : the covenants of the Almighty, whether the old covenant or the new, denounce such unholy pretensions. To those laws did they of old refer who maintained the African trade. Such treaties did they cite, and not untruly ; for by one shameful compact you bartered the glories of Blenheim for the traffic in blood. Yet, in despite of law and of treaty, that infernal traffic is now destroyed, and its votaries put to death like other pirates. How came this change to pass ? Not, assuredly, by parliament leading the way ; but the country at length awoke ; the indignation of the people was kindled ; it descended in thunder, and smote the traffic, and scattered its guilty profits to the winds. Now, then, let the planters beware—let their assemblies beware—let the government at home beware—let the parliament beware ! The same country is once more awake—awake to the condition of negro slavery ; the same indignation kindles in the bosom of the same people ; the same cloud is gathering that annihilated the slave trade : and, if it shall descend again, they, on whom its crash may fall, will not be destroyed before I have warned them : but I pray that their destruction may turn away from us the more terrible judgments of God !

Not unworthy of being compared with this very powerful passage, is the close of his speech on the slave trade in 1810.

‘ It is now three years since that abominable traffic has ceased to be sanctioned by the law of the land ; and, I thank God, I may therefore now indulge in expressing feelings towards it, which delicacy rather to the law than the traffic, might before that period, have rendered it proper to suppress. After a long and most unaccountable silence of the law on this head, which seemed to protect, by permitting, or at least by not prohibiting the traffic, it has now spoken out, and the veil which it has appeared to interpose being now withdrawn, it is fit to let our indignation fall on those who still dare to trade in

human flesh,—not merely for the frauds of common smugglers, but for engaging in crimes of the deepest dye; in crimes always most iniquitous, even when not illegal; but which now are as contrary to law as they have ever been to honesty and justice. I must protest loudly against the abuse of language, which allows such men to call themselves traders or merchants. It is not commerce, but crime, that they are driving. I too well know, and too highly respect, that most honourable and useful pursuit, that commerce whose province it is to humanize and pacify the world—so alien in its nature to violence and fraud—so formed to flourish in peace and in honesty—so inseparably connected with freedom, and good will, and fair dealing,—I deem too highly of it to endure that its name should, by a strange perversion, be prostituted to the use of men who live by treachery, rapine, torture, and murder, and are habitually practising the worst of crimes for the basest of purposes. When I say murder, I speak literally and advisedly. I mean to use no figurative phrase, and I know I am guilty of no exaggeration. I am speaking of the worst form of that crime. For ordinary murders there may even be some excuse. Revenge may have arisen from the excess of feelings honourable in themselves. A murder of hatred, or cruelty, or mere blood-thirstiness, can only be imputed to a deprivation of reason. But here we have to do with cool, deliberate, mercenary murder; nay, worse than this; for the ruffians who go on the highway, or the pirates who infest the seas, at least expose their persons, and by their courage, throw a kind of false glare over their crimes. But these wretches dare not do this. They employ others as base as themselves, only that they are less cowardly; they set on men to rob and kill, in whose spoils they are ready to share, though not in their dangers. Traders, or merchants, do they presume to call themselves? and in cities like London and Liverpool, the very creations of honest trades? I will give them the right name, at length, and call them cowardly suborners of piracy and mercenary murder! Seeing this determination, on the part of these infamous persons, to elude the Abolition Act, it is natural for me to ask, before I conclude, whether any means can be devised for its more effectual execution. I would suggest the propriety of obtaining from the Portuguese government, either in perpetuity, or for a term of years, the island of Bissao, situated on the African coast, and the only foreign settlement in that quarter where our commerce chiefly lies. This cession would leave us a coast of 500 miles extent, wholly uninterrupted, and greatly facilitating the destruction of the slave traffic in that part of Africa. I would next remark that the number of cruises employed on the African coast is too scanty. It is thither, and not to America, that vessels intended to detect slave traders should be sent; because a slave ship must remain for some weeks on the coast to get in her cargo, whereas she could run into her port of destination in the West Indies in a night, and thus escape detection; yet, to watch a coast so extensive as the African, we had never above two, and now have only one cruiser. I would recommend, that the ships thus employed should be of a light construction and small draught of water, that they may cross the bars of the harbours, in order to follow the

slave-ships into the shallows and creeks, and up the mouths of rivers, and also that they should be well manned and provided with boats, for the same purpose. It would be impossible to employ six or seven light ships better than on such a service. It is even more economical to employ a sufficient number; the occasion for them would, by this means, speedily cease! Once root out the trade, and there is little fear of its again springing up. The industry and capital required by it will find out other vents. The labour and ingenuity of the persons engaged in it will seek the different channels which will continue open. Some of them will naturally go on the highway, while others will betake themselves to piracy, and the law might, in due time, dispose of them.

‘But I should not do justice either to my own sentiments or to the great cause which I am maintaining, were I to stop here. All the measures I have mentioned are mere expedients—mere make-shifts and palliatives, compared with the real and effectual remedy for this grand evil, which I have no hesitation in saying it is now full time to apply. I should, indeed have been inclined to call the idea of stopping such a traffic by pecuniary penalties, an absurdity and inconsistency, had it not been adopted by parliament, and were I not also persuaded that in such cases it is necessary to go on by steps, and often to do what we can, rather than attempt what we wish. While you levy your pence, the wholesale dealers in blood and torture pocket their pounds, and laugh at your two-penny penalty.’

But it is now high time that we should give some account of the contents of these portly and well-filled volumes. A large portion of them has appeared before, though never in so authentic a form. The principal feature of the work, however, consists in the ‘Introductions,’ by which most of the speeches are prefaced, and which cannot occupy much less than one volume out of the four. These ‘Introductions’ contain a brief history of the questions to which the speeches relate—the circumstances under which the said speeches were delivered—and, above all, biographical sketches of the parties who took a principal share in the questions they discuss. Thus, in these volumes, (embracing as they do speeches on almost all subjects of vital interest to the country,) we have portraits, and from a first-rate artist, of a large number of Lord Brougham’s political contemporaries. They are many of them distinguished by great discrimination and strength of colouring. We shall select two or three of them, after we have briefly enumerated the contents of the four volumes.

The first volume contains a speech on Military Flogging; the celebrated defence of Queen Caroline; the argument for the Queen’s Coronation; the speech against the Rev. Richard Blacow, for libelling the Queen; on certain alleged libels against the Durham clergy; a dissertation on the Law of Libel; parliamentary speeches on Commerce and Manufactures; Agricultural

and Manufacturing Districts; the Army Estimates, and the Holy Alliance.

The second volume contains numerous speeches on Slavery, Law Reform, and Parliamentary Reform.

The third volume contains various speeches and addresses, in and out of Parliament, on the subject of Education, together with the letter to Sir Samuel Romilly on the Abuse of Charities, and the celebrated inaugural discourse at Glasgow University; upon Scotch Parliamentary and Burgh Reform, and on English Municipal Reform; a discourse on the Law of Marriage, Divorce, and Legitimacy; speech on the Scotch Marriage and Divorce Bill; speeches on the Poor Laws; and an address on the Establishment of the Liverpool Mechanics' Institute.

The fourth volume contains speeches on the Affairs of Ireland; at the Grey Festival; on the Change of Ministry in 1834; on the Business of Parliament; on the 'Maltreatment' of the North American Colonies: on the Civil List, and on Privilege of Parliament. The volume concludes with a dissertation on the Eloquence of the Ancients; to which is subjoined an Appendix, containing illustrations and translations.

We shall now give our readers a specimen or two from the Historical Introductions, the whole of which they will find exceedingly racy and entertaining, abounding with ingenious and often profound reflections, and interesting anecdote. The first portrait shall be that of Lord Castlereagh.

'Few men of more limited capacity, or more meagre acquirements than Lord Castlereagh possessed, had before his time ever risen to any station of eminence in our free country; fewer still have long retained it in a state, where mere court intrigue and princely favour have so little to do with men's advancement. But we have lived to see persons of more obscure merit than Lord Castlereagh rise to equal station in this country. Of sober and industrious habits, and become possessed of business-like talents by long experience, he was a person of the most common-place abilities. He had a reasonable quickness of apprehension and clearness of understanding, but nothing brilliant or in any way admirable marked either his conceptions or his eloquence. Nay, to judge of his intellect by his eloquence, we should certainly have formed a very unfair estimate of its perspicacity. For, though it was hardly possible to underrate its extent or comprehensiveness, it was very far from being confused and perplexed in the proportion of his sentences; and the listener who knew how distinctly the speaker could form his plans, and how clearly his ideas were known to himself, might, comparing small things with great, be reminded of the prodigious contrast between the distinctness of Oliver Cromwell's understanding, and the hopeless confusion and obscurity of his speech. No man, besides, ever attained the station of a regular debater in our parliament

with such an entire want of all classical accomplishment, or indeed of all literary provision whatsoever. While he never showed the least symptoms of an information extending beyond the more recent volumes of the parliamentary debates, or possibly the files of the newspapers only, his diction set all imitation, perhaps all description, at defiance. It was with some amusement to beguile the tedious hours of their unavoidable attendance upon the poor, tawdry, ravelled thread of his sorry discourse, to collect a kind of *ana* from the fragments of mixed, incongruous, and disjointed images that frequently appeared in it. 'The features of the clause'—'the ignorant impatience of the relaxation of taxation'—'sets of circumstances coming up and circumstances going down'—'men turning their backs upon themselves'—'the honorable and learned gentlemen's wedge getting into the loyal feelings of the manufacturing classes'—'the constitutional principle wound up in the bowels of the monarchical principle'—'the Herculean labour of the honorable and learned member, who will find himself quite disappointed when he has at last brought forth his Hercules'—(by a slight confounding of the mother's labour who produced that hero, with his own exploits which gained him immortality)—these are but a few, and not the richest samples, by any means, of a rhetoric which often baffled alike the gravity of the Treasury Bench and the art of the reporter, and left the wondering audience at a loss to conjecture how any one could ever exist, endowed with humbler pretensions to the name of orator. Wherefore, when the Tory party, 'having a devil,' preferred him to Mr. Canning for their leader, all men naturally expected that he would entirely fail to command even the attendance of the House while he addressed it; and that the benches, empty during his time, would only be replenished when his highly gifted competitor rose. They were greatly deceived; they underrated the effect of place and power; they forgot that the representative of a government speaks 'as one having authority, and not as the Scribes.' But they also forgot that Lord Castlereagh had some qualities well fitted to conciliate favour, and even to provoke admiration, in the absence of every thing like eloquence. He was a bold and fearless man; the very courage with which he exposed himself unabashed to the most critical audience in the world, while incapable of uttering two sentences of any thing but the meanest matter, in the most wretched language; the gallantry with which he faced the greatest difficulties of a question; the unflinching perseverance with which he went through a whole subject, leaving untouched not one of the adverse arguments, however forcibly and felicitously they had been urged, neither daunted by recollecting the impression just made by his antagonist's brilliant display, nor damped by consciousness of the very rags in which he now presented himself—all this made him upon the whole rather a favorite to the audience whose patience he was taxing mercilessly, and whose gravity he ever and anon put to a very severe trial. Nor can any one have forgotten the kind of pride that mantled on the fronts of the Tory phalanx, when, after being overwhelmed with the powerful fire of the Whig opposition, or galled by the fierce denunciations of the mountain, or harassed by the splendid displays of Mr. Canning, their chosen

leader stood forth, and presenting the graces of his eminently patrician figure, flung open his coat, displayed an azure ribbon traversing a snow-white chest, and declared 'his high satisfaction that he could now meet the charges against him face to face, and repel with indignation ail that his adversaries had been bold and rash enough to advance.'

We must not withhold from our readers the following noble tribute to the eloquence of Wilberforce :

'His eloquence was of the highest order. It was persuasive and pathetic in an eminent degree ; but it was occasionally bold and impassioned, animated with the inspiration which deep feeling alone can breathe into spoken thought, chastened by a pure taste, varied by extensive information, enriched by classical allusion, sometimes elevated by the more sublime topics of holy writ—the thoughts

'That wrapt Isaiah's hallowed soul in fire.'

Few passages can be cited in the oratory of modern times of a more electrical effect than the singularly felicitous and striking allusion to Mr. Pitt's resisting the torrent of Jacobin principles : 'He stood between the living and the dead, and the plague was staid.' The singular kindness, the extreme gentleness of his disposition, wholly free from gall, from vanity, or any selfish feeling, kept him from indulging in any of the vituperative branches of rhetoric ; but a memorable instance showed that it was any thing rather than the want of force which held him off from the use of the weapons so often in almost all other men's hands. When a well known popular member thought fit to designate him repeatedly, and very irregularly, as the 'honorable and religious gentleman,' not because he was ashamed of the cross he gloried in, but because he felt indignant at any one in the British senate deeming piety a matter of imputation, he poured out a tone of sarcasm which none who heard it can ever forget. A common friend of the parties having remarked to Sir Samuel Romilly, beside whom he sat, that this greatly outmatched Pitt himself, the great master of sarcasm, the reply of that great man, and just observer, was worthy to be remarked : 'Yes,' said he, 'it is the most striking thing I almost ever heard ; but I look upon it as a more singular proof of Wilberforce's virtue than of his genius, for who but he ever was possessed of such a formidable weapon, and never used it?' Against all these accomplishments of a finished orator there was little to set on the other side. A feeble constitution, which made him say, all his life, that he never was either well or ill ; a voice sweetly musical beyond that of most men, and of great compass also, but sometimes degenerating into a whine ; a figure exceedingly undignified and ungraceful, though the features of the face were singularly expressive ; and a want of condensation, in the latter years of his life especially lapsing into digression, and ill calculated for a very business-like audience, like the House of Commons ; may be noted as the only drawbacks which kept him out of the very first place among the first speakers of his age, whom, in pathos, and also in graceful and

easy, and perfectly elegant diction, as well as harmonious periods, he unquestionably excelled. The influence which the member for Yorkshire always commanded in the old parliament—the great weight which the head, indeed, the founder of a powerful religious sect, possessed in the country—would have given extraordinary authority in the senate to one of far inferior personal endowments. But when these partly accidental circumstances were added to his powers, and when the whole were used and applied with the habits of industry which naturally belonged to one of his extreme temperance in every respect, it is difficult to imagine any one bringing a greater force to any cause which he might espouse.

We must conclude these extracts with the following sketch of Sir James Mackintosh. We should have much liked to give the full-length portrait of Jeremy Bentham, (in many respects the most finished of the whole gallery,) but it is too long to be inserted entire.

‘To the great subject of the criminal law, Sir James Mackintosh brought a mind well versed in the general principles of legal science; an acquaintance with ethical philosophy, indeed with every department of philosophy, perhaps unequalled among his contemporaries; and the singular advantage of having devoted the best years of his life to the administration of justice. His mind was, besides, stored with various knowledge, as well practical as scientific, and, although he had never cultivated the exacter sciences since his early years, yet his original profession of a physician made the doctrines of natural philosophy familiar to him; and if it has been said, and justly said, that *no man* can be thoroughly acquainted with any one branch of knowledge without having some skill in the others also, to no department of study is this remark so applicable as to that of jurisprudence, which pushes its roots into all the grounds of human science, and spreads its branches over every object that concerns mankind. He was the better prepared for successfully accomplishing the task which he undertook, by the singular absence of all personal virulence, and even factious vehemence, which had uniformly marked his course both in public and private life: it reconciled to him those from whom he most widely differed in his opinions, and tended greatly to disarm the opposition with which his efforts as a reformer were sure to meet, especially among the members of his own profession. This quality, together with his long experience as a criminal judge, more than compensated for his inferiority in weight as a legal authority, to his illustrious predecessor, who, although he stood so far at the head of the bar as to have nothing like a competitor, had yet confined his practice chiefly to the courts of equity, and whose superior influence as a statesman and a debater, might suffer some diminution from the opposition his more severe demeanour was apt to raise.

‘On the opposite side of the account were to be set the weaknesses, most of them amiable or accidental in their origin, some of which en-

feebled his character, while others crippled his exertions. His constitution, never robust, had suffered materially from his residence in India. He entered parliament late in life, and although always a most able and well-informed speaker, occasionally capable of astonishing his audience by displays of the most brilliant kind, he never showed any powers as a debater, and, being more of a rhetorician than an orator, was not even calculated to produce the impression which eloquence alone makes; while, as a practical man of business, in all that related to the details of measures, or the conducting them through parliament, he was singularly helpless and inefficient. It must also be admitted that his mild deportment, his candid turn of mind, and the gentleness of his nature, while they might disarm the anger of some adversaries, were calculated to relax the zeal of many friends; and he was extremely deficient both in that political courage which inspires confidence in allies, while it bears down the resistance of enemies, and in that promptitude, the gift of natural quickness, combined with long practice, which never suffers an advantage to be lost, and turns even a disaster to account. His style of speaking, too, was rather of the *epideictic*, or exhibitory, than of the argumentative kind; and, as his habitual good nature led him not only to avoid vehement attacks, but to indulge in a somewhat lavish measure of commendation, offence was given friends more than ever enemies were won over. Even his most celebrated performances were less remarkable for reasoning than for dissertation; the greatest speech he ever made—nor was there ever one more eminently striking and successful delivered in parliament—the speech on the Foreign Enlistment Bill in 1819—although abounding in the most profound remarks, and the most enlarged views of policy and of general law, clothed in the happiest language, and enlightened by the most felicitous illustration, was exposed to the criticism of some judges of eloquence, as defective in the grand essential of argument, and of that rapid and vehement declamation which fixes the hearers' attention upon the subject, making the speaker be forgotten, and leaving his art concealed.

Against the purity of this eminent person's public conduct, no charge whatever was ever fairly brought. Few men, indeed, ever made greater sacrifices to his principles while his party was excluded from power, or were less rewarded for them when that party was admitted to office. He had early joined with those whose sanguine hopes led them to favour the French revolution, and kept them blind for a season to the enormities of its authors. His '*Vindiciæ Gallicæ*,' a work of consummate ability, was the offering which he then made on the altar of the divinity whom he worshipped. With most good sense, he afterwards agreed in repudiating indignantly, and as if ashamed of his former friendship, all alliance with the Jacobin party; nor although he went perhaps somewhat farther in his recantation than others who never had bowed at the same shrine, could he be said ever to have swerved from those liberal principles which were the passion of his early and the guide of his riper years. Upon his return from India, he at once refused the most flattering offers of place from Lord Liverpool's government, and he persevered with the whig party, in a long

and apparently hopeless opposition to the end of the war, and through fifteen years of the ensuing peace. At length, the party for which he had sacrificed so much succeeded to power, and he, though, among the very first of its most distinguished members, was almost entirely passed over, while men of little fame, others of hardly any merit at all, and not a few of Tory principles till the moment of the government being formed, were lifted over his head, and planted in the cabinet of the Whigs. In that cabinet, indeed, there must have been some who could not, with a steady countenance, look down upon him thus excluded, while they were admitted to unexpected power. His treatment, accordingly, has formed one of the greatest charges against the whole arrangements then made; but justice requires that Lord Grey should be acquitted of all blame in this respect; for he had never been in any habits either of personal or of party intercourse with Sir James, and might be supposed to share in the coldness towards him which some of the older Foxites unjustly and unaccountably felt. But even those members of the government, who lived with him in constant habits of friendship, have much more to urge in explanation of this dark passage in the history of the party than is commonly imagined; for the objectors do not sufficiently consider, that, while Sir James Mackintosh's health, and aversion to the habits of business required by certain offices, excluded him from these, others are, by invariable practice, given to high rank. The occasion of his being here mentioned, is the invaluable service which he rendered to the cause of 'Law Reform;' a service that must endear his memory to all enlightened statesmen and all good men, independent of the other assistance for which the rapid progress of liberal principles has to thank him; a progress so beneficial to mankind, so profitable to the Whig party at large, so advantageous to a select few of the Tories, now mingled with that Whig party, but so utterly barren of all benefit whatever to Sir James Mackintosh himself.

Affixed to the fourth volume, is a 'Dissertation on Ancient Eloquence,' which no one, but, especially, no speaker, can read without profit and delight. It is, in a great measure, an expansion of certain thoughts to be found in his lordship's inaugural address delivered at his installation, as Lord Rector of Glasgow University. There is, however, one portion of it on which we are tempted to make a remark or two; not because we suppose that the noble author means any thing to which we could not heartily subscribe, but, because, unless guarded from misconstruction, it might lead young speakers into error; inducing them to imagine that the high polish and finish which the ancients gave to their oratorical compositions, and the attention they paid to matters of style, would be worse than useless before a modern audience. He says, — that the orators of Greece and Rome regarded their art as one of eminent display, considered it their province to please as well as to move their audience, and addressed the assembly, not only as hearers who were to be convinced or persuaded, but as

'critics, also, who were to judge of rhetorical merit, is clear from 'numberless considerations, some of which must here be adverted 'to, in order to show that Oratory held a place amongst the 'Fine Arts properly so called, and was, like them, an appeal to the 'taste, ending in the mere pleasure of contemplation, as well as an 'appeal to the reason or the passions, leading to practical consequences, and having action for its result.' In another place, he speaks of the orator's eloquence being regarded as a 'dramatic 'display, or, at least, as an exhibition in which the audience 'was to be pleased, *independently of the business intended to be 'promoted.*' 'Again,' he says, 'we must suppose, that the orator 'had a two-fold object, and that the audience was gathered for 'another purpose as well as that of being convinced—that they 'were come to enjoy a critical repast,' &c. This view he enforces by many considerations, and, amongst others, by the high finish and elaboration which distinguish the oratorical compositions of the ancients.

Now, we think, that an important distinction is to be made here. That many of the ancient orators did seek to please and gratify their audiences, as many modern orators have done, 'independently of the business intended to be promoted,' we fully admit. But we do not think that those who did this were looked up to as the models of the truest eloquence, and that they failed in exact proportion as they did it. On the other hand, we think it must be equally admitted, that the very greatest of ancient orators always sought, as every modern orator ought, to please his audience, but only so far as it was strictly subordinated to his practical end, never 'independently of the business intended to be promoted.' This was the case with Demosthenes. To attempt, the former is, indeed, to make oratory a dramatic display—to do the latter is the duty of every orator, but it is no 'dramatic display,' nor in strict propriety of speech can it, we think, be said, that the orator in so doing has a 'two-fold object.' We will attempt to explain our meaning more fully.

That the ancients did pay much more attention to the style of their oratorical compositions than the moderns, there can be no doubt: and it may well become a question, whether modern orators have paid enough, when we consider that by the very constitution of human nature, truth itself is likely to be more readily received, and make a more adequate impression, in proportion as it is clearly, forcibly, and harmoniously expressed. When so expressed, there is, no doubt, a high pleasure derived from the very act of listening to the orator, but it is hardly correct to say, that he has a 'two-fold object' in view, if he strictly confines himself within these limits: seeing that his object is still only to render his thoughts more convincing and more persuasive, by rendering the expression of them more energetic

or more grateful; in other words, his affecting his audience *pleasurably* is itself only involved—necessarily involved—as a condition; the gratification he seeks to impart being strictly and solely that of *the adaptation of the means to the end*. Now the ancients—at least, those whom the ancients themselves thought the highest examples of eloquence, and whom, we are sure, Lord Brougham considers so—never went beyond this in seeking to gratify their audiences; if they had done so, in that very proportion, they would have been supposed to fail of the real object and the highest merit of an orator. If they had acted thus—if they had sacrificed force to beauty of expression—or sought beauty when they ought not, or beyond the measure in which they might and ought—if they had indulged in long and elaborate similes, merely, because they were novel and striking, and calculated to tickle the fancy—if they had introduced irrelevant matter, merely because it was pleasant, (however beautiful the thoughts, however exquisite the expression,) they would have infallibly as much disgusted their audience as any modern orator who should venture on a like experiment. Accordingly, Demosthenes never does this—and yet he imparted higher gratification to the critical taste of his audience than any other speaker, and was by them justly reckoned proudly eminent over every other. But it was the gratification resulting solely from a perception of the exquisite adaptation of the instrument to the object. Now as long as the gratification proposed and imparted is strictly confined within such limits, it cannot, in our opinion, be properly maintained that the orator had a ‘twofold object;’ and such an expression, if not guarded and explained, is apt to convey a degrading and erroneous conception. It is only by supposing him to do what many great orators have undoubtedly but mistakingly done; it is only by supposing him endeavouring to impart a pleasure extraneous to the direct and immediate object of his eloquence, that this representation can be justified. If it were said of some machine that it was constructed equally to serve the purposes of utility and pleasure, and yet it was found upon examination, that every thing that conduced to pleasure, was itself only involved as a condition of utility; that the former was never sought, except so far as subsidiary to the latter; that the latter was never sacrificed in any measure to the former, we do not think it would be any longer just to say, that it was constructed for a ‘two-fold’ *object*—but for one, and that the pleasure derived from it was merely the result of exact and exquisite adjustment to the object. In a word, the pleasure is not sought for or thought about for the pleasure’s sake, but for another and a higher purpose. There is, indeed, an exquisite pleasure, in listening to accomplished and powerful eloquence. But let us suppose for a moment, that the orator

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really had a 'twofold' object; that the gratification he imparts is not simply the result of his endeavouring to give the most effective and grateful utterance to his sentiments—let us suppose him polishing or adorning beyond these precise limits, and our pleasure is destroyed. But such gratification as is involved in endeavouring to answer the end, no orator need be afraid to aim at, though by the most exact efforts, nor will any audience be afraid of yielding to it, whether ancient or modern.

We may fearlessly illustrate this view of the matter by a reference to modern orators, whom Lord Brougham represents, and justly, as paying so much less attention to style than the ancients: but who, as his arguments *seem* to imply, would be sure to fail in their object and to disgust their audience, if they *did* pay as much. Let us try the matter by the test of fact and experience. Though modern oratory is much less elaborate than ancient, some of it is much more elaborate than the rest; nor can there be a question that there is not near such an interval between the eloquence of Demosthenes and that of Lord Brougham, as there is between that of Lord Brougham and many a sensible but boggling speaker of the Commons' House of Parliament. The *gratification* of listening to Lord Brougham is proportionate. Now, if he and one of the said bogglers were announced as about to speak on some great and exciting topic, after due preparation and the requisite flourish of trumpets, there cannot be a question, that the crowds who would flock to hear the one would be far greater than those to hear the other; that these multitudes, would go with a full expectation of enjoying a high intellectual treat: it is equally certain, that this expectation would be gratified from the much more perspicuous, energetic, harmonious, and pleasing expression which his lordship would give to the very same topics and arguments;—in a word, from the much more perfect adjustment of the instrument to the end. But could it be justly said, merely because his hearers would go to be gratified as well as to be convinced, that in preparing his speech, his lordship had a 'two-fold' object in view? Still what his lordship would attempt to do, is all that Demosthenes did.—But let his audience have reason to suspect, that he was really endeavouring to compass a 'two-fold' object, to make a 'dramatic display,' or to gratify their critical skill; or, in short, to gratify them in any way, except as such gratification was necessarily implied in his endeavouring to adapt his instrument to his purpose, and they would be disgusted; but this Lord Brougham would *not* do, nor did Demosthenes ever do it. In short, we believe, that whenever the pleasure sought to be imparted is sought only within the limits so often mentioned, a modern audience would be just as ready to yield to it and enjoy it, as an ancient one: and hence, they would prefer hearing Lord Brougham to some poor stick, though that poor stick should urge the same truths, and

insist on the same arguments ; and, we believe, on the other hand, that whenever the pleasure sought to be imparted *transgresses* these limits, an ancient audience would no more enjoy of it than a modern one : at all events, the ancients did not give such eloquence the highest rank, as is proved by the immeasurable and uncontested superiority which they awarded to Demosthenes, and the comparative obscurity of other orators. It is as clear as the sun at noon-day, that an audience, whether ancient or modern, feel disposed to enjoy, and have a right to enjoy, the most exquisite pleasure which eloquence can impart, provided it is still only the result of a skilful attempt to give adequate expression to the speaker's sentiments. If then, by saying, 'that they had a two-fold object in view,' Lord Brougham merely means, that the ancient orator endeavoured to render his eloquence as perspicuous, forcible, and harmonious as possible ; but that there was to be nothing extraneous introduced for effect, no simile for simile's sake, nothing redundant,—we quite subscribe to his notion, though we cannot approve of the expressions in which he has thought proper to convey it ; and if this really involve a 'two-fold object,' then we can only say, that whatever the differences between ancient and modern eloquence, any modern orator may as blamelessly, nay, as successfully adopt 'the same two-fold object,' as an ancient one. We are rather of Hume's opinion, (and we know his lordship will agree with us,) that 'could the eloquence of Demosthenes be copied, its success would be infallible over a modern assembly.' Lord Brougham has done as much as any man can well do except Demosthenes himself, to prove the truth of this assertion. In a word, the meaning of his lordship is best interpreted by himself in this very Dissertation. He there says:—

'So, too,' says he, describing the eloquence of Demosthenes, 'there is no coming back on the same ground, any more than any lingering over it. Why should he come back over a territory that he has already laid waste—where the consuming fire has left not a blade of grass ? All is done at once ; but the blow is as effectual as it is single, and leaves not anything to do. There is nothing superfluous—nothing for mere speaking's sake—no topic that can be spared by the exigency of the business in hand ; so, too, there seems none that can be added—for every thing is there and in its place. So, in the diction, there is not a word that could be added without weakening or taken away without marring, or altered without changing its nature, and impairing the character of the whole exquisite texture, the work of a consummate art that never for a moment appears, nor ever suffers the mind to wander from the subject and fix itself on the speaker. All is at each instant moving forward, regardless of every obstacle. * * *'

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"No sacrifice, even the smallest, is ever made to effect—nor can the

hearer ever stop, for an instant, to contemplate, or to admire, or throw away a thought upon the great artist, till all is over, and the pause gives time to recover his breath.'

Truly, in whatever way a man, eloquent after this fashion, contemplated a 'two-fold object,' a modern might follow his example without much danger of having his eloquence regarded as a 'dramatic display.'

That there are and must be many great differences between ancient and modern oratory, arising out of the difference between the assemblies for the most part addressed, and the habits of society; that the severer critical taste of the ancients demanded a correspondent finish and chasteness of composition; that the popular character of the auditories and the general freedom of manners permitted a greater license of invective and declamation; that these, and other differences which might easily be pointed out between ancient and modern oratory, must ever exist, we readily admit; but all this does not affect the fact, that as long as human nature is constituted as it is, all those qualities of style that really conduced to the power of ancient eloquence, and made it effective, would be to the full as effective now; the same attempts to inspire pleasurable emotions by the whole structure of the composition (provided those attempts are strictly confined to the limits so often mentioned), would be still as acceptable as they were in the time of Demosthenes. All this, Lord Brougham expressly and repeatedly admits—clearly proving, that there is no substantial difference between his lordship and ourselves, but still serving, in our opinion, to show the impropriety of representing the ancient orator as 'having 'a two-fold object,' or of likening his oratorical exhibition to a 'dramatic display.' Thus his lordship says, with great beauty and truth, 'that it may be remarked generally, that a speaker who 'thinks to lower his composition in order to accommodate himself 'to the tastes and habits of the audience, when addressing the multitude will find that he commits a grievous mistake;' that 'even the 'graces of composition are not thrown away upon such auditors;' 'that clear, strong, terse, yet natural and not strained expressions; 'happy antitheses; apt comparisons; forms of speech that are 'natural without being obvious; harmonious periods, yet various, 'spirited, and never monotonous or too regularly balanced; these 'are what will be always sure to captivate every audience; and, 'yet, in these mainly consists finished, and elaborate, and felicitous diction;' that, 'although, we (the moderns) are so suspicious 'of whatever would give an appearance of theatrical display to the 'business of debate, our greatest orators, nevertheless, have excelled by a careful attention to rhythm, and some of the passages 'of modern eloquence owe their unparalleled success undeniably

the adoption of the same' peculiarities of style which were 'the delight of the Attic Ecclesia.'

Even as to the *repetitions* in the orations of Demosthenes, on which Lord Brougham lays so much stress for proving that the ancient orator as much desired to delight as to persuade his audience—but which, he says, 'would be fatal to the speaker's effect in our assemblies;' we question, whether, if they were employed by a modern speaker *only within* the limits employed by Demosthenes, they would produce the slightest unfavourable effect. never employed except on those comparatively rare occasions which *he* employed them; if only then because (with the slight variations which the orator's exacter judgment had afterwards suggested), they were really the most apt expression of the sentiments he wished at the time to convey; if never lugged in for effect's sake by the head and shoulders,—they would merely be considered tantamount to the confession, 'I really wish to express such and such a sentiment which I have expressed before; but as I know no form of words better adapted to the purpose than that formerly employed, I will not impair its force, by expressing it otherwise.' It would be the strict *appropriateness* of such a repetition, which would be its justification, whether with an ancient or a modern audience. Every thing depends upon this. It is to be shown, that Demosthenes introduced them merely for theatrical display, and we give up the point.

Many have heard the same sermons from celebrated preachers several times over; yet they never felt disposed to say (to use Lord Brougham's words), 'You are playing with the subject; you cannot be in earnest; I heard the same last year.' Now enough, we admit, the *whole* of political speeches, delivered on specific occasions, cannot from their very nature be used twice or thrice over, yet if particular passages of them,—the expression of particular sentiments,—be as strictly appropriate on one occasion as on another, we see no reason why the repetition should disappoint the hearer, or call in question the sincerity of the speaker; nor do we believe it would do so any more than a repetition of a sermon by Whitfield, Robert Hall, or Dr. Chalmers. There is no reason, surely, why a speaker should give inadequate expression to a sentiment merely because, on a former occasion, he has expressed it better. But, however this particular point may be, we are persuaded, that on every other there is no substantial disagreement between his lordship and ourselves.

Upon the whole we cannot help expressing a wish, that modern speakers would pay a little more attention to those matters of style, the sedulous cultivation of which gave to ancient eloquence so much of its power. We are persuaded that many a good cause has grievously suffered from the conceited contempt of eloquence manifested by many of its advocates. Let them not tell us (the

usual cant on this subject), that it is not their wish to please and gratify their audience, but to present them with arguments, facts, &c., &c. We reply, that we should be disgusted with them if they were to attempt to please us in any other way than by endeavouring to give the most adequate, that is, the clearest, most forcible, most impressive, and graceful expression to their thoughts. Within these reasonable limits, Demosthenes, and the ancient orators whom the ancients themselves deemed the best, confined themselves when *they* attempted to please, and we only ask, that the moderns should imitate their example. Let them not suppose, that while human nature remains what it is, 'arguments' however conclusive, or 'facts' however true, will produce their full, that is, their proper effect, no matter how clumsy and tedious the form in which they are presented to us. We remember hearing one say of a man of sense, but who was tedious beyond all bearing in giving utterance to it, that 'his sense was more wearisome than other people's nonsense.' Of how many modern speakers might not this be said!

With these exceptions to a small part of Lord Brougham's phraseology, we recommend the splendid 'Dissertation on Ancient Eloquence,' to the careful perusal of every young speaker.

It only remains for us to say, that the work is elegantly *got up*. It *must* obtain a large circulation.

Art. V. *The Life of Gustavus Adolphus, surnamed the Great, King of Sweden*. By J. F. HOLLINGS. 12mo. London: Tegg & Son. 1838.

'THE thirty-years' War'—in that brief phrase how much is comprised! How much in common apprehension, of skilful combination and daring enterprise: of valour, deep policy, and glory! How much, in sober estimation, of all that is malignant in human passions and extreme in human suffering. Through that long and weary time, the sword and the flame, with their unfailling followers famine and disease, wasted the fields and cities of central Europe: in misery or in actual strife, generations were swept away. Count Mansfeld's system, deriving from war the means of sustaining war, was illustrated on the largest possible scale of experiment, and had it been allowed to stop at that comparatively uninjurious limit, the amount of infliction might not have exceeded the usual average; but there were other leaders, of natures yet more stern and devilish, who bettered the instruction, and construed it to include all that could tempt the ruffian

to the field or whet his appetite for blood. The most dreadful excesses were sanctioned by men of highest rank and name, devout Christians after their own fashion, quieting their consciences by strange processes of reasoning, and still stranger pretexts of duty. The soldier was invited to the battle by the anticipated plunder of the camp; and urged on to the escalade by the promise that all within the rampart should be his without a single reserve in favour of honour or humanity. 'Come in an hour, the soldier must have his reward,' was the unmoved reply of Tilly to his own officers who pleaded for mercy at that terrible 'Sack of Magdeburg,' which has become a proverb and bye-word among men.

There is, however, a brighter aspect under which we may contemplate this dark and dismal scene. That season of calamity was a crisis in the fate of Europe, in which though liberty and sound Christian faith were perilously assailed, yet were they perseveringly and successfully asserted. That fearful struggle was the agony of the Reformation: Ferdinand and his Jesuits did violence to all generous feeling and all sound policy, with the clear intention of exterminating Protestantism, and of bringing the free cities and independent sovereignties of Germany under imperial domination. These schemes were defeated by a higher Will, and by a Wisdom which laughs to scorn the petty policies of men, and there cannot be taken up a nobler study than that which may enable us, partially at least to ascertain the providential interferences by which the devices of the subtle were baffled, and the counsels of the malignant made foolishness.

We are not, however, required by our immediate subject, to enter on the complicated details of that momentous and protracted struggle; nor are we, in fact, possessed of adequate materials for such an inquiry. The history of the 'Thirty-years' War' has not yet been searchingly and comprehensively written: distinct portions have been ably investigated, but there is still much to be done in elucidation of its changing character and fluctuating policy; its effect on the Germanic constitution, its bearing on the recognised law of nations, and its influence, immediate or remote, on the state of Europe. 'It made,' says Heeren, 'Germany, the centre-point of European politics. It was not, however, a war carried on from beginning to end with one plan, and for one object. No one, at its commencement, could have foreseen its duration and extent. But the train of war was every where laid, and required only the match to set it going; more than one war was joined to it, and swallowed up in it: and the melancholy truth that war feeds itself, was never more clearly displayed.' The outbreaking of this complicated quarrel was in Bohemia; and, although, in the first instance, limited to a contest of privilege, or rather the assertion of civil and religious rights against an encroaching despot, the

field of warfare was enlarged by the ambition and fanaticism of the emperor Ferdinand, until the whole of Europe became involved, either directly or partially, in the strife.

It will be obvious from the title of the **small but singularly** comprehensive volume before us, that Mr. Hollings has not chosen to encounter the entire subject to which we have been referring. We regret this, for we are quite sure that his exemplary diligence in the collection of authorities, and the rare skill which he has manifested in their manipulation, must have given him complete success in an undertaking, difficult indeed but honourable in proportion to its difficulty, and of which we would indulge the hope that he has not lost sight. The older histories and biographies connected with this great series of events, are of exceedingly various merit, and require much caution and dexterity in the collation of their statements and the due appreciation of their worth; but there remain rich and as yet imperfectly examined treasures of information in the archives of the German and Bohemian nobles and princes. The value of the instruction to be obtained from these sources, has been recently proved by the result of 'Forster's Researches into the Life and Exploits of Wallenstein,' and in the important but unfinished work by Breyer, extracted mainly from the correspondence and autograph papers of Maximilian of Bavaria. The superiority of contemporary documents is admirably exemplified in the comparison of such publications as these with the heavy compilations of after times. Mr. Hollings has obviously availed himself, as far as possible, of the original authorities. The 'Swedish Intelligencer' has enabled him to give precision to the details of manœuvres and battles, while the quaint and pithy narrative of 'Old Monro' contributes much that is apt in illustration and amusing in manner.

We seem, however, to be in some danger of forgetting, in this reference to the important cycle of events with which the most splendid portion of the reign of Gustavus Adolphus was connected, that our immediate concern is with the latter only, and that we are trespassing on our due limits before we are, in fact, touching on our proper subject. We hasten then to rectify our error, if error it be, by describing briefly the character and objects of the work under review. We might, indeed, dismiss it with summary commendation, as comprising, within fewer than five hundred pages, the marking events of the most eventful period of European history. Yet is there no meagreness in this brevity. Mr. Hollings rarely throws away his words: a sound discrimination in the selection of facts, a clear apprehension of their connexion and sequence, with the power of setting all this before his reader in a striking point of view, have enabled him to give every important occurrence, not merely in expressive outline, but with the lights, shadows, and circumstantialia of full and finished history. In no

t of his book is this mastery over his subject more decidedly won, than in his disposal of the preliminary details. The history of Sweden from the reign of Margaret, the 'Semiramis of the North;' the complicated series of events connected with the Russian, Danish, and Polish wars; the causes and early vicissitudes of the 'Thirty-years' War;—all this press of matter comprised within one-hundred-and-fifty pages of lucid and readable narration. A cursory view of the remaining sections will enable our readers to judge for themselves of the style and execution of the work.

Gustavus Adolphus was born December 9th, 1594, and in his childhood gave promise of a resolute and enterprising character.

It is said that, when only five years of age, he accompanied his father to Calmar, where an armament was in the process of being fitted against the town of Lubeck—and that as he was gazing with childish curiosity on the ships of war which were preparing to put to sea, an officer of distinction approaching the spot inquired, 'which vessel he preferred among all he saw lying at anchor before him.' 'The *Black Knight*,' replied the child, stretching his hands towards one named *Wartza Riddaren*, or the 'Black Knight,' which presented to view a formidable battery of the largest guns then in use. 'And why,' said the officer, continuing the conversation, 'Because,' replied Gustavus with eagerness, 'it is better furnished with cannons than all the others.'

His education was carefully conducted by the ablest tutors, and his attainments appear to have been of the highest order. These qualifications, combined with graceful manners and considerable personal advantages, had, probably, a large share in determining the States of the kingdom to suspend the law which fixed the royal prerogative at the age of twenty-one, and to confer the unrestricted sovereignty on the young prince at his father's death, October 11th, 1611. He was early accustomed to active warfare, and his campaigns against Denmark, Muscovy, and Poland, gave him practical skill in the conducting of an army. It is not easy to determine the respective share which military propensity or contentious feeling might have in determining him to enter on that conspicuous field of action, where he found the species of glory which he coveted, and the early grave which he seems to have contemplated without dismay. If faith may be put in his solemn asseveration, his intentions were of the purest and noblest kind; and, certainly, if ever there were legitimate motives for the sacrifice of life and happiness to war, they might be found in the dangers which threatened the franchises of Germany at that ominous season. However this may be, there probably will not be found a finer example of intellectual and characteristic

energy, than that which is presented in the whole conduct of Gustavus during his brief and bright career. Into the details of that desperate warfare we do not feel ourselves called upon to enter: it may suffice to say, that he encountered the ablest of the imperial commanders, Tilly, Wallenstein, Pappenheim, men who had never known defeat till they encountered the Swedish monarch. The first, indeed whose long career of victory previous to his fatal rout at Leipsic, gained for him the repute of invincibility, had once before been foiled. In 1622, at Wistok in the palatinate, he had been compelled to give way before the skill and energy of the ablest of the German *Condottieri*, Count Ernest of Mansfeld. The consummate strategy which marked the movements of Gustavus before the memorable fight which gave the first check to the 'vaulting ambition' of the Austrian court, is distinctly traced, and the details of the battle will enable the reader who takes an interest in such matters, to understand the tactics both of the old school and of that which owed its improvements to the military genius of the gallant Swede. The passage of the Lech and the death-struggle of Lutzen, with the intervening movements and manœuvres are not less clearly and vividly described. We can afford but little space for extract, but the *avant-scene* of the battle in which Gustavus fell, is painted with so much spirit, that we must give it place.

'Two hours before day-break the king's attendants presented themselves for the purpose of arraying him for the field. Either owing to his known dislike to heavy armour, or to the circumstance of his having lately received a contusion in his right shoulder, which rendered its weight insupportable, he refused to wear the cuirass presented to him, with the words, 'The Lord God himself is my sufficient defence,' assuming an under-vest of elk-skin alone, which was supposed to be proof against a sword's thrust. The drums were then ordered to sound the reveillée and in a few minutes the whole Swedish force, who were standing to arms, listened to the solemn service of devotion performed by the chaplains of the several regiments. By this time the morning had dawned, but its rays struggled feebly with the heavy fog which had fallen on the preceding evening, and still continued so closely to envelop the field as to hide every object from view at the distance of two pikes' length. In one direction alone the dense medium was partially dispersed by a glimmering light, afterwards found to have proceeded from the flames consuming the village of Lutzen, which Wallenstein had commanded to be set on fire; for the purpose of preventing the Swedes from acting upon his right flank. As it was absolutely necessary to wait for the dispersion of the mist before giving orders for an advance, the king commanded the Swedish interval of suspense to be employed in a general chant of Martin Luther's celebrated paraphrase of the forty-sixth psalm, commencing with 'God is our strong tower of refuge,' accompanied by the kettle-drums and trumpets of his whole army, followed by a hymn which he had him-

self composed containing sentiments similar to those expressed by the
 pessimist. This sublime prelude to the work of mortal contention was
 scarcely over, when a sudden breeze, drifting before it the vapour which
 had hitherto hung like a curtain between the opposite hosts, allowed a
 burst of sunshine to fall upon the field, and presented the majestic
 array of each other's battle to the full gaze of either army.

One more extract, and we must dismiss this interesting volume.
 In the Austrian service no man stood higher than Pappenheim,
 whose military eye enabled him always to discern the weak point
 of his antagonist, and whose determined charge seldom failed of its
 purposes except when the Swedish masses were opposed to his
 blood career.

This officer was, of all the leaders in the imperial service, the most
 remarkable for his chivalrous bravery, and for his reckless exposure of
 his person in action. Gustavus Adolphus, when jocularly discoursing of
 the principal generals whom it had been his fortune to encounter in
 Germany, used to distinguish Tilly by the title of the 'Old Corporal';
 Wallenstein he distinguished as 'the Madman'; while upon Pap-
 penheim, he bestowed the title of 'the Soldier,' in allusion to his im-
 petuous valour, in the exercise of which he often forgot the more im-
 portant duties of the commander. He was descended from a noble
 family, from which he inherited, at his birth, the dignity of grand
 marshal of the empire, and had, on many occasions since the commence-
 ment of the Thirty-years' war, attracted attention by his zeal in the
 service of the house of Austria. His readiness to court danger in every
 shape may be imagined from the circumstance, that after his death the
 marks of nearly a hundred scars were plainly discernible upon his
 person: and it is singular that he was scarcely ever present in an en-
 counter, from which he escaped with but a single wound. As if in-
 stead of point out his turbulent and martial disposition from his im-
 petuous nature is recorded to have imprinted the mark of two crossed
 swords, the armorial bearings of his house, upon his forehead, which,
 although scarcely perceptible on ordinary occasions, were plainly dis-
 cerned whenever he was labouring under any extraordinary emotion.

There are many points connected with this section of modern
 history that might well tempt us to avail ourselves of the subject
 as a text for dissertation, and we shall so far yield to impulse and
 opportunity as to touch for one moment on a matter of curious
 and not unprofitable speculation. The actual results of the
 Thirty years' war may be historically and experimentally ascer-
 tained; but what might they have been had Gustavus lived to work
 out the accomplishment of his designs? A farther question may
 be asked as to his real intentions—were they limited to the vin-
 dication of German freedom, or did they extend to a claim of
 sovereignty in his own person? Probably they included both,
 and we believe that it would have been, for Germany, a happy

consummation had they been fully realized. Niebuhr has, we think, put this matter in its true light, and we cannot do better than borrow his pithy language to express our own opinion. 'Ferdinand,' he says, 'was dark, bigoted, cruel, and zealous. At his court in Graetz nothing but Spanish was spoken. In this respect, too, Germany would have gained much had Gustavus lived to ascend the imperial throne. Gustavus had an essentially German education. He spoke and wrote German freely; Ferdinand did not. Gustavus, from a Teutonic tribe, with his education, his feelings, and dispositions, was more a German than Ferdinand, who was a Spaniard in feeling. Had Gustavus ascended the German throne, he would soon have been considered a German by the whole country, disposed as it was for the Reformation. But he fell: the Lutherans and Calvinists abandoned each other, and after Luther there was no great man among the Protestants. As it always has been in Germany, no plan-maker was to be found, or, which amounts to the same thing, every one was a plan-maker. . . . Nowhere in Germany has the wealth returned which existed before the thirty years' war. The change is almost incredible. But the situation of the peasant is now much better than at that period. Wherever the free imperial cities ruled, the peasant was shockingly tyrannized over.'

A neatly executed portrait from the well-known engraving after Vandyke, gives to us Gustavus 'in his habit as he lived.'

Art. VI. *Emancipation in the West Indies. A Six Months' Tour in Antigua, Barbadoes, and Jamaica, in the year 1837. By JAMES A. THOME and J. HORACE KIMBALL.* New York: Published by the American Anti-Slavery Society, 145, Nassau Street. 1838.

THE above is the title of a very important and interesting work from the pen of two gentlemen, who were deputed by the American Anti-Slavery Society, to make a tour of observation in the British West India colonies. Their mission was undertaken almost simultaneously with that of Joseph Sturge and his associates, and its results, identical on all main points with the statements in Mr. Sturge's publication, are here presented to the world, and we may justly characterize them as 'a munificent offering poured into the treasury' of enterprising and intelligent philanthropy. A more valuable, copious, and well arranged mass of evidence, has rarely been collected by such limited agency within so short a period, and we are not surprised to learn that the work is exciting great attention in the United States, and is

instrumental in making many valuable converts to immediate abolition. We trust some enterprising publisher will undertake to introduce it to the English public, by whom its singular value as an authentic record of various and abundant testimony on points, which at the present juncture are of peculiar and momentous interest, could scarcely fail to be appreciated. We may add, that the graphic style and spirited execution of the work, in addition to the enduring interest of its subject, would justify its claim to a permanent place in English and American literature.

The colonies visited by these benevolent Americans were Antigua, Barbadoes, and Jamaica. Their stay in Antigua was extended over a period of nine weeks, during which time they may be said to have exhausted every respectable source of information. We have, in the First Part, a copious journal of their proceedings, of their tours and detours, of their attendance at public places, of their interviews with the Governor, members of Assembly, proprietors and managers of estates, merchants, clergy, and missionaries; and of their conversations in public and in private, in the cane-field, in the cottage, and by the way-side, with the emancipated negro. The names of persons and places are unreservedly communicated after the American fashion, which gives at once both authenticity and interest to the narrative. This minute and lengthened investigation has resulted in one deep, strong, and uninterrupted stream of testimony in favour of *immediate Emancipation*.

Part II. of the account of Antigua is devoted to a comparative view of the moral state of the negro population previous and subsequent to the abolition of slavery. It is here that the most important consequences of the great change are developed, consequences that reach to eternity, supplying themes of praise before the throne of God, and adding new joys to the felicity of heaven. We give a few brief extracts.

Religion and Morality :

‘ There has been a perceptible increase in the attendance at the several places of worship since the abolition of slavery, especially in the rural districts ; and in consequence, additional chapels and missionaries are greatly needed. Each of the denominations complains of the lack of men and houses.’—p. 95.

‘ It has already been stated that the Sabbath was the market-day up to 1832, and this is evidence enough that the Lord’s-day was utterly desecrated by the mass of the population. Now there are few parts of our own country, equal in population, which can vie with Antigua in the solemn and respectful observance of the Sabbath.’—p. 97.

‘ All persons of all professions testify to the fact that marriages are rapidly increasing. . . . It appears that the whole number of marriages during *ten years* previous to emancipation was but

A people who are said to be so proverbially improvident, would be to abandon them to beggary, and to leave them to starvation ;—a people 'who cannot take care of themselves, who will not work when freed from the fear of the lash,' &c., Yea, among the negroes are these who are idle ; and that too, where the wages are but one shilling (six-pence sterling) per day—less than sufficient, one would reasonably expect to provide daily food.—p. 110.

Education. Messrs. Thome and Kimball have given interesting details of their visits to numerous schools. On one occasion they remark :

'In looking over the writing, several 'incendiary' copies caught our eyes. One was, *'Masters, give unto your servants that which is just and equal.'* Another, *'If I neglect the cause of my servant, what shall I do when I appear before my Master!'* A few years ago, had children been permitted to write at all, one such copy as the above would have exploded the school, and perchance sent the teacher to jail for sedition. But now, thanks to God ! the negro children of Antigua are taught liberty from their Bibles, from their song books, and from their copy-books too ; they read of liberty, they sing of it, and they write of it ; they chant to liberty in their school rooms, and they resume the strains on their homeward way, till every rustling lime-grove, and waving cane-field, is alive with their notes, and every hillock and dell rings with 'free' echoes.'—p. 122.

The general result of their inquiries on this head was,

'First, that education was by no means extensive previous to emancipation. The testimony of one planter was, that not a *tenth-part* of the present adult population knew the letters of the alphabet. Other planters, and some missionaries thought the proportion might be somewhat larger ; but all agreed that it was very small.'—p. 126.

'Second,—Education has become very extensive since emancipation. There are probably not less than *six thousand* children who now enjoy daily instruction. These are of all ages under twelve. At that period they generally leave the schools and go to work.

* * * * *
'Sabbath-schools, adult and infant-schools, day and evening schools, are all crowded. A teacher in a Sabbath-school in St. John's informed us, that the increase in that school immediately after emancipation was so sudden and great, that he could compare it to nothing but the rising of the mercury when the thermometer is removed out of the shade into the sun.'—p. 127.

In Part III. the Authors have thrown an immense amount of 'Facts and Testimony' into the form of illustrations and proofs, of a series of twenty-one propositions, embracing almost every important point that can be raised respecting the changes subsequent

half as great as the number for a single year following emancipation.
—p. 98.

‘A worthy and experienced planter stated, that the inducements for the negroes to marry were much stronger now than during slavery. Now they could assist each other, *and mutual assistance was indispensable.*’—p. 99.

A reformation in this respect has also taken place among the upper classes.

‘It is now plain that concubinage among the whites is nearly at an end. It is no longer *reputable*, and it cannot be persisted in without concealment or disgrace.’—p. 102.

‘The abolition of slavery gave the death blow to open vice, overgrown and emboldened as it had become. Immediate emancipation, instead of lifting the flood-gates, was the only power strong enough to shut them down! It has restored the proper restraints upon vice, and supplied the incentives to virtue. . . . This is the voice of Antigua—the land of liberty and law. This is her affirmation as to the influence of emancipation on the morality of the community.’—p. 102.

Benevolent Institutions.—We pass over the very interesting statements of our authors respecting the Local Bible, Missionary, and Temperance Societies, to make room for some notice of the Friendly and Benefit Societies as existing among the freed negroes. These institutions, Mr. Sturge informs us,* devote a part of their funds to purposes of disinterested charity, and to the support of a hospital for lazars. We learn in addition to this, from Messrs. Thome and Kimball, that the Friendly Societies of Antigua are made efficient to the promotion of morality and good order. Members are expelled for drunkenness, disorderly living, and licentiousness. They forfeit their membership if they are put out of the church, or commit any offence punishable by a magistrate. Marriage and industry are encouraged by an extra distribution of rewards and premiums. The funds of the Friendly Societies among the Moravian negroes now amount to £2000 sterling, per annum, and those of the English church and Wesleyan Society are proportionably flourishing.

‘The amount of good which has been effected by these Societies is incalculable. Some estimate may be formed of it from the vast sums of money annually raised and expended as circumstances require. Now be it remembered that the Friendly Societies exist solely among the freed negroes, and *that the moneys are raised exclusively among them.*

* The West Indies in 1837.

imagined. Charged with a mission so nearly concerning the political and domestic institutions of the colony, we might well be doubtful as to the manner of our reception.'—p. 15.

Their fears were groundless. On the very day of their arrival, an influential individual

'Assured us we need not apprehend the least difficulty in procuring information, adding, '*We are all free here now*, and every man can speak his sentiments unawed. We have nothing to conceal in our present system; *had you come here as the advocates of slavery, you might have met with a very different reception.*'—p. 16.

We had noted other passages for quotation, but our limits compel us to forbear; and we must observe, that we have found it impossible, where almost every paragraph contains an important principle or an interesting fact, to make such selections as would give an adequate impression of the work under review. Such is the amount and variety of evidence, that we apprehend, if the most intelligent persons of every class and condition in Antigua, were assembled in the presence of an American or English auditors, the result of their *vivâ voce* testimony could scarcely be more satisfactory and conclusive to the candid mind than a perusal of the present volume.

Leaving Antigua we accompany our tourists to the fertile and teeming island of Barbadoes, whose features, both physical and social, are fully laid open to us in a series of highly animated sketches. One of the circumstances chiefly noticeable is the exposé by planters of the true features of that odious system from which THEY have been emancipated. What a revelation of slavery we may hereafter expect from the West Indies; transcending our present liveliest conceptions of its misery and horror! Mr. C., a planter, stated,

'That mothers would kill their children rather than see them grow up to be slaves. But this evil is now done away. I assure you it is not one evil alone that abolition has removed, *but a thousand*. Ah, he continued, in a solemn tone, pausing a moment, and looking at us in a most earnest manner, I could write a book about the evils of slavery. I could write a book about these things.'—p. 234.

And they add:

'We are here reminded of a fact stated by Mr. C. on another occasion. He said, that he once attended at the death of a planter who had been noted for his severity to his slaves. It was the most horrid scene he ever witnessed. For hours before his death he was in the extremest agony, and the only words which he uttered were, '*Africa, O Africa!*' These words he repeated every few minutes, till he died.

on abolition, with a design to show the bearings of their investigation on the question of Emancipation in the United States and other slave countries. On many of these subjects, to wit, the increased value of estates, the stimulus given to trade, to building, to enterprising speculations of various kinds, the increased, or rather the newly created sense of security to persons and property, &c., &c., much information has already been laid, from a variety of sources, before the English public; our space, therefore, will only permit us to refer in general terms to Messrs. Thome and Kimball's work as containing many valuable statements, interspersed with striking anecdotes. We will select for particular remark, as a sort of general index to the whole, the universal change of opinion in the island on the subject of slavery. The Hon. N. Nugent, Speaker of Assembly, and a man of great talent and influence, remarks :

'Such was the state of feeling, previous to emancipation, that ~~it~~ would have been certain disgrace for any planter to have ~~avowed~~ the least sympathy with anti-slavery sentiments. *The humane might have their hopes and aspirations, and they might secretly long to see slavery ultimately terminated;* but they would not dare to make such feelings public. They would at once have been branded as the enemies of their country.'—p. 200.

A cycle of ages could not have effected a more complete revolution in the state of public sentiment in Antigua than two short years' enjoyment of the sweets of freedom. If we mistake not, the same eminent individual assured Mr. Sturge, that 'he did not believe there was a man in the island who could lay his hand upon his heart and say he would wish to return to the former state of things.' The secret longings and aspirations are now of a *pro-slavery* character, and very secret and hopeless they are—*shame* as effectually repressing them as fear did anti-slavery hopes and sentiments formerly.

'Slavery,—emancipation,—freedom,—are the universal topics of conversation in Antigua. Anti-slavery is the popular doctrine among all classes. *He is considered an enemy to his country* who opposes the principles of liberty. The planters look with astonishment on the continuance of slavery in the United States, and express their strong belief that it must soon terminate there and throughout the world. They hailed the arrival of French and American visitors on tours of inquiry as a bright omen.'—p. 203.

The planters of Antigua now love the light, and are willing to bring their deeds to the light. On their first landing our authors observe :

'Our solicitude on entering the island of Antigua will readily be

imagined. Charged with a mission so nearly concerning the political and domestic institutions of the colony, we might well be doubtful as to the manner of our reception.—p. 15.

Their fears were groundless. On the very day of their arrival, an influential individual

‘ Assured us we need not apprehend the least difficulty in procuring information, adding, ‘ *We are all free here now, and every man can speak his sentiments unawed. We have nothing to conceal in our present system; had you come here as the advocates of slavery, you might have met with a very different reception.*’—p. 16.

We had noted other passages for quotation, but our limits compel us to forbear; and we must observe, that, we have found it impossible, where almost every paragraph contains an important principle or an interesting fact, to make such selections as would give an adequate impression of the work under review. Such is the amount and variety of evidence, that we apprehend, if the most intelligent persons of every class and condition in Antigua, were assembled in the presence of an American or English auditor, the result of their *visd voce* testimony could scarcely be more satisfactory and conclusive to the candid mind than a perusal of the present volume.

Leaving Antigua we accompany our tourists to the fertile and teeming island of Barbadoes, whose features, both physical and social, are fully laid open to us in a series of highly animated sketches. One of the circumstances chiefly noticeable is the exposure by planters of the true features of that odious system from which THEY have been emancipated. What a revelation of slavery we may hereafter expect from the West Indies; transcending our present liveliest conceptions of its misery and horror! Mr. C., a planter, stated,

‘ That mothers would kill their children rather than see them grow up to be slaves. But this evil is now done away. I assure you it is not one evil alone that abolition has removed, *but a thousand.*’ Ah, he continued, in a solemn tone, pausing a moment, and looking at us in a most earnest manner, I could write a book about the evils of slavery. I could write a book about these things.—p. 234.

And they add:

‘ We are here reminded of a fact stated by Mr. C. on another occasion. He said, that he once attended at the death of a planter who had been noted for his severity to his slaves. It was the most horrid scene he ever witnessed. For hours before his death he was in the extreme agony, and the only words which he uttered were, ‘ *Africa! O Africa!*’ These words he repeated every few minutes, till he died.

And such a ghastly countenance, such distortions of the muscles, such a hellish glare of the eye, and such convulsions of the body—it made him shudder to think of them.’—Note, p. 235.

At another time, Colonel Ashby, an influential proprietor, stated to them, that,

‘The abolition of slavery had been an incalculable blessing. He had not always entertained the same views respecting emancipation. Before it took place, he was a violent opposer of any measure tending to abolition. He regarded the English abolitionists and the anti-slavery members in parliament with unmingled hatred. He had often cursed Wilberforce most bitterly, and thought that no doom, either in this life, or the life to come, was too bad for him. ‘But,’ he exclaimed, ‘how mistaken I was about that man—I am convinced of it now—O he was a good man—a noble philanthropist—if there is a chair in heaven Wilberforce is in it.’ Colonel A. is somewhat skeptical, which will account for his hypothetical way of speaking about heaven.’—p. 249.

Of the change of system from slavery to apprenticeship, it may be stated briefly and generally, that Messrs. Thome and Kimball found the planters highly delighted with it; and not without reason, as real estates had risen 50 per cent., and the Government had kindly relieved them of the most irksome, and odious part of the practical administration of coercion. They could also go to bed at night free from those tormenting fears of insurrection and assassination, with which an alarmed conscience formerly disturbed their rest. As far as the welfare of the negroes, and the true interests of the colony were concerned, our Authors found every reason to disapprove of that pernicious and unstatesman-like scheme. In fact, its sentence of condemnation was heard from the lips of all parties, including the governor, special magistrates, and a majority of the planters with whom they conversed. Their experience of the administration of *justice* by the stipendiaries, tallies with that of Mr. Sturge.

‘We witnessed several trials there which were similar in frivolity and meanness to those detailed above. We were shocked with the mockery of justice, and the indifference to the interests of the negro apparent in the course of the magistrate. It seemed that little more was necessary than for the manager or overseer to make his complaint and swear to it, and the apprentice was forthwith condemned to punishment. We never saw a set of men in whose countenances fierce and demoniac passions were so strongly marked as in the overseers and managers who were assembled at the station house. Trained up to use the whip, and to tyrannize over the slaves, their grim and evil expression accorded with their hateful occupation.’—p. 276.

The observations on the inadequate remuneration of the special magistrates, and its consequences, are very pertinent.

‘The magistrates are continually exposed to those temptations, which West India planters can so artfully present in the shape of sumptuous dinners. They doubtless find it very convenient, when their stinted purses run low, and mutton and wines run high, to do as the New England school-master does, ‘board round ;’ and it would be well for the apprentices, if this kind of indebtedness to ‘massa’ operated as favourably for them as the pedagogue’s indebtedness to the parents does for the children of his school ; but unfortunately the relation of the parties is different, and consequently the dependence of the magistrate upon the planter is of all things the most deprecated by the apprentice.*

‘Congeniality of feeling, habits, views, style, and rank—identity of country and colour—these powerful influences bias the magistrate toward the master, at the same time that the absence of them all, estrange and even repel him from the apprentice. There is still an additional consideration which operates against the unfortunate apprentice. The men selected for magistrates, are mostly officers of the army and navy. To those who are acquainted with the arbitrary habits of military and naval officers, and with the iron despotism which they exercise among the soldiers and sailors, the bare mention of this fact is sufficient to convince them of the unenviable situation of the apprentice. It is at best but a gloomy transfer from the mercies of a slave-driver, to the justice of a military magistrate.’—pp. 333, 334.

The account of Jamaica is by no means the least important part of the work. It presents a striking contrast to the state of Antigua, and is almost the exact counterpart of the gloomy picture given by Mr. Sturge in his ‘West Indies in 1837.’ We would gladly pass it over in silence, fervently trusting that it may now be read as the history of a state of things, which has, ere this, been superseded by a better and a brighter era. Many striking passages have arrested our attention, which prove that the negroes are worthy of all the efforts which have been made on their behalf, and that they will use to the best purposes the boon of freedom which has just been conferred upon them. Jamaica has been called, as if in bitter mockery, ‘the brightest jewel in the British crown ;’ ten years hence she will have become such in reality and in truth.

* “The feelings of apprentices on this point are well illustrated by the following anecdote, which was related to us while in the West Indies. The governor of one of the islands, shortly after his arrival, dined with one of the wealthiest proprietors. The next day one of the negroes of the estate said to another, ‘De new gubner been *poison’d*.’ ‘What dat you say?’ inquired the other, in astonishment, ‘De gubner been *poison’d*.’ ‘Dah, now!—How him poisoned?’ ‘*Him eat massa turtle soup last night*,’ said the shrewd negro. The other took his meaning at once ; and his sympathy for the governor was turned into concern for himself, when he perceived that the poison was one from which *he* was likely to suffer more than his excellency.”

The perusal of Messrs. Thome and Kimball's work has renewed our most sanguine hopes of the beneficial results of the recent agitation in this country, upon the welfare of all classes in the colonies. But the events of the last few months will have a yet wider influence, and will impress a character on the future destinies of the British empire. The world has never yet witnessed a philanthropic movement, more pure in its origin, more single in its aim, more energetic in its character, more signally successful in its result. We regard it as a noble and heart-cheering example of the power of united prayerful Christian effort, when undistracted and untrammelled by religious sect or political party. The practical lesson will not be lost. A large, and, we rejoice to believe, an increasing class of our countrymen have gained a knowledge of their power as the depositaries of a moral influence adequate to direct and control the national mind. They have acquired simultaneously a new and greatly enlarged sense of their responsibilities. They have not placed themselves in a position to indulge in complacent retrospection or to relapse, as erewhile they did, into a lethargic and almost fatal slumber. On the contrary, they find themselves but at the entrance of their field of labour. They have won not a final victory, but a vantage-ground, from whence they may consolidate and secure what has been gained, and whence, also, they may behold, spread out before them the scene of future conflict, filled with the numerous forces and strongholds of the enemy. Like the Israelites of old they have passed through the divided waters of Jordan, and compassed a great city whose high and strong walls have fallen down at the very sound of their rams' horns, but there remains yet a land full of idolatry, polluted with the reeking altars of Moloch, and with all manner of horrid and impure rites, a land groaning under the iron despotism of British Christian rulers in whose councils Mammon sits supreme—to be conquered, purified, and possessed in the name of the Lord God of Hosts.

Well-timed is the eloquent inquiry; 'Why do England and the United States possess the keys of the world?' Can any consider their rank among the nations; first in power and in influence, and neighbours through commercial enterprise to every tribe and people on the entire face of the globe;—can any one regard their close and intimate relationship, identified, as they are, in origin, in language, in religion, in national character, and pursuits, and refuse to believe that they are destined to be chief and associated agents in diffusing Christianity and civilization to the uttermost ends of the earth? But how can America with the one hand offer to convey the cheering light of evangelical truth and the glad tidings of gospel freedom to distant parts of the world, when with the other hand she forcibly retains millions of immortal souls, the children of her own soil, in gross darkness and under a galling

yoke? Or how can England expect a blessing on her gospel labours, while she lends her sanction to slavery in the west, and to a pre-eminently cruel and impure idolatry in the east? The success hitherto attendant on missionary enterprises proves that the means employed are in their *nature* adapted to the end, but how inadequate are they in extent! Nor can it ever be otherwise until, by a process of internal purification, England and America are fitted to sustain exertions on a scale in some degree co-extensive with their vast responsibilities, and with the supreme importance of the interests at stake. We rejoice, therefore, to see the leaven, which is working in these countries, and instead of viewing what has been already attained and what is immediately in prospect, in the light of final results, we regard them as an evident and most necessary preparation for future and widely diffused efforts, to spread the knowledge of divine truth, and to extend the reign of justice, benevolence, and love.

In the British empire the fall of negro slavery is decreed, the cessation is promised of our connexion with Hindoo idolatry, the Coolie slave-trade is suppressed, the robbery and murder of the deeply injured Caffres, and the expulsion of Canadian Indians from lands which are theirs by inheritance and by solemn treaty, are stayed. We rejoice at these successes—they seem to tell of cords severed and weights removed, of difficulties and obstructions taken out of the way, which have impeded and held back this nation in its hitherto feeble and inadequate efforts to enlarge the boundaries of the Redeemer's kingdom. We rejoice with trembling, for too often the performances of statesmen are to their professions as the shadow to the substance, and to secure even the points already gained there will be need for years to come of jealous and increasing vigilance, with intervals possibly of strenuous exertion.

The victims of slavery in the East Indies, and of the grinding despotism under which the natives of that vast continent exist, next claim English sympathy and succour. A lively interest is beginning to be manifested in the state of our colonial dependencies. A few years ago it was almost impossible to draw public attention to any colonial question, except West Indian slavery. Now the national heart is beginning to respond to the groans of the millions in India, who are bound in spiritual chains and darkness, and in outward bondage and affliction. Information is eagerly desired not only of the condition and treatment of our fellow-subjects of every race and hue, but respecting the conduct pursued towards those independent, aboriginal tribes situated on the borders of our vast territories. The sound public sentiment of England is gradually being brought to bear upon the policy of the government. Many recent official documents breathe a just and benevolent spirit, and condemn in distinct terms the

past measures of government as equally inconsistent with equity and sound policy. These instances of repentance and confession,—a new and most interesting feature in state papers—may, we trust, be regarded as the tokens of a sincere and salutary change. Certainly, they constitute one of the favourable signs of the times.

If we turn our attention to the United States, the condition of public opinion on slavery, the deeply rooted prejudice of caste, the measures and avowed principles of the government exhibit a prospect, gloomy and discouraging in the extreme, but a more searching inquiry will assure us that even there the fields are becoming ripe unto the harvest. The Anti-Slavery Society, a band of the best and brightest spirits in the land, has its proto-martyr, its hundred newspapers, its thousand auxiliaries, and its publications, unsurpassed in learning, in information, in eloquence, in cogency of argument, in earnestness of appeal, its legion of distinguished and zealous agents, its prayers countless and unceasing, offered up in the secret closet, at the family altar, in the public assembly, and above all as the promise of certain and speedy success, it has its overflowing measure of persecution and reproach. The philosophical observer might suppose, that the late outrages at Alton and Philadelphia were symptoms of a retrograde movement. On the contrary, they are the surest sign of progression. A few short years ago Boston was the scene of conflict and danger, now the state of Massachusetts is foremost in the Anti-slavery cause. The principle of freedom reigns in her Supreme Court of law, in her Senate, and Chamber of Representation. The anti-abolition riots of Boston have resulted in the triumph of anti-slavery sentiments throughout the oldest and most important state in the Union. Violence and outrage are now transferred to Pennsylvania, a state bordering upon slavery. The result is inevitable: the peaceful revolution of that important state is as certain as if it were already effected. We shall next expect to hear of the cowardly spirit of outrage and mob law, taking refuge in the wilds of Kentucky, and from thence, directing its flight to the Carolinas; and so finally, with slavery following in its rear, retreating southward, till the land is cleared of their infectious taint, and both are buried for ever in the Gulf of Mexico!—May that day be hastened!

Art. VII. *Celestial Scenery: or the Wonders of the Planetary System displayed; illustrating the Perfections of Deity and a Plurality of Worlds.* By THOMAS DICK, LL.D. Third Edition. London: Ward and Co.

THE design of this volume, as the author informs us in his preface, is to instruct general readers, to direct their attention to the study of the heavens, and to present to their view sublime objects of contemplation. The more abstruse parts of astronomical science are avoided, while its principal facts are introduced, with the foundation on which they rest, and the reasonings which support them. It proposes, in short, to furnish a compendium of descriptive astronomy.

Some persons may think that such a work is unnecessary, on account of the existence already of various treatises of which a few profess similar objects; while others, with more scientific pretensions, are adapted to guide the student and the philosopher into the profounder mysteries of astronomical and mathematical investigation. But for many reasons, we are of a different opinion. It is desirable to multiply, by repeated publications, the stimulants to useful curiosity; to replenish the uninformed but inquiring mind with that kind of knowledge whose moral tendencies are beneficial; and from time to time to gather the scattered fragments of discovery which lie here and there upon the fields of science, so that those who are traversing them with interest or can be allured to do so, may be able distinctly to perceive what has been done or what may yet be accomplished.

The science of astronomy is, perhaps, the most fascinating of all others to the imagination. It opens, at once, scenes of grandeur and magnificence which kindle emotions of awe and sublimity. The entranced observer seems to step from the little nook in which he dwells into the high road of nature, to pass into the regions of immensity, and possess himself of the riches of the universe. He sees matter in its vastest dimensions, motion in its most rapid and complicated operation, *divine mechanism* in its most extended and most beautiful contrivances, space in its illimitable amplitude. He contemplates no longer atoms, but worlds; he studies not the beauties of a flower, but the splendour of the firmament; he investigates not the laws of a flowing river or a passing wind, or a mineral formation, but the forces that bind and guide rolling planets, erratic comets, and suns, and systems imbedded in the measureless depths of infinity. Every thing is great and glorious above, beneath, and around him, while he only is insignificant; and yet not insignificant—for by what wondrous combination of mind with matter is it that he, but a breathing atom, should still be capable of tracing the works and ascertaining the arrangements of infinite wisdom, and watching, with

reverence, be it written, the movements of deity? If we compare the worm that has just perforated the soil and obtrudes upon our path with the whole globe of the earth, even that reptile is an elephant in magnitude to man, in comparison with even the mere section of creation which lies within the reach of his vision. How is it then, that this less than worm, in the comparison, should be more and greater in fact than even the systems on systems of matter he contemplates in space; but, because, he can contemplate them, and can systematize them, and can contrive and point the telescope to detect the secrets of creation? It is, because, he is instinct with intellectual life and moral power, and great by his capacity and knowledge.

But it is not the only or the chief use of astronomical science to excite awe and admiration, filling the mind with scenes of surpassing magnificence, or rousing the fancy to lofty imaginings; little is done compared with what might be if the higher order of feelings be not awakened. The romance of sentiment should ascend to the reality of devotion; for every new acquisition in this department of knowledge ought to be subservient to the creature's worship of his great Creator. This impression can scarcely be what it ought to be, unless we admit the doctrine of the plurality of worlds—not only engaging the mind in the study of the structure and mechanism of external nature, but realizing the fact to which all its arrangements and adaptations give the utmost probability; amounting, indeed, to a moral demonstration, that both the planetary and starry orbs are the habitations of intelligent and immortal beings. One of the principal causes of that irreligious, or, at least, indifferent feeling towards God which is not unfrequently prevalent among men of science, and even astronomers whose indevotion is, as the poet says, a madness—one of its principal causes is, we verily believe, their proneness to separate these two essential elements of the divine character as developed in his work; that is, to view the display of his natural attributes apart from his moral perfections; and to refuse that application of the subject to their own particular position in the universe to which it legitimately leads. The eagerness of their examination into the wonderful modifications of matter, unaided and uncontrolled by the principle of religion in the heart, influences such men in studying the contrivances of nature to overlook or practically to disregard the contriver, and to keep themselves apart from the sublimer contemplation of benevolent purposes as resulting in moral obligation. They think it enough to ascertain what is done and to admire the plan and the execution; but mistake their own general estimation of what is vast and magnificent for a real knowledge and worship of God. But the connexion between what God is in nature, and what he is or is willing to be to us as represented in Scripture is

most beautiful, and but for the perversion of our minds would be most obvious. Do we see by the light of scientific discovery that we are every where surrounded by infinite and irresistible power and benevolent contrivance? Surely the thought is plain and the deduction natural, that beings like ourselves cannot be uncared for, and that conscious of our feebleness we may repose upon his strength. If the minutest atom as well as the rolling world is under his eye and preserved by his power, and this it must be, or the world composed by its multiform accumulations and aggregations could not roll on, then I, an individual but intelligent atom—insignificant yet important—frail yet immortal—cannot be overlooked—unprovided for and unblest. His universal intelligence knows me perfectly, his power upholds me continually, his goodness supplies or is ready to supply me abundantly with the means not of subsistence only, but of happiness; and if I err or rebel, he must be more willing to pardon than to punish. From all these and other considerations result responsibility and obligation to glorify his name, to return to him if I have been estranged, and while admiring his glory in creation to obey his will and love his name as revealed in Scripture.

While, however, so many who do study the attractive science in question, fail to appreciate its highest purposes and to make the fullest use of its revelation, there are multitudes who bestow no attention whatever upon it, though some of its surprising facts lie within the reach of daily observation and of the dullest intellect. We can sympathise, therefore, with the indignant tone of the following passage.

‘It is amazing how many intellectual men there are among us who would not wish to be altogether ignorant of modern astronomy, who have never looked up to the celestial vault with fixed attention—who have never made repeated observations to discover its phenomena—and who cannot tell, from their own survey, what are the various motions it exhibits. There are thousands and ten thousands who have gazed on a clear evening sky, at certain intervals, during a period of many years, who can tell no more about the glorious scene around them, than that they behold a number of shining points twinkling in every direction in the canopy above. Whether these bodies shift their position with regard to each other, or remain at the same relative distances—whether any of them appear in motion, while others appear at rest—whether the whole celestial canopy appears to stand still, or is carried round with some general motion—whether all the stars which are seen at six o’clock in the evening are also visible at twelve at midnight—whether the stars rise and set as the sun and moon appear to do—whether they rise in the east or north-east, or in any other quarter—whether some rise and set regularly while others never descend below the horizon—whether any particular stars are occasionally moving, backwards or forwards, and in what parts of the heavens they appear

—whether there are stars in our sky in the day-time as well as during the night—whether the same clusters of stars are to be seen in summer as in winter? To these and similar questions there are multitudes who have received a regular education, and *who are members of a Christian church* who could give no satisfactory answers!

The author proceeds to show that persons of common understandings might acquire this knowledge in a comparatively short time, and by a few consecutive observations; and that the apathy of Christians, in general, with regard to the most magnificent of the Creator's work is truly astonishing. This is very true, yet we could not help being a little amused at the reference to members of churches. Astronomical science would be a new kind of test or qualification for Christian communion! We should imagine the apostles instituted no such test, and we must really put in a plea on behalf of the poor, who have the gospel preached to them, that from their state of dependence admits of few opportunities for the cultivation of taste, if they had it; so that we cannot, in conscience, absolutely condemn them *quasi* members of churches. Men are commonly enthusiastic in their own line, and we admire enthusiasm in the pursuit of knowledge, and in the appreciation of what is obtained—we can even venerate the ardor of the antiquarian, the conchologist, or the botanist as well as the astronomer; but the estimate of an old coin with even its historical associations or the technical characters of a shell well imprinted on the mind, or the genus, and order, and species of a flower thoroughly understood, or even the orbits of planets and the variations of stars is happily not essential to christianity. Our author must forgive this smile; we know well that he is as much assured as ourselves that it is moral and spiritual excellence which fits for the associations of religion. We must admit, nevertheless, that a profession of religion involves the obligation to acquaint ourselves with God in all his works and ways.

The volume is divided into nine chapters, in which the general facts already known respecting the solar system are brought together, with additional statements derived from personal observation. The results of tedious calculations of the solid and superficial contents of the different planets and their satellites are given—their comparative magnitudes and orbicular movements—the modes of determining their distances and dimensions—and the chief arguments for a plurality of worlds are considered. A new department of astronomical science is introduced, namely, the scenery of the heavens as exhibited from the surfaces of the different planets and their satellites, which will prove both amusing and instructive to young inquirers; and the author has faithfully adhered to his own prefatory declaration, that throughout he has endeavoured to make the facts he describes bear upon the

illustration of the power, wisdom, benevolence, and the moral government of the Almighty, and to elevate the views of the reader to the contemplation of Him who sits on the throne of the universe, by whom the worlds were made, and who is the source and the centre of all felicity.

As a fair specimen of the work, and, particularly, of that part which has the greatest claim to novelty, we subjoin the following extract.

Celestial Scenery in Jupiter.—The only planet whose appearance will be conspicuous in the firmament of Jupiter is the planet Saturn, which will appear with a surface four times greater than is exhibited on our sky, and will appear larger than either Jupiter or Venus does to us, particularly at the time of its opposition to the sun. At certain other periods, when near the time of its conjunction with the sun, it will appear considerably smaller than when viewed from the earth; as, at certain periods, Saturn is nearly fourteen hundred millions of miles distant from Jupiter, while it is never beyond ten hundred millions from the earth, even at its remotest distance. The planet Uranus, which is scarcely visible to our unassisted sight, will not be much more distinguishable at Jupiter than with us, even at the period of its opposition, although Jupiter is at that time four-hundred millions of miles nearer it than a spectator on the earth. At other times, when near its conjunction with the sun, it will be two-thousand-three-hundred millions of miles from Jupiter, which is four-hundred millions of miles more distant than it ever is from us. Mars will scarcely be seen from Jupiter, both on account of his smallness and his proximity to the sun; and at his greatest elongation, he can never be more than eighteen degrees from that luminary. The earth, too, will be invisible from Jupiter, both on account of its small size, its distance, and its being in the immediate vicinity of the sun and immersed in its rays, so that the inhabitants of this planet will scarcely suspect that such a globe as we on which we dwell exists in the universe. It is a humiliating consideration to reflect that before we have passed over one-fourth part of the extent of our system, this earth with all its kingdoms and varied grandeur, of which mortals are so proud, vanishes from the sight, as if it were a mere atom in creation, and is altogether unnoticed and unknown. It is calculated to convey a lesson of humility and meanness to those proud and ambitious mortals who glory in their riches, and in the small patches of earthly territory they have acquired at the expense of the blood of thousands of their fellow-men, and who fancy themselves to be a species of demi-gods, because they have assisted in the conquest of nations, and in spreading ruin and devastation over the earth. Let us wing our flight to Jupiter or Saturn which appear so conspicuous in our nocturnal sky, and before we have arrived at the little point of our planetary system, this globe on which we tread, and all the proud mortals that dwell upon its surface, vanish from the sight, as a particle of water with its microscopic animalculæ, dropped in the ocean, disappears for ever. In those regions more expansive and magnificent scenes open to view, and their inhabitants—

they have heard of such beings as fallen man—look down with an eye of pity and consolation, and view their characters and conduct with a holy indignation and contempt.

‘Venus and Mercury will, of course, be altogether invisible from the surface of Jupiter, and it is questionable, whether, even, the planets Vesta, Juno, Ceres, and Pallas will be perceived. But although so few of the primary planets are seen in the nocturnal sky of this planet, its firmament will present a most splendid and variegated aspect by the diversified phases, eclipses, and movements of the satellites with which it is encircled; so that its inhabitants will be more charmed and interested by the phenomena presented by their own moons than by their contemplation of the other bodies of the system.’—pp. 443—445.

Art. VII. *The Psalmist: a Collection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes, suited to all the varieties of Metrical Psalmody; consisting principally of Tunes already in general use for Congregational Worship, newly harmonized for four voices, with a separate Accompaniment for the Organ or Piano-forte: the greater part by Vincent Novello. Comprising also many original Compositions and Adaptations contributed expressly to this work, by himself and other eminent Professors: the whole adapted as well for Social and Domestic Devotion as for Public Worship.* Part III. London: Jackson and Walford.

EVERY one may satisfy himself by a moderate attention to his own consciousness that the utterance of any sentiment whatever, gives it a force which it did not previously possess—that the belief of others being the subjects of the same feelings with ourselves deepens our own emotions, (partly perhaps by increasing our conviction of their propriety)—and that their simultaneous expression by a sympathizing multitude carries them to the highest pitch of intensity. Congregational psalmody is the fulfilment of these conditions by means which perfectly harmonize with its end and object—the promotion of the devotional feelings. Religious sentiments are embodied in metrical language, and thus it becomes easy for *multitudes* to combine in their recitation without clamour and confusion—and at the same time to avail themselves of the potent aid of music, which augments our feelings, by increasing our power of expressing them.

The great truths by which religion makes demands on our various emotions, even when apprehended, can never be felt in a degree commensurate with their importance. If then some proportion between the feeling of the heart and the import of the words on the lip can be produced only now and then, it is a pos-

ive good. The impression, which from its nature can only be ~~transitory~~ and occasional, will lend its influence to deepen the one of our habitual and intermediate state of feeling.

Moreover, this takes place during a professedly religious service, when many things conspire to hinder it from degenerating into a mere gratification of taste, and a barren excitement of the sensibility. There is or ought to be here, the efficient presentation to the mind, not only of the proper occasions of emotion, but of the great reason why it is good to be moved at all—that we may act—and this is more likely to secure an effectual reception when the mind is moved already. There is no just objection to any means of stirring the feelings when at the same time they are made the allies of an enlightened and rectified will. \

The annals of the Reformation in France, Germany, and our own country, show that music of the right kind and rightly employed, can be made an engine of vast effect in facilitating the progress of truth, and the sacred volume frequently recognizes its salutary potency. Why is it that in our experience its achievements do not parallel or even approach what has been recorded of it? Man remains the same. His nature is not more rebellious to its influence now, than it was when the minstrel's harp could prepare the prophet for the illapses of inspiration, or soothe the bosom of one under a preter-natural frenzy. It is comparatively ineffective with us only because we have ceased to appeal to its power. Our devotional music has become in a great measure spurious, and our practice of it formal; and we need nothing else to explain the insignificance of the results.

It is impossible in this life to present the perfect idea of the moral worship of God. We may conceive that to be independent of the aid of set compositions and tune-books. But one of its essential elements we may be certain is, the entire sincerity of all the innumerable company. What on earth is a pleasing and veritable fiction—that the heart of the multitude is as the heart of one man, must there be the simple and evident truth. In proportion to our belief in this state of things on earth, the poorest specimen of psalmody yields to a good man a delight which no combination of genius and musical talent can afford. There are, however, plenty of ways of counteracting this idea, on which, as means, nearly the whole effect of psalmody depends. It is destroyed when a whole congregation is called upon to utter sentiments which mark the variations of individual feeling, but could never be expected to exist in a multitude of minds at the same time. Hymns proper enough for the closet become worse than useless when put into the mouths of a congregation. They show that they cannot and ought not to be required to sing them with the heart, and they comply with the announcement from the ark, only as a form in which it is decent for them to join.

This mistake is often committed for the sake of some piece of music which the congregation being familiar with, therefore approves. 'Vital Spark of Heavenly Flame,' is an instance glaringly in point. Compositions of a didactic character, conveying instruction in a medium of poetry, are happily abundant, and every variety of appeal and exhortation is to be met with in our collections. But it is usurping the functions of the pulpit to make the people preach to themselves by singing them. They are not hymns—that is, devotional compositions—and therefore, however useful they may be found, they prevent a higher use of the rite by perverting it from its true end, which is, worship. When our hymns express feelings that are proper to the engagement, and therefore ought to be the inmates of all bosoms, we have reason to congratulate ourselves on the power of sympathy.

We have said that music answers a double purpose in psalmody, or should do so. It renders the recitation of multitudes orderly and simultaneous, and contributes to impart and enhance emotion by its power of expressing it. There is room to suspect that the great majority of tunes ordinarily heard in our chapels, fulfil only the first of these ends, or if the latter, in a much less degree than is both possible and desirable. Many of the most popular exert an influence which is worse than negative. As far as they convey any sentiment at all, it is often not of a kind fit for the occasion on which they are used, and therefore instead of being the auxiliaries of devotion, they rather repress it. It may be at once objected to us, 'there is no disputing about tastes'—you may think as you do about our old favourites—but if we are in the majority, your predilections are not to be complied with to our annoyance.' This is the universal argument against proposed reformations in matters of taste, and if it were intended to deny, what is implied in the very terms, that pleasure is the result of gratifying all manner of tastes, it would be conclusive as well as trite. We should not contradict the Esquimaux who vaunted seal oil as a nice article of diet, however satisfied that our palates relished higher and purer flavours. But the question is one of degree—and none are qualified to decide it, who are only acquainted with one of the two classes competing for preference. Every body requires that a correspondence should be observable between tunes and the words which may be sung to them, and feels that one tune may excel another in this congruity. If not, the words of 'God Save the Queen,' might be set to the jig called 'Drops of Brandy,'—or, to quit the glaringly absurd, the hymn beginning, 'Come, let us join our Cheerful Songs,' might be sung to 'Burford,' or 'Thee we adore Eternal Name,' to 'Mount Pleasant'—'Lonsdale' would be as often the tune for 'And must this body die,' as 'St. Bride's,' and all without raising the sense of contrast and unfitness. If these are self-evident

instances of the justness of the principle, as we are disposed to think them, is it not possible that the faculty of discrimination, if needfully cultivated, may at last decide that tunes now widely popular are unfit for devotional use at all—and not merely by comparison with the beautiful melodies they have thrust out of notice? We are only inviting to finer appreciations and higher enjoyments.

There is also an argument 'in arrest of judgment' which it may be as well to anticipate. It is alleged, that if many of our tunes be not the best that could be adopted, they serve their purpose, and supply what is lacking, by the associations our congregations attach to them. If time and use are to give qualities to tunes which did not originally belong to them, we may increase our votes on these principles, by proselyting among profane songs to any extent. Our clerks may set long metres and common metres to 'Friend of my Soul,' 'Fly not Yet,' 'Flow on thou Shining River,' just as a notorious composer has done by 'Me Archus Fires,' 'Glorious Apollo,' and the popular duet 'Deserted by the Waning Moon.' Circumstances extrinsic to them may invest some of the worst tunes with a charm that belongs to none besides. Nothing is more likely or certain. But the particular recollections which afford this intense delight cannot be common to many people. Perhaps, on such grounds as these, no one tune would secure a majority of votes for its preservation. Moreover, associations equally solemn and affecting, will gather round the best tunes, if they are but sung often enough. And then we predict that the congregation which has admitted the reform will enjoy the recompence.

No tunes can vindicate their claim to be heard in the worship of God, which do not possess that quality of solemnity which summons the mind to devotion, and calls it from the world. Whatever excellence of other kinds they may exhibit, this is a cardinal requisite, and its absence is sufficient reason for banishing them summarily from our religious services. By asserting the absolute necessity of solemnity, we of course do not mean that religion, without which hope and joy are but flattering illusions, affords no scope for the musical expression of cheerful and animating feelings,—but that these when called into exercise by sacred motives have that belonging to them which forbids all light and frivolous modes of expressing them. It is possible to be solemn without gloom and to rejoice with reverence. On this score then, who can defend the tunes called Hampshire, Ebenezer New, Calcutta, Zion Church, Zadok, Church Street, Whitby, &c.

An analysis of tunes which do fulfil this great condition, discloses that they for the most part resemble each other in allotting the bar for the musical expression of two syllables, and if more

than one, never more than two notes to each syllable. While the melody is kept within the compass of about eight notes, which is usually that of the human voice. These restrictions, which genius has imposed on itself, also secure the expression of the rhythm or measure of the stanza, and facility of performance by a congregation—points almost equally important with the first. But these three requisites—the expression of a devotional sentiment—identity of accentuation with that of the metre—and facility of execution, are not often separable and independent. The fault which destroys one will often affect the others equally. Vulgar conventional phrases and snatches of secular melody, absurd attempts at the fugue, or short points of imitation which the voices repeat without respect to the sense of the words—the metrical fall of the syllables placed on the wrong parts of the bar—one line taking twice as many bars as it ought, while others are defrauded of their due proportion—all these are allies in annulling the constituents of a good psalm-tune. Their combined action is very well exemplified in such tunes as Cranbrook, Derby, Oxford, Kentucky, Cambridge New, Calcutta, &c., &c. In Leach (290, Rip.) the symmetry of the tune is spoilt by a senseless repetition of the last line, while a vulgar trolling of notes is expended on one word ('and lives to die no m-o-r-e,') making its duration six times as long as any other of its fellow-syllables. A similar deviation from the regularity of the metre takes place in 'Darkhouse' and 'Clifton.' The absurdity of this becomes evident if we imagine the clerk giving out the stanza in the metrical form it must assume when it comes to be sung to tunes, of which the three we have named are fair specimens. Long passages of short notes on single words are found in the most admired compositions, and we suppose the deformity we are censuring in psalm tunes is owing to a blind spirit of rivalry in their makers. They forget that, in the one case, it is only expressing the word which carries the sentiment in an appropriate strain of music, which can never fall on an insignificant or unsuitable word—that the idea of a cantata admits of this and every other means of making the music closely expressive of the specific sentiments of the words, which that of a psalm tune does not—while the former is not bound like a psalm tune to the observance of any measured accentuation. The attempt at a fugue is totally out of character in a psalm tune—because were the limits of the corale sufficient to develop its progress, it is destructive of the rhythm, and by interrupting the steady syllabic march of the melody, tends to keep the congregation silent, or makes them fall into confusion. In most of the cases where particular tunes seem to enjoy a patent right of being sung to particular hymns, e.g. Cranbrook, Zion Church, Atwaters, to the hymns beginning 'Grace, 'tis a charming sound,' 'How did my heart rejoice to

hear,' 'With all my powers of heart and tongue;' it is perhaps this very peculiarity which has been the cause of such special conjunctions. There is some noisy passage to be answered in succession by the different parts, and the congregation execute them with great promptitude and energy. The basses are boldly daring when they have it all to themselves, and the counter-tenors pleasingly venturous on the verge of the impossible at those junctures of the strain that are contrived to display them. But it may be doubted whether all this fervor results so much from an exaltation of emotion, as from the run of the music admitting and inviting a loud and exhilarating uplifting of the voice. The tune itself, and not any feeling the tune expresses, is the thing thought of.

Many ideas, beautiful in themselves when sung with the expression of a solo singer, varying from the declamatory to that of intense feeling or peaceful repose, become impracticable to a congregation. 'Hotham' may be taken as an example of a good melody, but too delicate in its character for general use. But if a tune so beautiful as 'Hotham' is on this account scarcely manageable by an assembly, what shall be urged in favor of many in which the same or a greater degree of structural unfitness for congregational use is not compensated by excellency of a different kind; as *Calcutta*, *Leach*, *Condescension*, with their quirks and quaver passages—or, *Eaton*, *Eythorn*, *Knaresboro'*, &c., where the like faults are committed by semi-quavers?

The true corale is to exercise the vocal powers of a multitude. Its music must therefore move in masses. It must be simple in its conception and structure, and broadly expressive of a devotional feeling. It is *then* among its properties to have its effect increased the greater the number of voices engaged in singing it—to be adapted, either in itself or by alteration of its time or 'expression,' to a great variety of sentiments; though not often to any two that are in strong opposition. Its cadences, or the musical periods which terminate each line, may be made to contribute to the expressiveness of the composition, while they prevent tedium by delighting the ear with their harmony. The Collection whose title heads our remarks, contains multitudes of beautiful specimens. We may instance *St. Mary's*, *Windsor* (119), *Burford* (44), *Tirzah* (204), &c., as corales expressing the emotions which awe and subdue. They are characterized by a progression of the melody from one note to its next, and by a solemn and pathetic fall in their cadences. On the contrary, ideas of praise, joy, expectation, when musically expressed, are marked by a bold outline, the melody proceeding by thirds and fourths, with strongly marked changes of harmony—affording unexpected resting places in the cadence—as in *Chichester*, *Jerusalem*, *Darwells*, *Eisenach*, *Warwick*, *Westminster New*, *York*,

Clifton, Montgomery, and many others; while love, veneration, and the feelings of a tender or plaintive character call for smooth flowing equable melody, undisturbed by bold and unexpected contrasts. Of this kind, Abridge, St. Stephens, Sunbury, Melcombe, Tiverton, Havannah, Patmos, Liverpool, Manchester, are unexceptionable examples.

It is the old corale, bold, dignified, and simple in its outline, that more evidently possesses the comprehensiveness which fits it for great latitude of application. It has, what has been technically called an apathetic character, devoid of the sensuous forms of modern melody. Analogous to a general term, it expresses a *class* of feelings, but not their *specific* differences. There is nothing in its melody to forbid the alteration of 'time' and 'expression,' as the feeling of the words sung to it may require. The modern corale, perhaps deriving its invention from the serious glee or verse movements of the cathedral anthem, is marked by the elegant flow of its parts and the expressiveness of its melody; approaching more or less nearly to the ballad, whose nature it is to express more closely the feeling of the stanzas it is set to than that of any others. We are thus offered the means of forming a permanent union between hymns of particular shades of sentiment, and the tunes which are best adapted to express them. And provided the selected tunes are calculated for congregational use, both tunes and hymns will increase in force of impression by such appropriations. Let the principle which should dictate the conjunction be duly recognized, and all the rest may be left to the operation of public taste. We abstain from specifying what conjunctions of hymns and tunes are in our opinion most suitable, lest the bans should be forbidden. But to name a few tunes which appear to contain facilities for what we recommend:—Wirksworth is penitential; Antwerp tells of our mortality, and is full of the memory of human woe; Mount Ephraim denotes confidence, but it is the confidence of hope, not of possession—mingling anticipations of escape with the recollection that suffering is not yet over; St. George's expresses cheerful reliance, and Cary's, grateful praise, but both are rather tender than bold; Gloucester, on the contrary, declares the trust that exults, and counts the promise already won. We offer our opinion with unaffected deference to better judges. As it is, we have often to lament that the tune counteracts the effect of the words. We were lately required to sing Watts's beautiful paraphrase of the 139th Psalm, which calls upon us to stand in awe because God is around us, to 'Horsley'—a tune which almost obliges us to show that we however have no becoming sense of the overwhelming fact. This is perhaps the most perfect way of defeating the end of psalmody.

In animadverting on the tunes which enjoy a traditional popu-

larity, we cannot pretend to give a complete index expurgatorius. Perhaps we have not signalled the greatest criminals. Let every body turn informer for himself, and they will soon be denounced. Let him see how often whining insipidity has been mistaken for pathos—pertness and familiarity for gracefulness—and bombast for majesty—while sometimes nothing but the supposition of a fortuitous concurrence of notes will account for the tunes in which they occur. But it must be remembered that there can be no discrimination exercised if the attention is still to be exclusively occupied by the same tunes. It must be by familiarity with those not ordinarily heard in our chapels, that a taste can be created for them; and this may come to have an expulsive power fatal to the popularity of many of our present favourites.

We have said that the principal effect of psalmody depends on the belief entertained by those who engage in it of their common sincerity. The liability to impression in each member being in proportion to the mass he believes to be sympathising with him. It might safely be said that psalmody can have no faults except those which impair this community of feeling or prevent its recognition. All that we have instanced do one or both of these, as a little reflection will make evident. The harsh predominance of one voice straining itself, often in a vain effort to keep a congregation to the tune is likely to operate both ways. The censurable attempts of many persons to sustain a part, for which they have not the requisite musical skill, nor perhaps the right quality of voice, must mar the effect of the whole on all who are unfortunate enough to be within their range. Countertenors uncertainly flickering over the scale, till a happy accident confirms their confidence by bringing them in tune—basses jarring the ear by unallowable discords—and the well-meant but not benevolent attempts of those to whom nature has given neither voice nor ear for music, are all disturbing causes to every body but those who present them.

We judge of a man's earnestness, in great part, by the 'expression' he gives to his enunciation. A friend professing his regard, with as little emphasis, as if he were giving his opinion of the weather or asking the time of day—a multitude testifying their loyalty to a present sovereign by lisped and heartless tokens of welcome; would be ludicrous hypocrisies. We may make ourselves certain, that devotion is dying when hosannas languish on our tongues. But beyond vigorous shouting, or occasionally an almost inaudible monotony, what 'expression' do the generality of our choral efforts exhibit? And what is expressed by these more than the fact that the congregation does or does not enjoy the tune? It would be credulous to think emotion of any kind was manifested. 'Expression' is resolvable into degrees of quickness or slowness, loudness or softness. The two first, must of

course, be maintained uniformly through the whole tune : though it may be altered to accommodate the sense of the next verse if necessary, according as that may be calculated to animate us or to soothe the voice into a slow and pensive cadence.

We may distribute the force of our voice as we please over the whole melody—throwing it into whatever bars or even notes we chose ; as best suits the sentiment to be conveyed. But we are writing as though people required to be taught all this. As if mothers depended on the instruction of professors for the mode in which they might best indicate their love for their children—as if no man knew when to speak fast or loud, or on what words to lay stress, until he had qualified himself by pains-taking and tuition. As in reading or speaking, let us know what we mean, speak distinctly and be in earnest, and we may trust to nature for all besides. These things are not artifices, or elocutionists and rhetoricians would do something more than name their tools—they would earn the credit of making them. How is it, then, that our practice does not exemplify the same great instincts which concern both singing and speech ? It would be indecent and manifestly false, to explain this by the absence of sincerity. The great majority of those who sing in our congregations may fairly be supposed to adopt, for the time at least, the sentiments they utter, and, therefore, might be expected to evince the ardor and depth of their feelings by their manner of declaring them. The deficiency in our opinion may be accounted for, by the obstacles which radically bad tunes oppose. They express no feeling, and, therefore, need no ‘expression.’ The cure then is to be found in the substitution of the good for the bad. By the use of those which admit and invite expression, the taste and skill will unconsciously develop themselves. Nevertheless, until that time arrive, there will be a great advantage in pursuing the means we have to recommend.

We believe the ancient objection to the use of organs is wearing away in our denominations. They are felt to be not only appropriate from the very quality of their tones, but a great assistance to the psalmody of congregations too large to allow their voices to be drowned by the volume of their sound. They lead great numbers more effectually than can be accomplished by any one man. We think there is another advantage to be derived from their use—they would operate beneficially on the taste of those who employed them. Tunes which we are content to sing, would become intolerable when their jingling passages and meagre harmonies were heard from an instrument that would so plainly reveal their real character. Although, it must be confessed, that bad taste has often continued to preside in defiance of them.

Reformations rarely if ever begin in the multitude. Defects

however enormous are submitted to for ages without suspicion until perceived by those who have the power of influencing the mass. In no other way we conceive can our psalmody undergo a complete reform. It is, therefore, to those whose character and position give them weight in our congregations, that we address ourselves. The few bright examples of what may be done to rescue our psalmody from the censures passed upon it by all qualified judges out of our pale, have been thus created. It might be invidious to name them. The practicability and aptness of the means we have to recommend have been proved in the instances we allude to, where success in the next degree to perfect has crowned the efforts of the few.

The principal features of the plans adopted in these cases have been, the banishment of the volumes which have so long maintained an injurious supremacy—the employment of the collection under review—and the establishment of meetings for the practice of psalmody during the week. A sufficient number of people have thus been rendered familiar with the new tunes, and capable of singing all with accuracy. The gentlemen who have assumed the direction of these meetings have proceeded gradually. Correctness in time and tune were the first points insisted on and secured. ‘Expression’ was afterwards attended to, and in a great measure attained. If in any thing they have failed it is owing to no fault of theirs, but to a prevailing insensibility to the claims this duty of praising God has upon our best efforts to render it not unworthy of the Being who must condescend even to listen to the anthems of heaven. Praise is graciously accepted, we are encouraged to believe—but only when it is ‘comely.’ We have been content to bring the lame and the sickly for offerings. We have seemed to think that it is not worth while, much less an obvious duty, for the people to qualify themselves for the only part that falls upon them in the worship of God. They may do this as well as they can, or not all; if they so choose. This case is an exception to the general rule; ‘no voice can be improved ‘by cultivation—every body reads music by the light of nature, ‘and forms an harmonious bass or tenor by the spontaneous suggestion of his untutored ear.’ We should not tolerate the same marks of want of care and study in the ministrations of the pulpit. The heart and understanding we know are chiefly to be looked to, for it is these alone that God regards. The harshest whooping that could be heard from a hut-full of converted Hot-tentots—if it proceeded from no spurious feeling, is of higher account than the most finished performances of the vain and self-respecting. But is it evidence of a right state of the heart, or indeed of the understanding, to leave imperfect what might be improved? Neglect in this matter, when it is not the result of ignorance, closely resembles presumption and profanity.

There is a point in the progress of such attempts as we are advocating, when the psalmody may possibly exhibit somewhat of a cold and artificial character. It may be expected to occur just before a sufficient number of people have qualified themselves to bear a part in the new and better mode of performing the duty, before the mass of the congregation is accustomed to the wide transition and familiar with the newly introduced melodies. But time will cure this—and there will be the less to cure, the more zealously the congregation co-operate in whatever methods of reform may be pursued. It may be thought by some, that we desire a degree of perfection in the singing of our congregations which is not attainable, nor if it were, desirable—that we wish to render it a musical performance which may gratify the ear and taste of the fastidious. The tenour of our observations ought to repel this charge. It is the perfection of psalmody which we would promote, not that which belongs to the concert-room. Could we, by one stroke of our pen, realize all we desire—instead of a smaller number of singers, there would be many more than at present. For almost every body might use his voice at some pitch or other with addition to the general effect, as well as profit to himself. It is not travelling out of our record, to refer to the great advantage which the rite would receive, were the announcement of the hymn and tune, and the recitation of the former which is customary amongst us, committed to those who would not shock us by a style of delivery either formal or flippant, irreverent or pompous. We could instance congregations that have been great gainers by relinquishing the services of those whose only qualifications are, perhaps, loudness of voice and a superficial knowledge of music, for the unpaid superintendence of men of education, taste, skill in music, and best of all for our purpose, piety. In most of our chapels one or two uniting these attributes might surely be found; are they ashamed to use them in such service?

It would contribute not a little to the future perfection of psalmody, were facilities afforded in our colleges for instruction in the science of music, and those principles of taste which have respect to it. This would secure at least one man of influence in each congregation, competent to repair the defects we at present deplore. We say repair, because it must be recollected, that it was not always as it is now; psalmody had a brighter era, and to that standard we desire to return.

The laudable and successful attempt which is being made in a suburban hamlet to introduce a knowledge of music and a love of its pleasures, into classes of society which we have hitherto been content to leave a prey to debasing appetites and sordid engagements, albeit ready enough to exasperate the evils by legislating against them, should it provoke imitation, will tell favorably on

psalmody itself. In the instance we refer to, this forms a prominent part of their choral performances, which considering the short time since the experiment was begun, reflect the highest credit on the zeal and ability of the gentleman to whom the public is principally indebted, for practically bringing this means of civilization before its notice.

We refer our readers to the very able preface of the Psalmist for a summary of the sacred history of music, with a copious citation of authorities from which there is no appeal to justify its religious use; if that can be thought necessary. It also contains a succinct account of the rise and progress of psalmody. The scheme of the work is perspicuously declared, and reflects the highest credit on those who devised it. The principles which have guided the compilers in the choice of tunes are plain, and will approve themselves to every one who allows himself the pleasure of reading their preface. The result is a collection unrivalled in the number of unexceptionable tunes it contains, and in the beauty of their arrangements, in which the harmonies are rich and full, without being abstruse or intricate. This of itself is a very great improvement on the popular collections, which are notoriously poor and deficient in arrangement; no slight fault when it is recollected that chords or simultaneous sounds affect us precisely as sounds in succession do. Harmony is a power of expression, often equal and sometimes superior to melody. It gratifies more than the appetite of the ear. It can be made to excite the imagination and stir the heart.

The ease of performers of ordinary skill has been consulted by every simplification consistent with musical propriety. The tenor and alto cleffs, which few are acquainted with, are discarded. A few of the arrangements, especially in the first part of the work, are in a style altogether too chromatic. The basses have more of the florid and instrumental character than should be found in compositions for popular use, and that on occasions when devotion and not display is regarded. But the great majority of the tunes are not open to this objection.

The collection is enriched by many beautiful adaptations from the greatest masters, made on principles to which nothing can be objected. The subjects are unknown to the generality, and therefore, although some of them were not designed for the service of religion by their authors, they are not likely to suggest ideas of a contrary tendency. The evil of many of our adaptations is, that the tunes were popular before they were consecrated. We have made priests of the meanest of the people. But the better and more deservedly popular any secular tune is, the more strongly will it be surrounded by associations foreign to and by contrast repellent of devotional feelings. Forgetfulness of this fact made the great religious leader ask, 'why the devil should be

'suffered to keep all the good tunes to himself? straightway enriching the psalmody of his chapel by the abduction of 'Rule Brittonia,' 'Away with Melancholy,' and a few others. He should have been cautious—we have plenty of tunes that might tempt reprisals on the part of the enemy. Let our subjects be taken from the untravelled depths of musical literature, and we may adapt as largely as we choose without offence.

The list of those who have contributed to fill the three numbers already issued, includes the most classical composers of all ages. Nor is there a name of eminence in the present musical world that is not creditably represented by one or more tunes, some of surpassing beauty.

The compositions of the late Samuel Wesley, who had no superior among the moderns in the facility with which he threw off the most perfect specimens of the *corale*, have enriched the pages of the psalmist, especially the third number, to a very great extent. Among so much excellence it would be difficult as well as invidious to particularize. Nor would our limits permit it. The work, when completed (a fourth number is promised) will be a splendid, and, in many cases, a voluntary offering from the highest genius to the service of religion—rich beyond any precedent in faultless beauty of melody, and the most finished resources of harmony—a volume full of the loftiest style of music—that of the passions.

In one point, we think, the compilers have avowedly erred. 'Conscious of the difficulty of direct innovations on established customs and prejudices, they have deemed it necessary to yield so far to the present taste in psalmody, as to include in their selection some of those tunes, whose principal claim to insertion will be found in their existing popularity.' Is it a likely way to win a man to virtue by allowing him to retain a few of his favorite vices. The motto of a reformer should be 'less than thorough will not do it.' The false principles of taste, or the culpable supineness under the absence of any principles whatever, which the patronage of meagre and vulgar tunes implies, are not only tolerated by the introduction of specimens into a selection of such just pretensions as the present; but the people who thus receive indulgencies for these sins against taste, will in time quote the authority of the Psalmist, to prove that neither these nor any like them are sins at all. But there is room for difference of opinion on this point. Regarding the Psalmist as a standard, which we predict it will be, our remarks are just—as it is an instrument of practical reformation, which must unfortunately be 'as the people will bear it,' perhaps they have not complied with the fondness of old partialities to a sufficient extent. But at a time when an attempt has just been made, which from the sanction and influence of the Sunday-School-Union, must be too successful, to

prolong the reign of vulgarity and common-place over our sacred music, it is the more necessary that a work which cannot fail to be the opponent, as it is the very opposite of the 'Union Tune Book,' should occupy no neutral position. These two can never enjoy a divided empire in any congregation, for the one exemplifies with curious care, both in the tunes selected and in their arrangements, all the faults which the other has avoided. It is to be regretted, that the exertions of a few public spirited and disinterested persons in the cause of psalmody, the first fruits of which have been a long time before the public, have met with no more respect from the directors of that useful society. They might, at least, have forbore to employ their widely-extended agency in counteracting a very laudable effort.

Art. VIII. *Travels in Palestine and Syria*. By GEORGE ROBINSON, Esq. Illustrated with Maps and Plans. In 2 vols. 12mo. Vol. i., Palestine; vol. ii., Syria. London: Henry Colburn.

HOWEVER ludicrous the idleness which, under pretence of curiosity, urges so many of our countrymen to the ends of the earth; and whatever may be the worthlessness of the '*knowledge gained in foreign parts*,' which idle people publish '*at request of friends*;' none will deny to us the praise of contributing largely to the accumulation of facts concerning the habits and manners that belong to conditions of society totally different from our own.

In the shoals that migrate from the British Isles every summer, it cannot be pretended that any tolerable proportion have either the preparatory knowledge that teaches what to observe, or the discrimination and industry that fit them for giving to others any valuable detail of their remarks. Hence, the intelligent inhabitants of other countries often smile at our countrymen scampering through regions which they visit merely to say, '*I have travelled there*, and gazing at objects of which they mistake the nature. We, also, who stay at home are disposed to mirth or severity, according to the predominant feeling of the moment, when '*Personal adventures*,' or '*Remarks made in a tour*' beguile us of money and time; giving nought in exchange but facts as interesting as that the intrepid authors were, on some particular spot of the earth's surface compelled to drink bad wine and sleep on uncomfortable beds; and adding to the common stock of human knowledge no ideas more novel than what Johnson said would be contributed by Goldsmith on his return from his projected eastern travels. '*Goldy*,' said the moralist, '*would bring home a wheelbarrow and exhibit it as a curiosity*?'

But, while we have just causes to allege for contempt of the qualification and acquisitions of many a travelled author, we are not backward to admit the benefit accruing to the world from the accumulation of narratives by observers who, carrying out a sufficient stock of preparatory knowledge and allowing themselves sufficient time for observation, have at last had the modesty to content themselves with accurate statements unincumbered with distracting details of travellers '*petite personne*' or the yet more wearisome annoyance of interminable discussion on matters of which readers know but little, and cursory observers probably know less.

The public has now some delicacy in the choice of the viands prepared for its taste. A book is no longer thought attractive, simply, because it contains '*news from a far country*.' We ask for accuracy and discrimination. We are more solicitous to know what the author saw with his eyes and heard with his ears, than to be informed how he fared, or what he conjectured.

This demand for exact information is precisely what is met by the volumes of Mr. Robinson. Even in those parts of the work which bring us nothing absolutely new, we feel the advantage of having in small compass, the matter hitherto scattered through many volumes of various degrees of merit, some of them expensive in form and inconvenient in arrangement. Yet this work is not a dry compression of the results of other men's labour: on the contrary, it bears the stamp of interesting fidelity, and carries along with it the confidence of the reader.

The maps and plans essential to a work of the kind are given in so unostentatious a form, that general readers may possibly not at first sight suspect their merit. But, when they have been tested by use, their value will be acknowledged! The countries which Mr. Robinson's volumes bring under our notice, have been visited, indeed, by men whose works will ever command attention for the learning, the imagination, or the piety with which they are imbued. But the reader of Chateaubriand and of La Martine feels a perpetual need of some sober guide to take him by the hand and aid him to realize as matter of fact the scenes which suggested their exciting aspirations. With the tact that belongs only to the experienced traveller, Mr. Robinson presents in his maps and plans answers to the very questions suggested by a perusal of the text. Knowing that the traveller's need of information is most provokingly tantalized, on hearing that some large library contains many most excellent works in which lies scattered the knowledge that he can use only when stowed in his valise, the author has provided for others the matter, the possession of which at the commencement of his own travels, would have spared him much fatigue, and saved him from many an hour of anxious uncertainty.

The value of Mr. Robinson's habit of exact narrative, is peculiarly evident in that part of his work which details his excursion in '*the country beyond Jordan*.' There few have ventured; and, to say nothing of personal safety, none could return thence with any intelligence to the public, unless they had first, like this traveller, familiarised themselves with the language and been able to assume the habit of the roving Bedouin. Only they who have felt the difficulty of making their way into an unexplored district will be able to anticipate the obligation which future visitors of the land, where '*the two tribes and a half*' found their promised rest, will acknowledge to the author of these volumes.

In the acknowledgments of those who follow his footsteps the author will ultimately find his chief reward. A lively emotion thrills through the hearts of those who '*have known the Holy Scriptures from their youth*,' as often as they hear of spots '*which their earliest dreams have dwelt upon*,' and which bear names hallowed alike by perpetual connexion with their purest studies, and by being the sources of their most spiritualising meditations. This interest will never fail to produce a supply of readers for works like that before us. And the intellectual character of our age will readily bestow attention upon a work, that not only interests warmly by its subject, but instructs accurately by its matter.

That Mr. Robinson did not pass through Syria and Palestine with the eye and heart of a mere biographer, we have evidence in his frequent allusions to the sublimity of natural scenery, and in the commiseration with which he depicts recollections of fallen greatness. As '*brevity is the soul of wit*,' a single word from a feeling heart is often more forcible than a lengthened description to indicate sympathy; especially, when real faith, scorning obtrusion upon the world, is the source of the tear that must spring '*where sad Judæa weeps beneath her palm*.' These affecting touches, often conveyed in half a sentence, are so interspersed with the topographical information as to be incapable of being shown by mere extracts. Our readers will admire with us expressions of taste, sympathy, and piety blended with exact information. We may illustrate our meaning by a few instances in which the very nature of the scenes described would indeed enforce a pensive thought upon any mind not hardened by worldliness to callous indifference.

The approach to Jerusalem claims our first notice.

'As we approach Jerusalem, the road becomes more and more rugged, and all appearance of vegetation ceases. The rocks are scantily covered with soil, and what little verdure might have existed in the spring is now, in the autumn, entirely burnt up. There is a like absence of animal life; and it is no exaggeration to say, '*here man*

dwelleth not ; the beast wandereth not, and the bird flieth not.' Indeed, nothing indicates the immediate approach to the ancient metropolis of Judæa, unless it be the apparent evidences of a curse upon its soil, impressed in the dreadful characters just mentioned, whilst '*the inhabitants thereof are scattered abroad.*' Oftentimes on the road was I tempted to exclaim, '*like the stranger that shall come from a far land,*' 'Wherefore hath the Lord done this unto the land? What meaneth the heat of this great anger?'

As we read this we can participate in the awe with which the author subjoins, in a foot-note, the response, '*Because they have transgressed the laws, changed the ordinance, and broken the everlasting covenant.*'

The description of the approach proceeds.

'Impatient to catch the first glimpse of the city, I had rode on at the head of the party, when upon reaching an eminence, which for some time past we had seen before us, a line of embattled walls, above which, a few cupolas and minarets raised their heads, suddenly presented itself to my anxious view. *I did not INQUIRE if this was Jerusalem.* Indeed, I could not have satisfied my inquiry had I wished, for not a living creature was moving without the city walls. I FELT, however, that it was the Holy City; at the same time, I was disappointed in its general appearance, and in the impressions I was prepared to receive, upon viewing for the first time, the place that had so long enjoyed the special favours of heaven, and which at a later and ever-memorable period, was fixed upon by our Lord to be the theatre of his sufferings for our redemption. This surprise originated, not so much on account of the aspect of the town (for as yet we had seen but little of it) as from the singularity of its position; being surrounded by mountains, without any cultivated land within the range of vision, destitute of water, and not apparently on any high-road.' As my companions successively came up, they evidently participated in this feeling of disappointment. We remained silent a few minutes, each one declining to communicate his sensations to the other; or, perhaps, unable to do so from the novelty of our situation.'—vol. i., pp. 35–37.

Could we give space for the entire Fifth Chapter of the *Second Volume*, our readers would join us in envying the Author's feelings as the cedars of Lebanon and the yet upright columns of Balbec stood before his sight. That the forest is reduced to a grove, and the temple's ruins lie at the base of six remaining columns, add to the melancholy interest inseparable from admiration of these magnificent relics of man's greatness and of nature's vastness.

The Temple of the Sun, like '*fair Melrose,*' should be viewed '*by sweet moonlight.*'

'As I entered the grand court, in which are contained the principal

ruins, a general silence prevailed throughout, even the shepherd's pipe, which but a few minutes before had caught my ear in the plain, had now ceased to be heard. But it was the silence of death and of widowed greatness, for here man once dwelt—here, space, material, and art, were all made subservient to his views of grandeur and magnificence. From thence I directed my steps to the more perfect temple, standing in the area below; but the masses of prostrate columns, and chiselled marbles, which obstructed its entrance, seemed almost to interdict an approach. After slipping and falling repeatedly, I gained the interior. Here my presence occasioned a panic amongst a host of birds, apparently wild pigeons, which had taken up their abode in the temple; and I was not a little startled myself by the fluttering and bustle that ensued, in consequence of my intrusion.

‘One half of the building, which is roofless, lay buried in gloomy shadow; whilst the moonlight rested with complacency upon the upper story of the remainder, and gave a fanciful embellishment to the elaborate sculptures with which it is adorned. Viewed by day, these beautiful structures, though replete with interest and delight, carry with them a mingled feeling of humiliation and regret: humiliation at the reflection of the transitory greatness of all human conceptions; and regret, that such proud relics of man's genius, should be held by a people incapable of appreciating their merits, and consequently heedless of their further and complete destruction; whereas, by the uncertain light which reigns at this hour, the greater part of the deficiencies are supplied by fancy, and the mind is irresistibly carried back to the period of its perfect state, when incense burnt on its altars, and these walls resounded with the chants of a people, sacrificing to the great luminary which enlightens the world and sheds its blessed influence on the earth. Emerging from the dark recesses of the sanctuary, my attention was suddenly called to the six noble detached columns, standing upon the upper platform, and shooting high up into the air; the effect of which at this moment, was heightened to sublimity by the moonbeams reflecting on their shafts, and by the solemn stillness that reigned around them. Seated upon a fallen fragment of this august pile, and riveted to the spot by a melancholy yet pleasurable feeling, I remained, I dare not say how long, absorbed in reflection and emotions, which the place, the hour, and the serenity of the night, were all so well calculated to inspire.’—Vol. II., pp. 103—105.

The beauty of natural scenery is not lost upon our author. After describing the course of the Orontes, and the general aspect of the cultivated spots on its banks, he thus pictures his sensations:

‘But Nature is more apparent than Art in this picturesque valley; and no where, indeed, in my long course of travel, have I seen her beauties lavished with so bountiful a hand. It is hardly within the reach of language to convey an adequate idea of the luxuriant variety

of foliage which presents itself on every side. Besides the rich green myrtle and laurel, mixed up with the wild vine; the bay-tree, arbutus, plane-tree, and sycamore, are scattered about in all directions. But it was not the eye alone that was charmed. The fruit-trees, which are here very abundant, were now in full blossom, and sent forth an agreeable fragrance as we passed along; and to complete the gratification of the senses, the occasional shallows of the river kept up a perpetual murmur, which soothed the ear, and more than once invited us to repose.' 'One single regret mingled itself with our pleasure, viz. that, owing to its distance from our homes, we could not hope to make it the object of our frequent pilgrimage.'—ib., pp. 301—302.

That one who could, as these extracts show, feel and describe the beauty of nature, the grandeur of antiquity, the ravages of time, and the judicial sentences of Providence, should be so sparing in digressions of these kinds, if digressions they can be called, is a fault for which we only find an apology in the paramount duty which the author had imposed on himself of making a book wherein the principal characteristic should be utility. As, however, none knows better than he the ennobling worth, the real utility, of whatever calls off man from the near to the distant; we suggest to him the claim which the public has upon him for information,—(as to accuracy we need not doubt him,) enlivened to the utmost by all his varied power of intellect and feeling. He lived with the Bedouin, speaking his language and wearing his dress. In Egypt he had much intercourse with the various races. Of the Levant he tells us that very few travellers have made so complete and extensive a tour as himself. In Greece he has seen the glorious monuments of Hellas, the devastations of barbarism, and the commingled chicanery and patriotism of regeneration. Surely the same journals and recollections as have furnished these two volumes contain stores of matter that, by virtue of his own motto, we say the author OWES to us.

We cannot close this notice of Mr. Robinson's work without calling attention to the thanks which those who love the best of all truths will cheerfully render to an author whose own faith was evidently confirmed by a personal visit to the scene of God's manifestation of himself, and who returns with evidence to '*strengthen his brethren*.'

That men go to Palestine believers and return sceptics, is often asserted; but it is only true of the ill-informed portion of believers, (too numerous we admit,) who know not how to distinguish between the obvious and palpable falsehood of pretences to certainty in identifying minute localities, and the equally obvious and palpable truth that the soil of Judæa is the land given to a peculiar people, hallowed for all nations by the footsteps of Him

who gave himself for the light of the world, and baptized with his blood by the name of Holy. A well-informed Christian traveller cannot *there* lose his faith, nor will even the conviction that every spot is incapable of being proved to be the precise scene of the event from which it claims celebrity, be a valid reason for doubting the event itself, recorded upon perfectly independent testimony, or even for checking the sympathies aroused by the mere name.

These diverse operations of true and false philosophy we may well illustrate by a beautiful extract from our Author's remarks at the Grotto of Jeremiah.

'A little to the right of the road, is an ancient quarry, the entrance to which, now walled up, faces the south. This is shown as the cave, or grotto, to which the prophet Jeremiah retired, to pour forth his lamentations. It is in possession of the Turks, and the guardianship of it is confided to a dervish, who lives in a small hut contiguous to it. Christians are not admitted. Opening the sacred volume at this spot, the surest, and at the same time the most instructive guide in these parts, and referring to those sublime inspirations of the prophet, I began reading, 'How doth the city sit solitary that *was* full of people! How is she become as a widow! She that was great among the nations, and princess among the provinces, how is she become tributary!' 'Her gates are desolate.' 'All her beauty is departed.' 'Her filthiness is in her skirts.'

'Unconscious of what I was doing, I looked around me to see him whose voice I thought I heard. Not a human creature was within sight. A thrilling trembling seized me, at the consciousness that an omnipotent, though invisible Being stood by, whose prescient powers had enabled one who was despised by all, to picture thus faithfully, and to the very letter, the future state of a city, that at the moment the prophecy was delivered, was in possession of all the elements of worldly prosperity.'

The readers of Volney will here be reminded of the sublime opening of '*Les Ruines*.' Happier beyond all comparison in our judgment, is the philosophy which calls not up an unsubstantial shade to resolve its doubts, but hears, with our Author, the sure word which declares that 'by God nations rise and fall.'

Brief Notices.

The Christian's Daily Treasure: a Religious Exercise for every day in the year. By Ebenezer Temple. Second Edition, revised. London: Ward & Co. 1838.

A sort of imitation of Jay's *Morning and Evening Exercises*. Not so original or striking—but very useful, plain, and pious. The remarks on the passages of Scripture selected for each day, are in the form of short sketches of sermons, and are written with much simplicity. As supplying materials for profitable thought to plain people—as affording suitable help to occasional preachers in our villages—we can cordially recommend the volume. We congratulate Mr. Temple on his success, and we hope his desire to be useful may be realized.

The Imagery of Foreign Travel; or, Descriptive Extracts from Scenes and Impressions in Egypt, India, &c. &c. Selected and re-published by the Author. London: Longman and Co. 12mo, 1838.

Few writers possess, in so happy a degree as Major Sherer, the faculty of putting the scenes they describe before their readers. He fills up what others leave in outline, and familiarises us, consequently, with the emotions awakened as well as with the objects seen. The present volume, consisting of extracts from several of his works descriptive of scenes in India, Arabia, Italy, Germany, Sicily, &c. is one of the most interesting companions which a traveller can desire, and will do much more than books ordinarily accomplish, to supersede the necessity for leaving home.

Sermons by the late Rev. Thomas Scott, M.A., Rector of Wappenham, Northamptonshire, and formerly Incumbent of Gawcott, Bucks. With a Brief Memoir of his Life. Edited by the Rev. Samuel King, M.A., Rector of Latimer, Bucks. London: Seeley and Burnside. 1837.

Mr. Scott was the second and last surviving son of the celebrated commentator. In early life he was afflicted with ophthalmia; and while suffering from this painful malady, appears to have received deep religious impressions, which, in after life brought forth rich fruits. Having dedicated himself to the work of the ministry, he was presented as the first incumbent, to a chapel at Gawcott, near Buckingham. Here Mr. Scott resided twenty-seven years. The endowment was £100 per annum; and this was to include all expenses, repairs of the chapel, and clerk's salary! The chapel was so badly built as soon to become ruinous. A new one was built by Mr. Scott being his own architect, at a cost of £1700, from various sources. He also added, chiefly from his own : more than

£30 per annum to the endowment. He had before built a parsonage house at more than five years income of his benefice! and this with an increasing family, and no resources except those of a tutor. He had therefore, and none need be surprised, as his biographer observes, to struggle with poverty. *At last* he had a rectory; but he died shortly after he entered upon it. All we need say is, if the Church of England was, *in any sense*, what it is so loudly asserted to be, such a man would not have had to endure Mr. Scott's hard lot. There, however, for the most part, the drones are rewarded, the labourer starves. In reference to the sermons forming this posthumous volume, all that is required is soon said—they are worthy of the man whose self-denying character is here exhibited.

The Bible and Spade; or Captain Brenton's Account of the Rise and Progress of 'The Children's Friend Society,' showing its tendency to prevent Crime and Poverty, and eventually to dispense with Capital Punishment and Imprisonment. London: Nisbet & Co.

The singular title of this little book, will awaken the attention of the curious. It is intended to show that the promotion of religion and industry is the great object contemplated by 'The Children's Friend Society.' It contains many interesting details of the operations of that Institution. Thirteen hundred children have been rescued from ruin by its agency. We hope this little book may be extensively read, as it cannot fail to impart pleasure to the Christian philanthropist, and must secure the patronage and support of the public to the cause it advocates.

Literary Intelligence.

In the Press.

On the Law of Christ, respecting Civil Obedience, especially in the Payment of Tribute, with an Appendix of Documents and Notes, to which are added two Addresses on the Voluntary Church Question. By John Brown, D.D., Professor of Exegetical Theology to the United Secession Church. The Third Edition, improved and enlarged.

Operations carried on at Gizeh, in 1837; also an Account of a Voyage into Upper Egypt. Illustrated with Drawings and numerous Wood-cuts. By Colonel Howard Vyse.

The Pyramids of Gizeh, from actual Survey and Admeasurement. Illustrated with Notes and References to the several Plans. By J. E. Perring, Esq., Civil Engineer. With Sketches taken on the spot by F. I. Andrews, Esq. The First Part, containing the Great Pyramid, is nearly ready.

The Hieroglyphics on the Coffin of Mycerinus, found in the third Pyramid of Gizeh. With Letter-press description.

Just Published.

Speeches of Henry Lord Brougham, upon questions relating to Public Rights, Duties, and Interests; with Historical Introductions, and a Critical Dissertation upon the Eloquence of the Ancients. 4 vols. 8vo.

History of the Great Reformation of the Sixteenth Century in Germany, Switzerland, &c. By J. H. Merle D'Aubigné, President of the Theological School of Geneva. Vol. I.

Christian Beneficence contrasted with Covetousness; illustrating the means by which the world may be regenerated. By Thomas Dick, LL.D.

Celestial Scenery; or the Wonders of the Planetary System displayed; illustrating the Perfections of the Deity and a Plurality of Worlds. By T. Dick, LL.D. Third Edition, revised.

The Parochial System; an Appeal to English Churchmen. By Henry W. Wilberforce, M.A.

A General Outline of the Animal Kingdom. By Thomas Rymer Jones, F.Z.S. Part I.

Lives of the most Eminent Literary and Scientific Men of Great Britain. Vol. III. (Lardner's Cyclopædia, Vol. CVI.)

Letters on Egypt, Edom, and the Holy Land. By Lord Lindsay. Two volumes.

A Dictionary of Arts, Manufactures, and Mines; containing a clear exposition of their principles and practice. By Andrew Ure, M.D. Part I. To be completed in Ten Monthly Parts, with upwards of 1000 Engravings on Wood.

The Claims of Episcopacy Refuted, in a Review of the Essays of the Right Reverend Bishop Hobart, and other Advocates of Diocesan Episcopacy. By the late Rev. John Mason, D.D., of New York. With an Introduction and Appendix by the Rev. John Blackburn.

The History, Antiquities, Topography, and Statistics of Eastern India. By Montgomery Martin. Vol. III. Puraniya, Ronggopoor, and Assam.

Facts, Suggestions, and Brief Inductions in Geology. By Biblicus Delvinus.

Ten Sermons on the Power and Grace of Christ, and of the Evidences of his glorious Gospel. By Philip Doddridge.

Letters from the West Indies, during a Visit in the Autumn of 1836 and of the Spring of 1837. By William Lloyd, M.D.

A Brief Account of the Stockport Sunday-school. With Thoughts on the Extension and Improvement of Sunday-schools in General, and more especially in the Rural Districts. By J. M. Morgan.

A History of British Birds. By William Yarrell, F.L.S., V.P.Z.S. Part VIII.

The Miscellaneous Writings of the late Mr. William Braidwood. Now first collected into a volume. With a Memoir of his Life, Ministry, and Writings. By W. Jones, A.M.

A Complete English-Latin Dictionary for the use of Colleges and Schools. By the Rev. J. E. Riddle, M.A. 8vo.

Memoirs of George Monk, Duke of Albemarle. From the French of M. Guizot. Translated and Edited, with additional Notes and Illustrations. By the Hon. J. Stuart Wortley.

Historical Researches into the Politics, Intercourse, and Trade of the Carthaginians, Ethiopians, and Egyptians. By A. H. L. Heeren. Translated from the German. 2nd Edition. 2 vols.

History of the English Revolution, from the Accession of Charles I. Translated from the French of M. Guizot, by Louise H. R. Coutier. 2 vols.

The Peace of Rome: whereto is prefixed a Serious Dissuasive from Popery. By Joseph Hall, D.D. A New Edition.

A Manual of Mental and Moral Philosophy, from Locke, Butler, Reid, Brown, and other Writers. By the Rev. Joseph Jones, M.A.

Reminiscences of South America, from two and a-half years' residence in Venezuela. By John Hawkshaw, F.G.S., Member of the Institution of Civil Engineers.

The New Excitement; or a Book to induce Young People to Read: for 1839.

Reflections on Clerical and Lay Attendance in the Ball Room. By Clericus Felix. 18mo. cloth.

THE
ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR NOVEMBER, 1838.

Art. I. *Memoirs of General Washington.* By GEORGE BANCROFT.
Boston, United States.

NAVIGATORS in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when they first descried the shores of a new world, had few or no ideas with regard to the real importance of their discovery. Their dreams were all golden ones, in the basest sense of the expression. India, or the realms of Cathay; an El Dorado or the Zipangu of Marco Polo; a land of diamonds, painted birds, and pretty women in a state of nature; the paradise of Mussulmen to be rendered part and parcel of the patrimony of St. Peter;—these, and similar hallucinations left little space for sober truth, and the realities of life. Could they but have been informed that America was to be the scene of trial, on which social and political problems would be solved to the astonishment of all Europe;—that republics would one day cover nearly the whole continent; that despotic princes, aristocracies, and hierarchies would there have their inutility demonstrated;—it may well be conceived that popes would never have blessed transatlantic enterprises, and that the Catholic Isabella would have sent Christopher Columbus about his business.

A fresh volume of knowledge was, however, put into the hands of mankind; and every speculator, whether sophist, soldier, or fortune-hunter, turned over some new leaf of it. The pages were all so full of moving pictures, that Europe read and ran. Selfishness started up into a Colossus striding across the seas; at once the idol and wonder-working monument of the age. Such an influx of the precious metals occurred as to affect values in every civilized region. Silver seemed in the way of becoming common as stones, as it was in Jerusalem during the days of Solomon. Adventurers founded kingdoms, overturned dynasties,

supplanted the children of the Sun and the Moon, sent home shiploads of ingots and plate, and put old fabulists to the blush, in the blazonry of their transcendent exploits. But the greatest marvels remained behind; as yet unseen and untold. Out of a chaos of cruelty and confusion, order without tyranny, prosperity without taxes, states without crowns, coronets, or standing armies, were to arise; and stranger than all, religion was to flourish, without either Right Reverend Fathers in God, or any other establishment. *Credat Judæus Apella*, would Bartolomæo Las Casas have exclaimed, when he was countenancing a negro slave-trade to spare the Indians! Meanwhile, onward flowed the years of many generations. Mammon, ambition, and curiosity worked their way; surpassed for the most part by ecclesiastical persecution. That famous verity, 'Orthodoxy is my doxy, and 'heterodoxy is another person's doxy,' was acted out by those in power, long before Bishop Warburton's definition could have dared to pass current. James and Charles Stuart knew themselves to be the Anointed of the Lord, as indeed did their children after them; and their behaviour was consistent with their creed. The emigrants, who disembarked upon the rock of Plymouth, were puritans in faith, and republicans in policy; flying from the tender mercies of Laud, Strafford, and the Star Chamber. Here lay the mind, which afterwards leavened the whole land from Penobscot to Pensacola. Their charter, singular to say, empowered them to select whatever form of government should be most agreeable to themselves, provided only that its laws were not repugnant to those of Great Britain. How such a grant ever could have emanated from the despots and dunces at home, has always been matter of surprise. Virginia was settled rather earlier, in the former and more peaceful period of James's reign. Hence, as religion had less to do with this colony, it manifested considerable sympathy with the principles of royalism at home; being the last to acknowledge the protectorate, and the foremost in hailing the Restoration. The Church of England was regularly established. So unbroken was its uniformity, that when Washington was a young man, not a single place of worship either for Roman Catholics or Protestant Dissenters existed. A portion of the country, however, had been severed under Charles the First to form Maryland, which Lord Baltimore, a Romanist, gladly accepted as a place of refuge for those, who like himself, were expatriated by *soi disant* Protestants in England; appropriate prototypes and progenitors to the Exeter Hall and Orangemen in our own day. No less than 200 Catholic families accompanied his lordship to this asylum about the year 1635: and it was afterwards found that neither the loyalty of Virginia, nor the popery of Baltimore, could remain proof against the charms of liberty. The mighty struggle for the rights of man fused them

all down into one mass; without excepting any pacific or peculiarly passive propensities, which Penn might have been supposed to have stamped upon Pennsylvania; or Berkeley, and Carteret, or the ancestors of Rip Van Winkel, upon New York, New Jersey, and Delaware. North and South Carolina remembered and applied to themselves the doctrines of Locke, long after his constitution of Caziques had been consigned to the limbo of vanities. Georgia had witnessed with slight emotion the enthusiastic zeal of Wesley and Whitefield. It was the weakest and least healthy of all the provinces; forming a strong contrast to New England, the head and hand of the Union, divided into four sections, and subsequently branching into the prosperous states of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island.

The connexion between these colonies and the Mother country was of a simple and general nature. They had amongst them, in considerable force, the fundamental principles of the British constitution, strengthened and based upon the industry, hardihood, and free habits of thought, entertained by English, Irish, Scotch, Swedish, Dutch, and German settlers. A mixture of sects, in the middle and southern provinces, threw off in the process of wholesome fermentation, much of the illiberality and fanaticism, which for some generations disgraced their Northern neighbours. These again, in their turn, grew wiser, as prosperity warmed them into more intercourse with others; and enabled them to circulate their political opinions at Philadelphia, New York, Baltimore, and Charleston. They were all far enough from Great Britain, to be free from many of those drawbacks and disadvantages, which an antiquated and corrupt aristocracy had engrained into her government and society. It has been justly remarked that, while the representative system prevailed as the basis of all equitable legislation, and commercial greatness, there was not a borough-proprietor in the colonies, nor an opportunity (with one exception) for public oppression and subserviency. Slavery was that anomalous exception; and it affected indeed the whole country, wherever it prevailed. Slaves raised the tobacco, rice, and indigo, the most valuable articles of export, and the products of the middle and southern regions. North of New York there were few negroes. But this painful part of the subject will be again forced upon the reader's attention, before the close of the present article. The hero of the American Revolution was himself a slave-holder.

George Washington was born on the 22nd of February, 1732, at Bridges Creek, in the county of Westmoreland, in the province of Virginia. He was the eldest son of Augustine Washington, by his second wife Mary Ball. His father had been married before to Jane Butler, who bore him three sons and a daughter;

and by his second lady, he had four boys and two girls. The great grandfather of this gentleman, John Washington, was the original emigrant in 1657. We are informed that his wealth and influence were extensive in his own country; nor is it clearly ascertained, what induced him to leave it. His illustrious descendant rather prided himself upon the gentility of his origin; and had his coat-of-arms carefully engraven even upon his two golden-headed canes mentioned in his last will and testament. Few authentic notices have been preserved of his early boyhood; yet it is evident that from its commencement, a love of truth, sobriety of mind, clearness of judgment, and closeness of observation, formed the staple materials of his character. He was fond of arithmetic and geometry: and it was at one period doubtful, whether he should go to sea, or become a land-surveyor. His father's death, when George had just touched the eleventh year of his age, left him under the care of his mother, and decided his choice. She could not endure the idea of a naval life for her son; and the lad proved too dutiful to thwart her inclinations. At sixteen, he therefore engaged in business as a practical surveyor: when, youth as he was, his pen was often in his hand to record the events of every day in a rough diary kept for his own use; as also to compile various treatises apparently for future publication. Such were his 'Rules of Civility and decent Behaviour in Company and Conversation.' His occupation seems to have been not unsuitable to his future career; since, besides imposing habits of strict attention to the surface of the soil, and general localities, on a large range and scale, it led him out on extensive tours through the Alleghany Mountains, accustoming him to hardships and privations.

At eighteen, Washington made a voyage to Barbadoes, with his elder half-brother, Lawrence, who had been attacked by a pulmonary disorder, which terminated his existence in 1752, after he had just lived to return to his estate of Mount Vernon on the Potomac. By his death, it became the property and seat of the future liberator of America: and such was the opinion entertained of the young proprietor's ability, that although no more than nineteen, he was nominated one of the Adjutants-general of Virginia with the rank of major; and a fourth part of the colony for his district. Private papers show that for some time before receiving this appointment his propensities had taken a strong military turn; and that during his excursion to the West Indies, no opportunity was lost of attending to whatever might promote and complete a knowledge of the profession. Scenes, ushering in the Seven Years' War, soon afforded abundance of employment; as would be seen, had we room for details. But now it was, that as colonel in command, he entered upon a training for another and more important contest. His service from August 1755 to

the close of 1758, when at last his object of taking Fort Duquesne was attained, and he claimed permission to retire, procured for him nothing in the way of compensation, beyond a deep knowledge of mankind, and a thorough command over himself. During this period, he learned to follow the dictates of duty, even at the sacrifice of military renown. His patience, his patriotism, and his disinterestedness, were all refined and hardened in a furnace of the severest trial. He was taught to be greater in defeat and disappointment, than others have been in a career of triumphs. He had to wage war, with slender means, with slight success, and with no prospect of reversionary fame. His health and strength were consumed in seeing his plans fail through the ignorance and blunders of other men. He was compelled to witness train after train of evils, without the smallest resources for their alleviation. He lived amidst the perils of battle, without the occurrence of a single event to strike upon the public mind, any more than during the monotony of profoundest peace. There was neither discipline, nor order, nor the proper payment of taxes, nor regular recruiting, nor a commissariat. He had to defend a frontier of 300 miles with 1500 men. If he made a stand, he lost every thing but his honour. If he marched, he gained nothing but the curses of those in his neighbourhood, who were thus abandoned to the enemy. Yet it is remarkable, that amidst all these complications of disaster, the mass of the people sincerely admired his conduct; and his soldiers were enthusiastic in their personal attachment to him. Every body saw and knew that he did his best; that his motives were pure, his virtues unsullied, his intentions excellent, his plans comprehensive. He waded through dangers, where none beside would have ventured into the current at all. He learned to create resources within himself; to gather an opportunity whilst or whenever it happened to be in flower; to make a series of small successes answer in the place of larger and more splendid ones; to preserve in perpetuity the equipoise of his mind, and render defeat itself the very means of achieving victory. Before the termination of 1758, the British having taken possession of Fort Duquesne, where Pittsburgh now stands, the Birmingham of America, he devoted himself for fifteen years to the pursuits of agriculture.

Indeed, his favorite title, throughout the remainder of his life, was 'The Farmer of Mount Vernon.' His ample estate lay along the banks of the Potomac, comprising 9,000 acres under his own management, besides other tracts of immense extent and value. Soon after the resignation of his commission, he married Mrs. Martha Custis, a rich and amiable widow, with whom he is said to have had a fortune of £20,000 sterling, besides her dower in one of the principal properties of Virginia. He lived like one

of the old kings of pastoral antiquity, in the midst of his labourers and dependents;

Σκηπτρον εχων εστηκει επ' ογμου γηθουσινος κτηρ.

Every branch of his business was conducted upon system; and with the most exact economy. He personally inspected the accounts of his overseers at certain intervals. His farms were separated into sections, which were all numbered; and the produce of each being registered, he could always ascertain at one view the profit or loss of any particular lands or their crops, and compare the relative advantages of his various modes of husbandry. The Mount Vernon estate produced him one year no less than 7,000 bushels of wheat, and 10,000 of Indian corn; an extraordinary return for that time of day, of which he was not a little proud. His establishments contained 1,000 persons, including slaves. He obtained the greater part of his farming utensils and implements from London, but manufactured at home coarse woollens and linens for the use of his family, or at least of his negroes. Cyrus Edmonds, his English biographer, has properly remarked that, 'It must appear to be a monstrous anomaly that the successful champion of the freedom of the New World, brave, generous, and humane as he undoubtedly was, should himself have been the possessor of a multitude of slaves; that they constituted no small proportion of his property; and that their dearest interests were held at his disposal, or by him delegated to the disposal of others. Perhaps this is the one blemish upon the history of George Washington, which no palliation can mitigate or conceal. It is futile to allege the custom of a nation and an age, which he so far transcended; and it is equally futile to allege the plea of necessity arising out of the state of society, since no man knew better than he, how null and void are all the claims of expediency when opposed to the immutable principles of justice. While we lament this strange inconsistency in his character, our only consolation is found in the fact of his having in after life reprobated by his example the detestable principles and practice, with which he had previously been chargeable. And it should be added, that all who knew him bore uniform testimony to the justice and humanity with which he lightened those burdens, which at the best are scarcely tolerable. It is only to be lamented, that in this solitary instance, he evinced a want of moral susceptibility and uprightness, for which in other respects he stood pre-eminent.'

The following extract from his will may here be given, as illustrating what has just been observed: 'Upon the decease of my wife, it is my will and desire that all the slaves which I hold

in my own right shall receive their freedom. To emancipate them during her life, would, though earnestly wished by me, be attended with such insuperable difficulties, on account of their intermixture by marriage with the dower negroes, as to excite the most painful sensations, if not disagreeable consequences from the latter, while both descriptions are in the occupancy of the same proprietor; it *not being in my power, under the tenure by which the dower negroes are held, to manumit them.* And whereas, among those who will receive freedom according to this devise, there may be some, who from old age or bodily infirmities, and others, who on account of their infancy, will be unable to support themselves, it is my will and desire, that all who come under the first and second description, shall be comfortably clothed and fed by my heirs, while they live; and that such of the latter description, as have no parents living, or if living, are unable or unwilling to provide for them, shall be bound by the court until they shall arrive at the age of twenty-five years; and in cases where no record can be produced, whereby their ages can be ascertained, the judgment of the court upon its own view of the subject, shall be absolute and final. The negroes thus bound are (by their masters and mistresses) to be taught to read and write, and to be brought up to some useful occupation, agreeably to the laws of the commonwealth of Virginia, providing for the support of orphan and other poor children. And I do hereby expressly forbid the sale or transportation out of the said commonwealth of any slave I may die possessed of, under any pretence whatsoever. And I do moreover most pointedly and most solemnly enjoin it upon my executors hereinafter named, or the survivor of them, to see that this clause respecting slaves, and every part thereof, be religiously fulfilled at the epoch at which it is directed to take place, without evasion, neglect, or delay, after the crops which may then be in the ground are harvested, particularly as it respects the aged and infirm; seeing that a regular and permanent fund be established for their support, as long as there are subjects requiring it; not trusting to the uncertain provision to be made by individuals.' This instrument bears date the 9th of July, 1790.

There are some amusing stories told with reference to his habits of exactness, which were occasionally carried out to a whimsical excess: yet he was by no means a parsimonious neighbour. He would assist any one to the uttermost of his power, when it was manifestly a case of need. He kept an open house, and a noble table. His duties as judge of the county-court were fulfilled without remuneration; and upon the same principles he served as representative of his district in the Virginian House of Burgesses. Although no orator, he frequently spoke upon

practical subjects, commanding attention through the soundness of his sense, and its application to the daily details of life. As the important period of the revolutionary struggle approached, his mind expanded to the emergency, and by few was it surveyed with deeper or more searching sagacity.

In the early part of the French war, a meeting of the governors and leading persons in the provinces had been held at Albany. They resolved, after mature deliberation, that a general Council should be formed of members to be chosen by the provincial Assemblies; which council, together with a governor, to be appointed by the crown, should be authorized to make general laws, and also to *raise money from all the colonies* for their common defence. The British cabinet started at this apparition of an union, which was to meet their successors on another day, and realize the triumphs of liberty. A controversy now began, which lasted for twenty years; until the issue of battle decided what the pen had long proved, to the satisfaction of all sensible men in Europe. But it cannot be denied that at the peace of Paris in 1763, there had existed for nearly a century some small revenue collected in the American Colonies subject to the disposition of the parliament of the Mother country. See the 12th and 25th Charles II., 6 George II., and the Act of Navigation. Tobacco and indigo, the produce of the middle and southern districts, were restrained from being carried thence to any other place than the sister plantations, or Great Britain, without certain duties being levied, before the goods went on board any vessel for exportation. Foreign rum, sugar, and molasses, also paid small imposts on their importation into the colonies. Yet, without going into the distinction between external and internal taxes, or those raised for revenue as being different from those levied for the mere regulation of trade, it formed no valid argument against colonial claims, that they had been trampled under foot, during the period of their nonage, when there happened to be no ability to substantiate them. The right assumed by the first Congress at Albany was just this;—That the entire system of taxation which it developed should be founded upon a full and free representation of those who were to be subject to the impost. But such an idea was death to the usurpations of a proud peerage, who looked upon the plantations as the fat pastures of patronage; as of no further use than to mend broken fortunes; as rich though distant mines of wealth to be worked by the natives, cost what it might, for the exclusive benefit of those who condescended to go out to them, invested with the robes of office. Here lay the whole nucleus of the dispute within the compass of a nut-shell. The two antagonist principles of oligarchy and democracy, gathering their forces from opposite quarters of the firmament, were about to meet in fierce collision. The real origin of that collision was

to be sought for far back in some primæval period of society : its result will be ever recognized, until the globe shall be no more. This is what made Sir James Mackintosh call the establishment of American independence the principal event of civil history.

Several subsidiary causes assisted in bringing on the main catastrophe. One of them was smuggling. Senators legislated with laughable gravity. Custom-houses and revenue-cutters were multiplied. Orders in council thundered unutterable things against illicit practices : yet all the while, nothing increased but the vast fungus of corruption. The returns to the treasury were in a galloping consumption. The legal and contraband trades flowed in marvellous contrast to each other. The West India interest, as it was called, now caught the alarm ; and fresh measures were set in motion to suppress, what can never be safely suppressed,—the natural tendencies of mankind. Many American merchants had embarked large capitals in the prohibited commerce, simply because it was profitable. The new plans of government could not annihilate the system so long as it held out hopes of a tempting harvest ; but like Samson's foxes, they destroyed property and profit to an immense extent, and scattered the fire-brands of discontent and mischief far and wide. They hurt, moreover, both friends and foes. Spain had long endeavoured in vain to prevent the clandestine interchange of commodities between her settlements and British ports, so advantageous to the latter : this was done for her, by the sages of Gotham, then constituting the cabinet in London. Their instructions given to the naval officers employed made no distinctions. The coasting and foreign trades, from Boston to New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Charleston, and thence to Lisbon and the Straits, suffered severely. A succession of seizures opened innumerable sources of ill-humour. Abuse and contempt were poured upon the ordinances of the mother country, and those who felt bound to execute them. In other words the relations of America to Great Britain underwent a gradual but decisive change. One side was assuming an attitude of resistance rather than submission ; the other had long continued a course of domination rather than protection. At length an Act passed, in the Autumn of 1764, of heinous absurdity and injustice. It authorised the once lucrative intercourse between the North Americans and the French and Spanish harbours, inconsistent as that was with the letter of colonial charters ; yet at the same moment, such duties were imposed upon sugars, indigo, coffee, East India silks and calicoes, foreign cambrics and lawns, as amounted to a prohibition ; and all offenders against the law were to be prosecuted in the Admiralty Court, deprived of trial by jury. The minister gave out that he had a two-fold object in view,—to regulate colonial commerce, and raise a revenue on port, sherry, and Madeira wines,

and on coffee and pimento, grown in the British West India. The latter intention was recited in a preamble, with most cool effrontery. Another Bill also went through both houses, and received the royal assent, tampering with the paper currency. Next year followed the Stamp Act; which had indeed been mentioned in the previous session, as if to afford due notice at what time the cup of iniquity would be full to overflowing. New England loudly declared that the conduct of parliament broke in upon her peculiar privileges, as well as on the Magna Charta of mankind. Old England declared it was not so; or at least, her aristocracy, paramount in the House of Commons, put that denial into her mouth; clapping their left hands upon their pockets, and the right upon their swords. George the Third threw his personal feelings into the scale of war and oppression. He was a farmer, like Washington, but as dull and obstinate as one of his own oxen at Windsor. Lord Bute and the bishops had filled his pericranium with notions of passive obedience; and having once yoked him to their plough, the colonies were to be the *Aceldama* of his dominions,—the everlasting reproach of his reign.

Virginia and the middle States took up the hue and cry; transmitting it from the Delaware to Georgia. Combinations grew out of the ground, sown as it was with the seeds of freedom and intelligence. In the mother country, a powerful parliamentary opposition unveiled all the folly of the crown; although amidst the immortal efforts of the first William Pitt, Mr. Fox, Mr. Burke, and Colonel Barré, justice was eloquent in vain. Doctor Johnson fulminated his celebrated pamphlet, '*Taxation no Tyranny*;' his pension affording him 300 reasons per annum for the opinion he entertained. Philosophers of another and nobler grade also discussed the subject, and helped to enlighten the public mind through a free press,—that battering-ram of the middle classes, which is to level every abuse under the cope of heaven. Merchants, whose business had wasted away from the non-importation agreements, lifted up their voice in loud remonstrances. Yet ten years more of preliminary logomachy ensued, during which interval, the Grenvilles went out of power, to make room for the Rockingham Whigs; who, in their turn gave way to Lord Chatham and his gout, the infamy of the Duke of Grafton, and the good-natured, but presumptuous ignorance of Lord North. Where, through this momentous decade of years were the vaunted advantages of the matchless constitution? An arrogant nobility upheld their stolid sovereignty against what they termed the dangerous doctrines of their day: while both cheered on an uneducated people to their ruin, amidst the blessings of an opulent church, and the votes of an unreformed parliament. Menaces and insolence roared across the Atlantic at the very crisis, when reason alone could be listened to; and on the con-

trary, concession without conciliation, or conciliation without concession, was always certain to be manifested, just when firmness and singleness of purpose were most required. Statesmen in England oscillated between their hopes and their fears; both the one and the other emanating all the time from the profoundest selfishness. The point rapidly arrived, when it would have been a solecism in politics for Great Britain any longer to have lorded it over America: and so after declarations to cover the loss of national dignity, and resolutions to lull and soothe, while bullets were casting, ships being builded, and cannon loaded;—after addresses to Lord Shelburn and his majesty, riots in Massachusetts, a convention from the provincial towns, the arrival of military forces in New England, disputes between the citizens and soldiers, remonstrances and partial redress of grievances, the loss of the East India Company's tea, followed up by the Boston Port Bill and its consequences;—the seizure and destruction of some public stores at Concord, at length led to an avowed commencement of hostilities on the 19th of April, 1775.

The eye of Washington had watched the cloud from the moment when it was no bigger than a man's hand. On the previous 18th of July, 1774, he had presided at a general meeting of the freeholders and inhabitants in his county of Fairfax. He there opened his whole mind, and moulded the fluctuating sentiments of Virginia into a consistency of form, suitable to its situation and circumstances. Resolutions carried by acclamation on that occasion, expressed an unequivocal denial of England's claim to tax the colonies, coupled with a determination to suspend all commercial intercourse, as well with her until she should abandon her pretensions, as with all parties in America itself, who should refuse to enter into similar agreements. A luminous statement was then given of the entire question at issue; and after sixteen motions had been passed unanimously, the chairman was gratified with the seventeenth, which is too interesting not to be copied verbatim: 'Resolved, that it is the opinion of this assembly that 'during our present difficulty and distress, no slaves ought to be 'imported into any of the British colonies on this continent; and 'we take this opportunity of declaring our most earnest wishes 'to see an entire stop for ever put to such a wicked, cruel, and 'unnatural trade.' Shame to the United States, that this profession of honesty wrung from them in the hour of trial, should have been forgotten when the storm had swept by, and left the sun of their prosperity unclouded. Washington personally meant well; and at all events was wishing to embark in the mighty contest before him with a clear conscience. He wrote to Bryan Fairfax not many weeks afterwards, that 'the crisis was arrived, when his 'countrymen must assert their rights, or submit to every imposition that could be heaped upon them, until custom and use

'should make them tame and abject slaves : ' and he for one, was anxious from his heart, that no man, of whatever caste or colour, should be thus degraded. Perhaps his impression was a correct one, that at such a juncture nothing else could safely be done than pointing to prospective emancipation. Virginia then held in bondage nearly 300,000 negroes, as she does now upwards of 450,000; and not an iota of public attention could be spared from the approaching conflict. It is further remarkable that, until some time later, Washington, in common with other leading men in America, did not believe it the interest of his own province, or any other upon the continent, separately or collectively, to set up for independence. It required more provocations, burnings, and bloodshed, to screw up their moral courage to the necessary pitch. It was in slowly ascending the hill Difficulty that their horizon enlarged; and wonderful it must then have appeared, that their previous aspirations had remained so limited. The following conversation is said to have occurred in 1759 between Mr. Pratt, afterwards Lord Camden, and Dr. Franklin: 'For all that 'you Americans say of your loyalty,' observed Mr. Pratt, 'I know 'you will one day throw off your dependence upon this country; 'and notwithstanding your boasted affection to it, will set up for 'yourselves.' Franklin answered, 'No such idea is entertained 'in the minds of the Americans: and no such idea will ever 'enter into their heads, *unless you grossly abuse them.*' 'Very 'true,' replied Mr. Pratt, 'but that is one of the main causes, '*which I see will happen, and will produce the event.*' Washington declares in a letter to Captain Robert Mackenzie, from Philadelphia, 9th of October, 1774, that he was well satisfied 'no such 'thing was desired by any thinking men in all North America.' Necessity was the schoolmistress who led them on, from the alphabet to the syntax, in the grammar of politics. Meanwhile, Mount Vernon had been exchanged by its proprietor for a seat in congress, where his assistance proved of first-rate importance in drawing up a series of able papers, which convinced all Europe that the revolution had been undertaken by those who at least knew how to decline the verb—to govern; and that there were heads to guide, and hearts to maintain a just application of its principles. After the sanguinary affair of Bunker's Hill, Washington was unanimously elected general and commander-in-chief of the United Colonies and their forces.

On arriving at Cambridge, he was received by an army of 14,500 men with enthusiastic joy. His plan was to keep up their spirits, prepare them for the real hardships of warfare, and compel the British to evacuate Boston. This last matter he saw at once could be of no easy attainment. His soldiers were poorly provided with fire-arms, had very few bayonets, and only about nine rounds of powder and ball to each man. He promptly

pressed upon congress the appointment of a proper commissariat, the establishment of a marine, the formation of magazines, and the augmentation of the term of enlistment. But now began his fiery trials. His men in arms had volunteered, in the excitement produced by recent events, for twelve months only, without any ideas of military discipline; while every one in the minuteness of his individuality, fancied himself a hero. Congress itself had every thing yet to learn, as well as every thing to do. It was deemed patriotic, moreover, to be cautious in the extent of power which they entrusted even to their general! Never could a service have been conceived, offering so few attractions to a noble and magnanimous spirit. He had determined from the first to take no remuneration; which left him at least his disinterestedness to fall back upon in those moments, when nothing less could have sustained him amidst the difficulties of his position, and the ingratitude of his countrymen. As winter approached, his troops suffered all the bitterness of the season, through want of clothes, fuel, and provisions. On the 21st of September, 1775, he informed congress, that the military chest was totally exhausted; that the commissary-general had strained his credit in procuring assistance to the utmost; that the quarter-master-general stood in precisely similar circumstances; and that the greater part of the privates were in a state not far from mutiny, upon necessary deductions being made from their usual allowances. Nevertheless, on the 4th of March, 1776, he pushed forward a working-party of 1,200 men, under a guard of 800 more, to take possession of Dorchester Heights, which commanded Boston harbour. In this they succeeded. By day-break, they had thrown up respectable lines of defence. Though the British had twenty regiments in Boston, contempt for their antagonists procured a few hours respite for the latter. These handled spade and pick-axe for their liberties and lives. Sir William Howe wasted two days before his arrangements could be completed for an attack to dislodge them; and a storm then dispersed his transports. The golden moment in fact went by; so that on the 17th instant, the fleet was under full sail for Halifax, bearing away for ever, from the capital of New England, the last vestiges of its former masters. Such were the first-fruits of Washington's energy, skill, and perseverance.

Congress had meanwhile projected an expedition against Canada, which failed, as is well known; with the loss moreover, of the gallant General Montgomery. Washington moved to New York in April, since it was evident that the Hudson would be the scene of the next campaign. His greatest talents are supposed to have been shown in fortifying the Highlands on that river. On the 4th of July, came out the Declaration of Independence, which will ever prove to the civilized world, what the

Charta Chartarum has been to the three kingdoms;—a standard of reference, whereby the uprightness of nations may be measured. The day before this memorable document was published, Howe, who had refreshed his forces at Halifax, having returned southwards, landed on Staten Island with about 9,000 men. His brother, Lord Howe, soon joined him, bringing out reinforcements to the amount of 21,000 more. Yet no active aggression seems to have been attempted, until towards the end of August, after General Clinton had arrived; when, at the head of a division of 4,000 men, that officer disembarked without serious opposition in Gravesend Bay, on Long Island, the possession of which must always be essential to the attack or defence of New York. The battle of Brooklyn ensued on the 27th. During the heat of it, Washington is said for an instant to have lost his equanimity, moved by the slaughter of his best troops, at which he burst out into violent exclamations of grief. His losses were indeed immense, but utterly unavoidable. He did well the only thing that could then be done. The wreck of his army, without any further loss of cannon, stores, ammunition, or men, than had occurred in the action, was removed in such admirable silence and order, that although the sound of the British entrenching tools could be distinctly heard by the Americans, their escape favoured by a mist remained unperceived, until their rear was out of the reach of fire. He was hardly off his horse, and never once closed his eyes for forty-eight hours. All acknowledged the retreat to have been a master-piece.

As matter of course New York now fell into the hands of Sir William Howe. One-third of the city became a prey to the flames, kindled by some of the citizens themselves before they left it. From Paul's Hook a strong detachment of patriots witnessed the conflagration, and gave three significant cheers, when the steeple of the old English church sank down in the fire. Washington encamped on the heights of Harlem, and fought the battle of the White Plains on the 28th of October. His raw levies experienced another defeat; which led to no results, except such as might easily have been avoided, namely, the sacrifice of two garrisons, with their artillery, at forts Lee and Washington. These ought to have been withdrawn, and would have been so, had it not been for Generals Green and Putnam, in favour of whose united opinion, the commander-in-chief had waived his own better judgment. He showed, however, his great mind, in appropriating to himself the whole blame of these, and some similar miscarriages. His troops, thoroughly disheartened, now began to desert by fifties at a time. His regulars were badly armed, worse clad, and almost without tents, blankets, or the means of dressing their provisions. All were in full flight before a victorious and ruthless foe. Having no shoes, their lacerated

at left every where traces of blood upon the ground. December had set in unusually cold. The two Howes proclaimed peace and pardon to all who would secede from an apparently desperate cause; nor could it be expected that such appeals to loyalty and clemency would be without effect. Had the liberator of America quailed, the germ of his country's independence would undoubtedly have died. But on the contrary, he continually soothed and cheered his dejected followers. His countenance was serene, calm, and unembarrassed. He committed every disaster to memory in its most minute details, that he might be wiser in future; and though such troubles dropped into the very depths of his heart, they never emerged above the surface. None would have guessed at the agony within, from the majesty and composure of his external demeanor. Having conveyed the remains of his baggage to the south of the Delaware, he sent out 1,200 men to re-animate the people of Jersey by some appearances of aggression; and the first moments of repose were devoted to negotiations with congress. He told them that he was thwarted every turn through their mismanagement, and his want of sufficient authority to improve favourable opportunities: 'I have no lust after power,' he observes in a letter, 'but wish with as much fervency as any man to turn the sword into a plough-share. But my feelings as an officer and a man have been such as to force me to say, that no person ever had a greater choice of difficulties to contend with than I have. It may be thought I am going beyond the line of my duty to speak thus. A character to lose, an estate to forfeit, the inestimable blessings of liberty, and a life devoted, must be my apology.' He had relied much upon the counsels and conduct of General Lee; when that commander was unfortunately captured at a house where he was encamped without sufficient precautions, whilst on an expedition in Morris county. Chagrined as Washington was, at so unexpected a stroke, it threw him in upon his own resources. Something like a brilliant effort had become absolutely necessary to repel downright despair from his doors. Lord Cornwallis had overrun the Jerseys; but hampered with strict orders, from Sir William Howe, not to pursue the Americans beyond Brunswick, had paused there; while the British, instead of being so disposed as to preserve their extensive conquests by keeping in masses, were cantoned out in small detachments, of which the four frontier posts were Trenton, Bordenton, White Horse, and Burlington. General Washington lay just opposite the first of these places: of which he formed the happy idea of attempting a surprise. While several ingenious manoeuvres amused a body of regulars stationed at Bordenton, Washington crossed the river Delaware at dead of night on the 25th of December, and stole

unawares upon Colonel Rhalle, at Trenton. He and his soldiers were Hessians, and excessively dreaded by the provincials. But the latter, now poured in a tremendous fire from a few field-pieces they had brought with them. The colonel fell mortally wounded. His troops attempted to file away towards Princeton, but were intercepted through the prompt foresight of their assailant: and the entire battalion was compelled to surrender themselves prisoners: 1000 men, with six large cannons, 1000 stand of arms, besides other very valuable stores.

So bright a flash of success electrified the middle states. Cornwallis and Howe seemed either bewildered or paralyzed. The bare loss of the Hessians was after all to them but a flea-bite. They might have joined their forces, amounting together to 30,000 men, and have swept their opponents from the country. Yet such is the intrinsic weakness of a bad cause, as opposed to the moral strength of a good one, that within eight days, Washington had obtained reinforcements, and at the head of 5000 militia recovered East and West Jersey, revived a spirit of patriotism along the Rariton, penetrated into the county of Essex, and made himself master of the coast opposite Staten Island. He seized Newark, Elizabeth-Town, and Woodbridge; finally fixing his winter quarters at Morristown, a strong position, with noble districts for affording supplies in his rear, and through which he could at any moment secure an easy transit over the Delaware. This was in January 1777. He had turned the tables upon his antagonists with wonderful address; for of their recent possessions in the Jerseys, nothing now remained to them except Brunswick and Amboy. He now, therefore, asserted the dignity of his government and office. Proclamations were published in his name absolving all persons from their lately tendered allegiance to Great Britain; and promising them that protection, which they had failed to obtain from their foreign masters. In fact, Howe's army had plundered them like wolves. The people rallied at once, with scarcely an exception, under the banners of the republic. Washington never wanted correct information; and from his fortresses in the mountains, down he came upon every excursion which the garrison at Brunswick made for forage. By these efforts he established his fame, and laid up a stock of good spirits against darker days. Enlistments indeed proceeded slowly; yet they were for three years instead of one; with an additional bounty of an hundred acres of land for such as would serve for the whole war. About the same time 20,000 muskets, and 1000 barrels of powder arrived from France and Holland, through the agency of the celebrated dramatist Carron de Beaumarchais. The commander-in-chief took an opportunity of inaction to have all his men inoculated; to clear off all wagons, horses, and cattle, from

the enemy's lines; to effect an exchange of prisoners; augment his corps of artillerists and engineers; and endeavour to raise 8000 cavalry.

These last, however, were as yet only among the Pleasures of Hope: the actual state of the patriotic forces was wretched in the extreme. Sir William Howe, from the vigour of their frequent sallies, never would nor could have conceived an idea of the real state of things in their camp. They themselves looked for success, almost mainly from the concealment of their comparative weakness. Their regiments would every now and then dwindle to skeletons, such as Falstaff might have claimed for his own. Yet again they would suddenly revive, from the force of public opinion—some transient gleam of prosperity—some fresh appeal from Congress—and above all from sincere affection for their great commander. He, as well as his countrymen, never forgot that they had to fight *pro aris et focis*. This single conviction was a source of wonderful power: and another was a circumstance already alluded to; the quality and quantity of local information within reach of the respective parties. The one appeared to know every thing; the other to know nothing. One side seemed never to lose its way; the other always did so more or less. There was something like a guiding intelligence ever moving between the rival hosts: but while it proved cloud and darkness to those, it was a light and leader by night and day to these. General Washington always made the most of so peculiar an advantage; and it was well he did. As the spring opened, immense reinforcements were expected from England, for winter-ships had been put into commission; Lord North was strengthening his majorities; and the heads of the church had ordained a fast-day. Bills were, moreover, passed for securing and trying persons charged with high treason. Letters of marque had some time been issued; yet hitherto American privateers had taken most prizes. In March, an expedition under Colonel Bird destroyed a dépôt at Peek's Kill; and another in April, under Governor Tryon from New York, committed Danbury, in Connecticut, to the flames. In May, the provincials retaliated at Saggy Harbour on Long island, where a dozen English brigs and sloops were burnt, a quantity of provisions consumed, and some prisoners taken. Such enterprises only deepened the horrors of the contest. At the latter end of the month, Washington established himself at Middlebrook, north of the road through Brunswick to Philadelphia, whereby he could succour either that town by crossing the Delaware, or reinforce Ticonderoga against Burgoyne. Neither feint nor menace induced him to hazard an open engagement: so that after several smart skirmishes, Sir William Howe proceeded to the Chesapeake, where he landed with the flower of his armament at Elk Ferry, on the 25th of August, 1777. Washington was

there before him ; for Congress had laid strict injunctions upon their general, that at all events Philadelphia must not be suffered to fall, without a strenuous effort being made on its behalf. He consequently felt obliged, in this instance, to depart from his Fabian tactics, and came to a direct halt on the Brandywine. Its results, however, he had too accurately predicted. His effective men were about 7000. Cornwallis, by a circuit of some miles, crossed the forks of the river, and turned his right. Yet immense spirit and gallantry were manifested in the action on the 11th of September: so much so, that neither the complete victory of the royalists, nor the subsequent defeat of Wayne, produced the despondency amongst the provincials, which had been anticipated. They had even disposed themselves for another battle on the 15th ; when a tremendous storm separated the combatants. On the 27th, Lord Cornwallis took peaceable possession of Philadelphia. Sir William Howe with the Hessian chasseurs, some light infantry, the queen's rangers, and the fortieth regiment, lay some time at German Town about seven miles from the Pennsylvanian capital.

The autumn and winter tested both parties. By many ingenious contrivances, Doctor Franklin and others had rendered the Delaware inaccessible to the British squadron. Three rows of chevaux-de-frize, composed of large beams bolted together, and bristled all over with iron spikes, being sunk across the channel, were protected by forts, wooden piers, and a flotilla of gallees, and several floating batteries. The main American army was at Skippack-Creek on the eastern bank of the Schuylkill : when to the astonishment of their enemy, it all at once rushed upon German-Town. A thick fog at first favoured this energetic assault. The picquets were driven in, and the fortieth regiment was actually retreating with loss, when Colonel Musgrave, having kept five companies in order, threw them into a strong stone-house, which he bravely maintained against four pieces of cannon, until the rest of the English could be rallied. They soon returned to the spot, for very shame, and beat back their assailants, after some fearful fighting. The provincials from henceforth calminated fast as to their military character : and Congress voted thanks to their commander-in-chief and his indefatigable army, although here as well as elsewhere, unsuccessful. Washington had received a reinforcement of 4000 men from the north, and encamped himself within strong lines at Whitemarsh, which Howe reconnoitred, but declined attacking. After six weeks of incessant labour and loss, the latter had opened the navigation of the Delaware, fished up the sunken frames, and thus secured his head quarters at Philadelphia. It proved however little less than a Capua to the invaders. According to the confirmed statement of an officer, himself an eye-witness of what he relates, the citizens

had reason to curse their guests, and those guests to curse the city. Indolence, luxury, and dissoluteness reigned paramount. The members of a religious sect, remarkable for morality and decorum, recoiled with disgust from profligates dallying with their mistresses, or swearing over the faro-table. Houses were frequently metamorphosed into barracks, without compensation to the owners: and while riot ruled through their once tranquil streets, a comparison could not fail to be drawn between the insolence of royalism, and the decent simplicity of a republic.

How widely different were the circumstances of their countrymen in arms. Washington had withdrawn from Whitemarsh, and taken post at Valley Forge, about twenty-six miles from Philadelphia; and so situated, as to cut off that large and fertile district, which would otherwise have been left open for the British to forage in at pleasure. The value of his sacrifice in adhering to this plan, instead of enjoying comfortable accommodation at Lancaster, York, and Carlisle, could only be known by its results. It was such magnanimity that saved America. With immense difficulty he raised wooden huts, covered with earth and straw, miserable shelters as they proved against the inclemency of a Pennsylvanian winter. His ascendancy over the soldiers had no parallel. They were often unable to stir through want of provisions: and as it is hard to make an empty bag stand upright, the murmurs of mutiny would every now and then burst forth in the camp. Washington on one of these occasions summoned before him the single purchasing commissary he had, and received from him the melancholy truth, that he had not an animal of any sort to slaughter, nor more than twenty-five barrels of flour! Soap, salt, vinegar, and other similar necessities had never been seen since the battle of Brandywine. 'Indeed,' as the general facetiously observed, 'the first article was no longer requisite, since few possessed more than one shirt; many only the moiety of one; and some none at all.' Out of 8200 men reported as fit for duty, one fourth were disabled by five days' bad weather, from being barefooted, and as usual without blankets. As winter advanced the numbers in hospital doubled. For more than a week, the whole army was once without fresh or salt meat at all. They worked at the trenches, or otherwise, to keep themselves warm until they fainted; and then there were no medicines for the sick, any more than food for the healthy. Nothing but the entire ignorance, in which the enemy was kept, can account for that delay of hostile measures, by which the continentals, as they were now called, were saved from utter destruction. Tidings, at length, cheered them from the north, where Burgoyne had surrendered to General Gates, who had consulted Washington, and adopted his views, as to the outline of those measures, which led to the convention at Saratoga. The latter, indeed, with customary disinterestedness

had still further cramped his own operations to secure the success of another; although Gates, a very inferior man to himself, was afterwards mean enough to permit the mention of his name and services in rivalry with those of the commander-in-chief. General Conway and others went so far as to become parties to a conspiracy, which had for its object a substitution of Gates for Washington. Slander and insinuation did their worst, and completely failed. The real deliverer of his country, simply remarked in his address to Congress, 'My domestic enemies take an ungenerous advantage of me. They know I cannot combat their charges however insidious and injurious, without disclosing secrets it is of the utmost moment to conceal.' They had reported his design of resignation; to which he replied, 'A report of this kind is among the arts by which those, who are endeavouring to effect a change, are practising to bring it about. I have said and still do say, that there is not an officer in the service of the United States, that would return to the sweets of domestic life, with more heartfelt joy than I should. But while the public are satisfied with my endeavours, I mean not to shrink from the cause: the moment her voice and not that of faction, calls upon me to resign, I shall do it with as much pleasure as ever the weary traveller retired to rest.' Public indignation roused itself at so simple and single-minded an appeal. Even the troops victorious at Saratoga denounced all detraction from the merits of the foremost among American heroes. Conway was compelled to throw up his commission; and having fought a duel with General Cadwallar, in which he imagined himself mortally wounded, he addressed the following letter to Washington: 'I find myself just able to hold pen during a few minutes, and take this opportunity to express my sincere grief for having done, written, or said any thing disagreeable to your Excellency. My career will soon be over; therefore, justice and truth prompt me to declare my last sentiments. You are in my eyes the great and good man. May you long enjoy the love, veneration, and esteem of those states whose liberties you have assisted by your virtues.'

Grand changes were meanwhile occurring in European politics. Britain, pierced to the heart with mortification at the misfortune and disgrace of the Canadian expedition, began to respond to Lord Chatham and Mr. Burke, and clamour for vengeance against their imbecile governors. The Ministry, in February 1788, alarmed for their situations, came down to Parliament with two bills, conceding every point in dispute, exposing their own infamy to the whole world, and calling upon both houses to pass these measures with all possible speed, for that France was about to enter the field. That she would do so, at the first suitable opportunity, had been all along foreseen and predicted by the opposition. A race was now run, between the commissioners for conciliatory measures,

and tidings of the treaties entered into between the cabinet of Versailles and the United States. Philadelphia was, also, in consequence to be evacuated; since it lay 100 miles inland, and there was no saying where the French might strike their first blow; whether in the West Indies, or on the continent. Sir William Howe had requested leave to return home, and was succeeded by Sir Henry Clinton, who together with his appointment received orders to withdraw from the Delaware. While the conciliatory commissioners, from the hour of their arrival, formed a laughing-stock for those to whom they were sent, Washington hung upon the rear and flanks of the retreating army, encumbered as it was with loyalists and baggage, working and fighting their painful way, through New Jersey to New York, by the road of Sandy Hook. On the 28th of June, 1778, in opposition to his council of war, he endeavoured to cut them up at the Freehold Court House, in the county of Monmouth, and would have probably succeeded, had General Lee no longer a British prisoner, obeyed his orders: but that officer, for some reason, thought proper not to do so, and was placed under arrest, when the action terminated. The loss appears to have been equal on both sides, with a clear victory upon neither. Yet to have engaged a regular force upon equal terms, without experiencing a defeat, sufficiently exhilarated the continentals, with whom Washington now marched away to North River. Clinton reached New York on the 5th of July. In the same month Count D'Estaing, came off the Capes of the Delaware, with twelve ships of the line, and six frigates, bearing on board a respectable military force. An expedition against Rhode Island was frustrated by the weather. D'Estaing, on working out of Newport Harbour to fight Lord Howe was driven into Boston to refit. Once again, therefore, the Americans, under General Sullivan, had to retreat; and that officer, considering himself abandoned by his foreign allies, remonstrated so warmly, that nothing short of the influence, discretion, and mildness of Washington, could have restored harmony. About the same time, Congress had again turned their longing gaze upon Canada; and it required all his foresight and firmness to avert certain mischief, by dispersing the hallucination. Spain had now engaged with France in the war against Great Britain; although nothing during the summer of 1779 was done at all worthy of these mighty allies. The commander-in-chief huddled his army on the approach of winter; dividing it between West Point on the Hudson, and Morristown in New Jersey, at which latter place were his head-quarters.

As yet the issue was far from being decided. The spirit of England rose as her enemies multiplied. Her rulers assured the nation, with some appearance of justice, that whatever might at first have been the case, it was now manifest, that they must

contend not for party-purposes, but for the dominion of the seas, and the maintenance of their European character. The oligarchy, which had brought on the crisis, contrived to merge their own obliquities amidst the general alarm. Hence, fresh loans, fleets, and armies, were forthcoming at the call of Lord North and his colleagues. Meanwhile, Holland and the Baltic powers buckled on their harness to harass their maritime rivals, and assert the doctrines to be laid down in the ensuing year, by the Armed Neutrality;—that free bottoms make free goods. Washington had, indeed, already derived nine-tenths of his means from foreign sources. Had the courts of St. Petersburg and the Hague confined themselves to the assertion of abstract rights, and kept to the spirit as well as letter of their treaties with England, America must have been starved into submission. Her great leader thus addressed his friend General Schuyler at the close of 1779: ‘Since the date of my last, we have had the virtue and patience of the army put to the severest trial; sometimes, it has been five or six days without bread, at other times, as many days without meat, and once or twice, *two or three days without either*. At one time, the soldiers ate every kind of horse-food but hay; buck-wheat, common-wheat, rye, and Indian corn composed the meal, which made their bread. As an army they bore it with the most heroic patience; yet sufferings, like these, will produce frequent desertion in all armies; and so it happens with us, though it has not here excited a single mutiny.’ But all seemed going wrong in the southern provinces. Yates and Lincoln had been defeated. Charleston and South Carolina fell into the hands of their invaders in the following year. General Gates was doomed to the bitter mortification of seeing his laurels of Saratoga blighted by his disasters at Camden; and to crown all, the treachery of Arnold had nearly transferred the key of the Highlands on the Hudson to Sir Henry Clinton. There is no space left us, nor is it now necessary, to descant upon the misfortunes of André. The conduct of Washington in the affair turned altogether upon a resolution to assert the independence of his country; by demonstrating, that he would treat a spy just as the proudest sovereign in Europe must have done, without regard to the mere feelings of an enemy, or the amiable character and personal accomplishments of the delinquent.

It was as the year 1780 wore away, that American prospects began slowly and permanently to brighten. A second French armament had arrived on the coast, with 6000 troops under Count de Rochambeau. It brought over a commission, moreover, for the continental commander-in-chief, appointing him a lieutenant-general of France, which, of course, placed the count under his orders. His warm friend and adherent, General Green, had also superseded Gates, and early in 1781, restored the fortunes of the

republic in the Carolinas, by the memorable defeat of Colonel Tarlton at the Cowpens. In February of the same year, the articles of confederation were agreed upon, which gave the government of the United States something like a palpable form: and, although, their financial embarrassments had become so intolerable, that every issue of paper only augmented the mischief, the Marquis de la Fayette, had, at length, induced his cabinet at Versailles to advance 6,000,000 of livres, partly in stores and arms, and the remainder in solid coin. Tarlton's ruin deprived Cornwallis of his staff and stay. In vain followed the brilliant passage of the Catawba by the British, the sanguinary yet useless successes at Guildford and Hobkirks'-Hill, or the losses of the Americans by sea and land. Lord Rawdon in vain relieved an important fortress called Ninety-Six, in the Cherokee country, before he returned to England; in vain the distresses of the continentals continued through want of pay, accoutrements, and an efficient commissariat, insomuch that Washington declared in writing on the 10th of May, 1781, that he did not believe 'from the posts of Saratoga to Dobb's Ferry inclusive, there was on hand one day's supply of meat for his troops;'—there were better things in store. An attack upon New-York was planned; and only abandoned for a more important object. Lord Cornwallis had concentrated his power at York and Gloucester in Virginia, on the two banks of the river York falling into the Chesapeake. The Americans and French, having joined each other at the White Plains, amused Sir Henry Clinton, as though New-York were still to be the point of attack, and then suddenly marched across the Jerseys to Philadelphia, where they arrived on the 30th of August. That very day the Count de Grasse arrived in the Chesapeak, with an immense squadron; and measures were immediately taken for blocking up York River. It was now too manifest that Cornwallis would have no way of escape. Clinton, to divert Washington from his able plan of operations, despatched the traitor Arnold to destroy New London; a service which he executed, like a fiend. But neither massacre nor conflagration could now avail. The Marquis de St. Simon, with 3000 men, sailed up James River and met De la Fayette; while the continental commander-in-chief went on board the 'Ville de Paris' to arrange matters with de Grasse. The British were thus hemmed in upon a long narrow peninsula, surrounded indeed with the strongest fortifications, but evidently taken in their own snare. On the 28th of September, the allied forces advanced towards them, driving in their skirmishers. The main body menaced York, while 2000 passed over to the opposite side, to watch and blockade Gloucester. On the night of the 6th of October, ground was broken within 600 yards of the English lines; guns were mounted on the 9th and 10th; on the 11th and

12th, the shells and red-hot balls of the besiegers reached the British shipping in the river, and set on fire a large frigate, with several transports; two advanced redoubts were stormed, and a sortie repulsed on the 14th and 15th; an effort to cross the water and retreat by Gloucester was frustrated by a storm on the 16th; and before the evening of the 18th of October, 1781, Lord Cornwallis surrendered. This brilliant affair in effect closed the war, so far as regarded General Washington and America. New-York, Charleston, and Savannah, with some dependent ports, were all that now remained to Great Britain. Her noblest army, in the completeness of its equipment, and under one of her best generals, had been captured entire. People and parliament at home began to open their eyes. In March, 1782, the cabinet of Lord North was exchanged for that under the Marquis of Rockingham; and after an intricate negotiation, preliminary articles of peace were signed on the 30th of November, 1782.

The losses on both sides, during the whole struggle, have been summed up as follows. Great Britain expended in money, £115,654,914; and the augmentation of her national debt amounted to upwards of £4,500,000 per annum as a permanent additional burden. The numbers slain in her service, according to the returns at New-York, amounted to 43,633. America is said to have lost by the sword and natural deaths in the army and navy, from January 1775 to the peace in 1783, not less than 100,000 men. Her foreign debt incurred by the war, amounted to 7,885,085 dollars, and her domestic debt to 34,115,290 dollars; equal to £9,450,084 sterling, taking the dollar at four shillings and six-pence. But she gained her liberty, and a rank among the nations of the earth. Great Britain lost her colonies, and retained her aristocracy; without as yet learning the inestimable lesson of appreciating it at its real value. The dull and silent nominees of that aristocracy still kept their seats among the Commons, as the ostensible representatives of decayed towns, 'whose streets could only be traced by the colour of the corn, and 'whose sole manufacture was in members of parliament.' If their votes at all receded, they did so like the ass in Homer, amidst the kicks and cuffs, the staves and stones of a multitude one degree more accessible than themselves to the results of dear-bought experience. It is curious to observe the gradually decreasing majorities, which supported Lord North's administration, throughout the eight melancholy years, crowded with the calamities of the American war. Nor can it be denied by any candid mind, that throughout this struggle, General Washington was all in all to his country. Without him, so far as fallible man can perceive, Great Britain would have prevailed; and thereby have retarded the progress of civilization, perhaps for more than a century. The United States have produced no single individual

since the pacification of Paris, who could have performed the part of Washington in the stupendous drama. Nor when war was hushed, and victory achieved, were his merits less conspicuous, as to the unaffected dignity, with which he resigned his commission, and withdrew to Mount Vernon. It was well for Congress, that he continued to be the idol of his army; for nought beside prevented that army from running riot, through the whole harvest of freedom and renown which had been obtained. The subdivision of culpability amongst a number, will sometimes permit that number to act upon principles deprecated by every one composing it, in his mere personal capacity. Hence base attempts were made by the house of national representatives, to keep back 'the hire of those who had reaped down their fields' in the day of danger: and these, on the other hand, most justly exasperated, would have set up some godly commonwealth upon a military basis, had an Oliver Cromwell, instead of the modern Cincinnatus been their leader. It was with the greatest difficulty, that such fermentations and animosities were allayed. The halcyon that calmed them was the influence of Washington; and under providence, it was that alone. Now appeared his celebrated circular addressed to the thirteen states constituting the union. It is by far the most able production of his pen. It presses four essential elements of national prosperity upon the attention of his correspondents; namely, an indissoluble combination under one federal head; a sacred regard to public justice; the adoption of a proper peace establishment; and an oblivion of all local prejudices. These, to use his own glowing language, he considered 'the pillars, on which the glorious fabric of independency and national character must be supported. Liberty is the basis, and whoever would dare to sap the foundation, or overturn the superstructure, under whatever specious pretext he may attempt it, will merit the bitterest execration, and the severest punishment, which can be inflicted by his injured country.'

In retirement, he divided his time between agriculture and the maintenance of an extensive correspondence. His delight, at being released from the splendid cares and responsibilities of power, was frequently expressed with exquisite beauty, to his distant friends. He often remarked, 'he would move gently down the stream of life until he slept with his fathers.' Not that he had become, in the smallest degree, indifferent to the welfare of his country. Nothing more demonstrated his real foresight and penetration, as a patriotic statesman, than the encouragement he gave to the improvement of inland navigation. He made extensive tours through the union to collect and diffuse correct ideas upon this subject. He developed a scheme to Governor Harrison of Virginia for securing the trade of the west to their own state, as well as that of Maryland, by embankments along the

the rivers James and Potomac. Writing to another influential friend, he observes, 'extend the inland navigation of the eastern waters, communicate them as near as possible with those which run westward, open these to the Ohio, open all such as extend from the Ohio towards Lake Erie, and we shall not only draw the produce of the western settlers, but the peltry and fur trades of the lakes also to our ports, thus adding an immense increase to our exports, and binding those people to us by a chain, which never can be broken.'

Every suggestion of this sort only tended to convince his friends, that his services must ere long be demanded in a civic capacity, to foster the infancy of the young republic. In distinct contradiction to his own wishes, he was elected a member of the convention, at Philadelphia, in 1787. His views as to what ought to be done, had been expressed to Mr. Jay the year before, when he said, 'Experience has taught us that men will not adopt, and carry into effect executive measures, the best calculated for their own good, without the intervention of coercive power. I do not conceive that we can exist long, as a nation, without lodging somewhere a power, which will pervade the whole union, in as energetic a manner, as the authority of the state government extends over the several states.' Disturbances of a serious nature in Massachusetts seemed to convince almost all reflecting persons that such opinions were correct. Washington, therefore, found less difficulty than had been anticipated in revising the articles of confederation, and presenting to America that constitution, which exists with slight modifications at the present moment. He was unanimously elected president, 6th of April, 1787, and set out for New-York; arriving there in triumph on the 28th instant. Addresses of enthusiastic congratulation awaited him from the Senate and House of Representatives: and never since that time was encouragement better deserved, or more necessary. The nation was destitute alike of funds, revenue, and public credit. The novelty of the federal form of government occasioned considerable difficulty in its primary operations. Party spirit, moreover, ran high throughout the union. Rhode Island and North Carolina had not as yet acceded to the constitution: although, they did so afterwards. The most disinterested administration would be sure of having to encounter immense unpopularity. Hence, the prospect was dreary enough: yet although Washington well foreboded what lay before him, he was not the man either to run away, or despair. The first session of Congress continued until the close of September, during which period, 'the new political machine was pushed into motion, and worked with as little friction, as could be expected.' In October, the president made a tour through the eastern states. His appointments to offices gave general satisfaction. The country rose rapidly in prosperity.

Such had been the state of the currency a few years before, that the value of one silver dollar was equal to that of *forty paper ones*. From this almost incredible abyss of difficulty, Washington's first cabinet, consisting of Jefferson, Hamilton, Knox, and Randolph, had to elevate America; and they succeeded. They organised a system of revenue, and established such a judicature as proved generally acceptable. The public recognition by the president in his message of the 8th of January, 1790, that 'knowledge is in every country the surest basis of universal happiness,' worked wonders. Severe illness compelled him during the summer to withdraw to Mount Vernon; but before autumn terminated, he had recovered, and was again at his post. The legislature had adjourned to Philadelphia; and one of the most momentous matters now brought forward, was the establishment of a national bank. Public feeling was strongly divided. Messrs. Jefferson and Randolph conceived it an unconstitutional measure; whilst their colleagues advocated the opposite opinion. Washington sided with the latter; and from his ratification of the bank charter, originated the form and language adopted by the two parties, describing themselves as democrats and federalists. The spirit of jealousy and collision between the local sovereignties and federal union broke out most vehemently among the southern states. Yet so complete was the restoration of public credit, that the subscriptions to the bank were filled up within two hours from the books for that purpose being opened: besides 4000 more shares being applied for, than the institution allowed.

Washington, however, found the greatest obstacles to keeping his cabinet together. The French revolution had agitated the whole civilised world; whilst America could not help feeling a kind of parental regard towards that new order of things, which seemed to derive its origin and principles, more or less, from her own example. The democrats, as a party, therefore, soon outnumbered their opponents. The constitution of the senate had become obnoxious. There appeared some features in it approximating to the aristocratic character of those European abuses, which the sentence of millions had devoted to deserved destruction. Amidst the throes of such a political earthquake, the first presidential term of four years expired. Washington's declared resolution to retire for ever from the strife was once more overruled. The critical state of affairs rendered it a point of honour, that he should continue to sacrifice his personal ease to his patriotism: and he, therefore, undertook the duties of the executive a second time; awarded to him as they were by unanimous suffrage. 'At the commencement of April, 1793, while transacting some important business at Mount Vernon, intelligence was brought him of the declaration of war between Great Britain and France: upon which, hastening to the seat of government, he called his

councillors together, and resolved after deep deliberation upon the maintenance of a perfect neutrality. M. Genet had arrived at Charleston on the 8th of April, as the minister of republican France, and had authorised several privateers to cruise against the English flag. The president had his moderation and moral courage put to tremendous trial through the intemperance of the French envoy. M. Genet evidently meditated an appeal to the people of the United States against their government. Clubs were formed on the most approved Jacobin model, and by a web-work of correspondence and affiliations, quivered with every agitation of the public mind, from New England to Georgia. They instigated and supported the press in demanding an abolition of the neutrality, to be succeeded by an alliance with the *soi-disant* 'friends of mankind' at Paris. Grand dinners, toasts, speeches, and illuminations supplied inexhaustible fuel for the fire; and even Washington himself, stern republican as he was, fell under no little suspicion of having apostatised from the cause of liberty. His remarks on this painful period are thus recorded: 'For the result as regards myself, I care not. I have a consolation within of which no earthly effort can deprive me; and that is, that neither ambition nor interested motives have influenced my conduct. The arrows of malevolence however barbed and pointed, can never reach my most valuable part; although, whilst I am up as a mark, they will be continually pointed at me.' The conduct of Genet, at last, grew so outrageous, that had not intelligence reached Philadelphia of his recall, he would have been taken into custody. Washington, meanwhile, maintained his point with an even hand. Towards the close of 1793, Lord Grenville had directed all vessels to be seized, carrying provisions to any colony of France; and to be brought into British ports. The President instantly remonstrated on the part of America; and while remonstrating, passed a bill through congress for making warlike preparations, besides laying down several frigates as the commencement of a navy. Lord Grenville then yielded the point, and expressed his wishes for a settled peace with the United States; as he had good reason to do. Upon this, Washington dispatched John Jay, as envoy extraordinary, to London for the negociation of a commercial treaty between the two countries. It was concluded on the fairest terms at that time possible to be obtained; yet no greater clamour could have been excited, had the fruits of the late war been actually bartered away. Faction raged and stormed. The character of the Executive was overwhelmed with opprobrium. Wretches emerged from holes and corners, who dared to charge it with embezzlement as to public accounts, and with violating the constitution as to the treaty. The more fiery zealots even threatened an impeachment: yet nothing could move the magnanimity of Washington. He observed to a friend,

‘There is but one straight course; and that is to seek truth and pursue it steadily.’ To the criminal charges, no violence on the part of those who supported them, could ever induce him to vouchsafe a reply. But the secretary of the treasury came forward, and proved by detailed accounts, that the President had never touched the smallest fraction even of the salary annexed to his own office: whilst the general funds of the public had been administered under his auspices with the most exact frugality. The calumny thus being at once exploded, every honest sympathy awoke to do justice to its venerable victim. It was in the same year he was called upon to suppress the Pennsylvanian insurrection, which had arisen through the imposition of spirit-duties; and so to the very end of his administration, he kept on in the even tenor of his way, illustrating the eloquence of one of his greatest admirers, the late Robert Hall, who observes, that ‘distinguished merit will ever rise superior to oppression, and will draw lustre from reproach. The vapours, which gather round the rising sun, and follow him in his course, seldom fail at the close of it to form a magnificent theatre for his reception, and to invest with variegated tints, and with a softened effulgence, the luminary which they cannot hide.’

Having published an invaluable valedictory address, he was succeeded by Mr. Adams; and not long after his final retirement to Mount Vernon, enjoyed the pleasure of seeing justice done to his views of foreign policy by the whole American people. Threatenings of hostility with France were nearly calling him once more into active life; and he was appointed a second time lieutenant-general and commander-in-chief of the United States’ forces, in 1799, the very year in which he died. This event took place at half-past eleven o’clock on Saturday evening, the 13th of December, through a severe cold, terminating in inflammation of the windpipe. A few hours before his decease, he informed his attendants ‘that his affairs were in good order; that he had made his will; and that his public business was but two days in arrear.’ Fourteen ounces of blood were taken from his arm in vain. Extreme difficulty of articulation soon prevented him from saying much; but turning to his physician, he gently observed, ‘Doctor, I am dying, and have been dying for a long time; but I am not afraid to die!’ The mere illness had lasted scarcely more than twenty-four hours; yet he had been for years in the habit of preparing for his latter end, so that he closed his eyes amidst the tears and prayers of all present, with ‘a peace which passeth understanding.’

His character has been considered most difficult to delineate; since it may truly be described as a harmony of virtues, incomparable when taken altogether, but without those prominent features, which absorb superficial attention. It was like light in its matchless beauty—its unclouded clearness—its pervading in-

to any definite or satisfactory issue, are not more inconsistent in limiting their reasonings to material causation, than those theologians who simplify the whole business of salvation down to a metaphysical proposition, and reduce that faith which is the gift of God, and which is to command and renovate the whole man, into a cold, unimpassioned credence of a testimony. Such definitions will no more include all that the Scriptures mean by faith, than an anatomical demonstration, or a system of animal chemistry, will include all that is involved in the term *man*. Such generalizations in science seem designed, and certainly are well enough fitted, to *generalize* us out of our belief in a First Cause, and the presence of his inscrutable efficiency through all nature; and such generalizations in theology only nullify the evidence and neutralize the vivifying power of our divine Christianity.

But it is time that we afforded our readers some opportunity of judging for themselves of the principles and spirit of the extraordinary man whose works are before us. He says :

‘I have lately met, and looked at, some passages of a piece written by Mr. Andrew Fuller, entitled, ‘*Strictures on Sandemanianism*.’ That gentleman seems to take a lead in the work of perplexing and corrupting the Gospel of Christ; and seems to be well fitted for it, by knowing how to entangle truth with error. One of the most obvious remarks which may strike a simple reader of his production, is this: if the doctrine of Scripture (Gospel) involved such metaphysical subtleties, as his book abounds with, how little fitted would it be for the poor and ignorant *babes*! Ministers, as wise and prudent as Mr. Fuller, might understand it, and might bewilder their plain hearers with statements of it. But indeed their plain hearers could not, in the end, be much the wiser for their instructions.

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Art. II. *Essays and Correspondence chiefly on Scriptural Subjects.*

By the late JOHN WALKER, sometime a Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin; a Clergyman of the Established Church. Collected and prepared for the press, by WILLIAM BARTON. 2 vols. 8vo. London: Longman & Co.

ALTHOUGH many of our readers who may never have heard of the sect of Sandemanians, and others who have heard but a little of them, may both be inclined to ask whether it were not quite as well to leave them to enjoy undisturbed repose in the tomb of all the Capulets as to bring them thus before the public; yet we are disposed to think that considerable interest attaches to their history, and we feel confident that their *reliquiæ* are well worth preservation, both as theological curiosities, and as *beacons* to the churches and the pastors of the present age. Church History, as well as Natural History, may have its museums for the conservation of moral petrifications and specimens of extinct races.

The lessons which may be derived from the withering influence of Sandemanian speculation, seem to derive special weight and importance at the present time, from the rise of a sect within the last few years, who are endeavouring to combine a considerable part of the Sandemanian theory with the extravagancies of the Millenarian and prophetic school. This latter admixture gives an air of novelty and life to the cold and repulsive theology of the Sandemanians, and seems to be likely to bring at least its ecclesiastical system into some degree of renewed life. The new sect of 'brethren' who have appeared principally, though not exclusively, in the West, and who are ramifying in other directions, seem to symbolize in their views of the church pretty closely with the extinct, or nearly extinct societies of the Sandemanians. They do so in their restriction of prayer and praise, in their scornful and condemnatory aspect to all other Christian societies, in their discountenance of Missionary exertions, their degradation of the pastoral office, and punctiliousness in the reception of contributions, and in their general views of divine influence and the use of means; as if a belief in the former required us to abjure the latter; or the use of the latter dishonoured or annulled the former. We do not, however, design in this article further to point out the new combination in which the views of the Sandemanians have been revived. And we can scarcely venture to predict or guess how the few remaining '*disciples*' may regard the amalgamation of many of their favourite doctrines with the remnants of Irvingism; but we suspect that Mr. Walker would have been horror-struck at the crudities of the new school upon the subject of prophecy; equally so at the junction of Arminians and Calvinists; and supremely so at their scheme of

to any definite or satisfactory issue, are not more inconsistent in limiting their reasonings to material causation, than those theologians who simplify the whole business of salvation down to a metaphysical proposition, and reduce that faith which is the gift of God, and which is to command and renovate the whole man, into a cold, unimpassioned credence of a testimony. Such definitions will no more include all that the Scriptures mean by faith, than an anatomical demonstration, or a system of animal chemistry, will include all that is involved in the term *man*. Such generalizations in science seem designed, and certainly are well enough fitted, to *generalize* us out of our belief in a First Cause, and the presence of his inscrutable efficiency through all nature; and such generalizations in theology only nullify the evidence and neutralize the vivifying power of our divine Christianity.

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John Walker was evidently a man without a heart, or it was frozen to an icicle in the frigid zone of his theology. The grand vice of all his controversial writings may be described by a correlative expression which our readers will forgive us for employing—he laboured to disembowel the gospel of all its tenderness, and to sterilize the feelings of his followers by the nitrate of his infallible interpretations. Theology in his hands became a mere arena of dry metaphysics, in which the conflict was for the forms of truth, and not for its spirit; for the accuracy of an intellectual perception, rather than for the transforming virtue which guarantees the divinity of the truth, and gives it all its worth, at least to our guilty and suffering nature. Mr. Walker had established in his own mind an intellectual standard of faith, divesting it of every attribute and quality, save bare cold assent, or rather perception of the truth, in which, he even affirmed that the mind did not act at all. This was his theological crucible, before which he sat like a refiner and purifier of silver, authoritatively denouncing and condemning, or even consuming with the fire of his wrath, whatever doctrines or principles did not accord with his test. In his attempts to analyse the pure essence of faith, and reduce it to its primitive element, the spirit of it eluded his test, and the thing itself appeared to contain nothing more than the *residuum* which his analytical crucible presented, when the process was completed: thus saving faith was reduced to a mere intellectual reception of the truth and nothing more—and as to emotion or holy feeling, or approbation, or obedience, it was all delusion and nonsense—faith he decided to mean assent or credence, and nothing more nor less. He resembled those physiologists who with persevering and penetrating skill examine the fibres of every muscle, and divide every thread of every nerve, to find the *vis vite*, and resolve at last that there is nothing of the sort in nature, because their knives and microscopes cannot detect it; organization and chemistry must include all. The analysis can go no further, and their philosophy is impatient of mysteries and incredulous of secrets. Every candid and sober-minded philosopher, however, still believes that there is something in animal life which no anatomy however minute can detect, and which no animal chemistry however perfect can explain. And every sound theologian will, we suspect, in like manner repudiate the Sandemanian divinity as unphilosophical, though pretending to superior simplicity and accuracy, because it is the religion of the mere intellect and not of the heart, therefore not of human nature, not of Christianity, but of the mere conceptive and perceptive reason. Those semi-inductive philosophers, whom we name materialists, and who are generally remarkable for detesting the doctrine of final causes, and for commencing their inductions in the middle without tracing them either forward or backward

to any definite or satisfactory issue, are not more inconsistent in limiting their reasonings to material causation, than those theologians who simplify the whole business of salvation down to a metaphysical proposition, and reduce that faith which is the gift of God, and which is to command and renovate the whole man, into a cold, unimpassioned credence of a testimony. Such definitions will no more include all that the Scriptures mean by faith, than an anatomical demonstration, or a system of animal chemistry, will include all that is involved in the term *man*. Such generalizations in science seem designed, and certainly are well enough fitted, to *generalize* us out of our belief in a First Cause, and the presence of his inscrutable efficiency through all nature; and such generalizations in theology only nullify the evidence and neutralize the vivifying power of our divine Christianity.

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‘The same Apostle teaches us, that the righteousness *which is of the law* speaketh on this wise,—*the man which doeth these things shall live by them*, (Rom. x. 5,) and contrasts with that *the righteousness which is of faith*. But if we are to believe Mr. Fuller, that faith is an *act* or *work*, then there is no essential contrast between the two. For, when it is said—he that believeth shall be saved, we must understand him that doeth this mental work.

‘Mr. Fuller has very respectable company in thinking, that the great difference between the law and the Gospel lies in the difference of the work, which the sinner must *do* that he may live: and it is no wonder, while he is of this mind, that he views the opposite doctrine with abhorrence, as subversive of love and all good works. The unadulterated Gospel ever has been viewed so by those, who were not convinced of its truth. And those who are convinced of its truth will scarcely contend, that their being convinced of it (or *believing* it) was a mental *act*, which their minds performed.

‘Mr. Fuller refers to a former pamphlet of his, entitled, ‘*The Great Question Answered;*’ written on the reply of Paul and Silas to the question of the Philippian jailer—*What must I do to be saved?* Acts xvi. 30, 31. The attentive reader of that tract might perceive, that the writer of it understood the Apostolic answer, *Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved, and thy house*—as telling the inquirer *what he should do to be saved*. But if his meaning were ambiguous before, it is now sufficiently ascertained. One who should treat that subject with juster views, would be apt to entitle his piece—‘*The foolish and ungodly question answered.*’—Vol. I., p. 331, 332.

The perverseness and misrepresentation of this whole extract will scarcely escape any of our readers. The attempt to set Mr. Fuller’s doctrine in opposition to the Apostles, upon the question of works and faith, is either a quibble upon the meaning of an *act* of the mind, or it resolves itself into a total denial of human agency, and is an absolute reduction of men into mere passive machines, in the business of their salvation; and consequently presents a complete denial of any moral system in human nature to which the Gospel could be adapted. And we suppose this was the real truth of Mr. Walker’s theory. But the latter part of the extract relating to the jailer and the answer of the Apostles, illustrates the daring dogmatism and the gross antinomianism of the writer, in the clearest light. If it was a foolish and ungodly question to *put*, it was scarcely less foolish or less ungodly to *answer* it in the way they did. But his word *do* was met by their word *believe*, without that explanation or reproof which our Author would undoubtedly have given, had his more refined wisdom been appealed to on the occasion. Poor ignorant Apostles! how strange that ye did not see what a gross and pernicious error you were countenancing in the awakened mind of the sinner; and how was it that ye did not start with horror at the word *do*, and explain to him that to *believe* was to do nothing—no act of

his mind at all—though required of him as that without which he might entertain no hope of salvation !

But let us proceed a little further to exhibit to our readers how Gospel truths may be distorted and perverted even under a show of special zeal for their purity and glory. Addressing Mr. Haldane, he says :

‘ Indeed I have long considered the situation of a popular evangelical teacher as one not only very awful, but peculiarly pitiable. Every circumstance in it concurs to strengthen in his own mind the delusions of false religion ; and to blind him to the real character of the spirit in which he walks. His very office, with all its engagements and occupations, is of a *religious* description ; that is, of a description which all men naturally regard with veneration, and consider as *good*. He is commonly kept in a regular routine of *devout* exercises of prayers and preaching, and in the centre of a circle, larger or smaller, which is supposed to collect within it whatever is most excellent. His *dictum* decides to his people the interpretation of the Word of God. He is looked up to as the oracle of divine wisdom, from which they seek responses. And shall he not be zealous to put down every suggestion, which might intimate that he is *blind* ? Shall he, all whose life is a life of religion, admit the supposition that all this religion may be stark ungodliness ? And this, when he sees it precisely of the same kind with what has been, and is taught and sanctioned by men of names the most eminent in the religious world,—men in a manner canonized by their admiring followers. Every thing contributing to sear his conscience, to puff up his mind, to harden him in the strong delusion in which he lives ; it may truly be said that, ‘ it is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle,’ than for such a man to enter into the kingdom of God.

‘ The person who poisons a spring,—that spring from which man and beast imbibe draughts which they expect to be salubrious,—the person who makes its waters the vehicle of death by the introduction of poison into them—that person even in war is reckoned a monster. *Yet this guilt is but a faint image of yours.* (We put these words in italics that the reader may note them as a specimen of the most ferocious censoriousness which perhaps ever appeared in and disgraced theological controversy. The malignity which could confound the two cases, even supposing the preacher to be as palpably and dangerously wrong as Mr. Walker would affirm, is absolutely enormous. Happily for mistaken and erring mortals they have not to stand at the judgment-seat of any such a Draco, nor to fear any such an indiscriminating judgment. Paul teaches that though the wood, hay, and stubble with which they may build up the church should be destroyed, yet they themselves may be saved, though it may be as by fire.) ‘ The Scripture contains the words of *eternal life*: and he who perverts them from their real import, and gives them a currency in a corrupted meaning, attempts to poison the *very waters of life*,—that very word which ‘shows unto men the way of salvation,’ he makes the guide to eternal death. This is the wicked business of your life ; and that you greedily drink

yourself of the same poison which you administer to others, lessens not the wickedness.'

* * * *

'Sir, turn not upon your heel in indignation. It is a charge of great wickedness which I have established against you. For what wickedness can be greater than that of not only rejecting the truth of God yourself, but spending your life in adulterating and falsifying the divine word which declares it to others. The same thing which has been shown in the one instance which I selected, it would be easy to show in numberless others,—in all that you have been teaching concerning the nature of faith, of repentance, of sanctification, of the work of the Spirit,—in the deceitful manner in which you have handled every part of the Word of God.

'The same wickedness, by which you spend your life in corrupting the *truth* of the Gospel, it would be easy to show extends to the invasion of all its peculiar *precepts*; to show that you systematically labour to make them all void by your tradition; to show indeed that every so called minister or pastor of a popular evangelical congregation (whether connected with the Establishment or with the Dissenters,) is—and must be in order to fill his situation—a ringleader in the anti-christian conspiracy against the authority of the King of Zion.'—ib., p. 481.

The assumption in this whole passage, that all evangelical ministers are wilful perverters of the Word of God, is as glaringly unjust as the arrogance which pronounces their condemnation. Supposing their deficiencies and their errors were as gross as this impeachment sets forth, and had been proved by indubitable authority of Scripture, still the smallest grain of Christian charity, or ordinary candor, might have turned the scale of justice against the fulfilment of this fierce anathema, and saved them from the crimination of being engaged in an anti-christian conspiracy against the King of Zion. But what right had a fellow-servant, who could show no signs of an infallible judgment in the matter, and whose former subjection to similar errors, and subsequent changes of opinion, might have afforded some proof even to himself of human fallibility, what right had he thus to take his brother by the throat and denounce him as a traitor? This passage affords indeed but a slight specimen of the rancorous, condemnatory spirit which pervaded all Mr. Walker's controversial writings. We have sought in vain for any trace of that charity and forbearance which his brethren had a right to expect from one assuming to have attained a much clearer vision of the mind of the Spirit, and stepping forward to correct the mistakes of the whole professing church. Sometimes indeed he affects to pity those whom he condemns, but it never assumes the aspect or the tone of that clarity which 'hopeth all things,' and is utterly counteracted by that Sardonic scorn with which the whole mass of his opponents are delivered over to certain perdition. Again,

in another passage of similar acrimony and assumption, alluding to Mr. Sandeman, he says :

‘ He indulges indeed, more than I have ever done, in mentioning the names of individual writers and preachers who oppose the truth. Let me here give the reader a specimen of what is here reckoned his *worst spirit*. I recollect few passages, which I believe raised a greater outcry than that in which he recommends to the attention of any who desire to know ‘ *a devout path to hell*—’ Marshall’s *Mystery of Sanctification*, and Boston’s *Fourfold State*. Now, I am not deeply read in those books ; but I have looked at them sufficiently to concur decisively in Mr. Sandeman’s recommendation ; and I beg leave to add a third very popular work to the catalogue—the Rev. Dr. Doddridge’s *Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul*. Mr. Haldane probably will feel indebted to me for giving such an unequivocal instance of the *bad spirit* of Sandeman and his supposed disciple. He may call together his religious friends, to join him in looking with pious horror at the spirit which stigmatizes the writings of such holy and excellent men, as pointing out *a devout path to hell*. But assume for a moment, Mr. Haldane, a little of that coolness which you attribute to me ; and I will suggest to you a more effectual way for putting down or exposing these odious *Sandemanians*, than by mere gratuitous assertions of their *bad spirit*, their *keenness*, *severity*, and *contempt* of all who differ from them. And for once I beseech you to hear me patiently.

‘ That the paths pointed out in the works above alluded to, is a devout path, no one can deny ; and I am sure you will be ready to admit. It is certain also that they are, or have been, studied by multitudes of devout persons, as pointing out a sure path to heaven ;—without any doubt but that, if they only walk in the path there marked for them, they will go to heaven. Now I am persuaded, from the Scriptures, that any person who does really go on to the end in the path recommended in those writings, will perish in his sins for ever ; or, in plain language, will be cast into hell. And this I am ready (with the help of God) publicly to maintain, by an examination of those popular works, and a comparison of their devout path with the one way marked in the Scriptures as leading to eternal life.’

—ib. p. 471.

Our readers will probably be amply convinced that the description we have given of Mr. Walker’s temper and spirit is borne out by his writings. They will also have gained some insight into several peculiarities of his theological system. We shall now proceed, with all due regard to brevity, to lay before them several other dogmas of this pugnacious sect. Before doing so, it is only necessary to premise that they appear to attach equal importance to every one of their doctrinal views, whether relating to faith, justification, sanctification, election, or any thing else ; we might even state that they hold their theory of church government with the same tenacity as their creed of doctrines, and

countenance as little forbearance in matters of discipline and the treatment of weak brethren, as in the fundamentals of truth. The following citation relates to the important subject of sanctification, and will adequately display Mr. Walker's views of that point.

‘ You, Sir, know that it is many years since I have opposed the popular notion of *sanctification*, as a progressive amendment wrought in our hearts,—an improvement into something good of that which was naturally evil. And I must say that those who think they have attained any *such* sanctification as this, cannot consistently or seriously pray, ‘ lead us not into trial.’ They might rather wish for a trial of themselves, to manifest the happy change which has taken place in their own character. But while they are engaged in the pursuit of its attainment, or in the contemplation of its supposed existence, they are vainly puffed up in their fleshly minds ; and (as I have shown in my remarks on the parable of the Pharisee and Publican) they differ nothing from the Pharisee in modestly attributing its production to what they call the grace of God ; the Pharisee also thanking God that he was not as other men.

‘ My views of the perfect sameness of evil character in the hearts of believers and unbelievers,—in their own hearts,—may be farther illustrated and confirmed by a few observations on the Apostle Peter and Judas Iscariot. The latter is commonly considered as an extraordinary monster of wickedness ; and an awful exhibition indeed of human wickedness he afforded. But when his history is viewed in the light of the truth, it will be seen that, ‘ as in water face answereth to face,’ so his heart was but a counterpart of Peter’s—of believing Peter’s—of Peter after he was pronounced by his divine master blessed in the knowledge of that which flesh and blood could not reveal.

‘ I am aware that the views for which I contend, of the utterly evil character of the heart of man, in *all alike*, and at all times, must appear to the mass of religious professors, not only subversive of what *they* call sanctification, but also subversive of their confidence and joy. Those who know of no gospel to a sinful creature *as such*, but hold under the name of gospel something which they speak of in high terms as joyful to those who have somehow thrown off that character, must naturally be shocked at the view, which exhibits believing Peter as *himself* exactly the same utterly wicked creature with Judas Iscariot: for they cannot conceive what peace or confidence in drawing nigh to God *such* a creature can derive from the Gospel.’—ib., pp. 447, 449.

Thus Mr. Walker gets rid altogether of sanctification. There neither is nor can be any such thing, and all who have ever written upon it, or expected to attain to it, in conformity with the Saviour’s petition, ‘ Sanctify them through the truth—thy word is truth !’ have been sunk in error and delusion. The defenders of this theory entertain a sort of metaphysical personification of the *new man*—as though that expression denoted as distinct and

separate a mind as the former old and evil one—and then they realize the delusive notion of two *minds* as of two thinking spirits in the regenerated; and in consequence maintain that the old nature, meaning the old mind, is never changed; but a new one is imparted to constitute the regenerated character. But surely if the grace of God is designed to counteract the evil which was introduced by the fall of Adam, then it consists not in producing a literally new creature, but in restoring or renovating the old spirit—by bringing it back to its moral harmony with the will and holiness of the Creator. It appears to us that Mr. Walker's error upon this point tends to the entire subversion of the great design of the Gospel—the triumph of moral excellence through the grace of God given unto us, in the destruction of the works of the devil in us, and the recovery of believers in their own proper persons, mind and hearts, to that very perfection which, in the first of the race, the Creator beheld with complacency. If there is, moreover, any great and leading idea set forth in the Gospel as the end, subsidiary to the glory of God, for which God gave his Son, and Christ gave himself; it was that he might present that church which the Father gave him, without wrinkle or blemish or spot, in their own proper nature restored by his grace to righteousness and happiness, before the throne of his glory with exceeding joy: and nothing can be a more palpable perversion of the revelation of this great design than to represent it as consisting in the literal creation of a *new mind*. This is not only an abuse of the figurative terms of Scripture, but amounts to an absolute nullification of all the evidences of regeneration, the glorious fruits of the Spirit, and signs of a vital union with Christ. It is a reduction of the Christian character to the mere point of credence of the truth—and is literally making that credence the evidence of itself.

We will present another passage or two on this important subject, which will enable all to judge of the extreme issue to which Mr. Walker pushed his notions, under the profession too of more entire subjection to the current language of Scripture than he was ever willing to concede to his opponents.

'All the disturbances of the sinner's natural conscience,—all his frettings and strugglings against some forms of his iniquities,—proceed upon utter ignorance of the true God, and ignorance of what it is for a creature to have departed from him. If I were to suppose this ignorance removed at present from the mind of any sinner, but without the discovery of the glorious Gospel to his mind, the effect would be nothing *good*, and nothing short of that blackness of despair which reigns where hope never comes. But on the divine testimony of Him who 'came into this world to save sinners,' even the chief, by giving his own life a ransom for many, there is a discovery made of the divine glory, such as no man ever thought of or could conceive; such as no

man, clearly as the report of it is given in the Scriptures, will believe, till he is convinced of its truth by the same power which commanded the light to shine out of darkness. When any sinner is convinced of it, the mind of faith, which credits the divine declaration—‘this is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased,’—is a mind not his own, but opposite to and opposed by every thing that issues from himself: he is ‘born not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God.’ That mind sees the foundation which God hath laid in Zion, and rests upon it; the way which is opened unto the holiest for sinners, and draws nigh by it;—the salvation which belongeth unto Jehovah, and rejoices in it; the rich provision of his house, and is satisfied with it. He is a new *creation*, which God has wrought; and which in his faithfulness he upholds by the same power. But it is not *any alteration or improvement* in the whole fabric of the sinner’s own heart and nature. He possesses in himself, and in his own heart, but one unmixed and unalterable character of evil, and contrariety to God. His flesh was depicted under the Levitical law by that house infected with the plague of leprosy, (Lev. xiv. 45.) for which there was no cleansing; but the stones of it were to be broken down, and the timber thereof, and all the mortar of the house, and to be carried out of the city to an unclean place.’—*ib.*, p. 443.

To say nothing of the license to continue in sin which such notions furnish, and upon which we might justly enlarge, it is enough to say that they are altogether at variance with the entire scope of the Saviour’s doctrine; and, among numerous other passages of the most argumentative and abstract of the Apostles, with that memorable admonition, ‘be ye transformed by the renewing of your minds, that ye may prove what is that good, and acceptable, and perfect will of God.’ Rom. xii. 2. It is scarcely necessary that we should dwell upon this point any further; indeed, we fear we have already dwelt too long upon the peculiarities of the Sandemanian theology, and that our readers will be happy to be relieved from any further attention to the subject. We, therefore, hasten to sum up our opinion of these volumes.

We have already intimated that Mr. Walker has placed some fundamental truths in a clear light, and displayed their force in a manner that can scarcely fail of securing the assent of all who are humble and obedient students of the sacred Word. We refer particularly to one article, entitled, ‘The Faith and Hope of the Gospel Vindicated,’ containing strictures on Dr. Chalmers’s address to his parishioners on quitting Kilmany. The great object of the article is to expose the unsoundness of those views which foster the notion in the minds of awakened sinners, that they are in a hopeful condition, and really passing through a sort of transition-state, prior to their actual reception by faith of the righteousness of the Son of God for their justification. Mr. Walker has un-

doubtedly shown, that any treatment of such a class of persons, which induces them to regard mere convictions and awakenings with complacency, and inclines them to rest in their present state of mind, as one of hope, is both injurious to the interest of immortal souls and directly opposed to Apostolic doctrine. We perfectly agree with him in this, that all sinners are to be urged directly and at once to believe in Christ, that no flattering unction is to be laid to the soul till this is its state, and that as soon as this is ascertained, not indeed by the fallacious standard of a logical definition, or a bare consciousness, but by its effects, he is to be encouraged to believe he is justified, and to be strong in the grace which is in Christ Jesus. But though we approve of the general argument maintained against Dr. Chalmers's doctrine of a 'grand renewing process,' and the hopeful efforts of sinners to put themselves into 'a state of preparation for the Saviour,' we must express our abhorrence of the manner in which Mr. Walker has treated Dr. Chalmers himself. Thus he says :

'If even Dr. Chalmers be himself brought to the knowledge of that truth which he now opposes, he will see that he has been hitherto a blind leader of the blind; and that all those supposed earnest desires after the Saviour, which he thinks so hopeful symptoms in himself and others like him, have been but earnest desires after the vain imaginations of their own ungodly minds, and not after the Christ of God.'

'Here we have in a small compass the quintessence of all the anti-christian doctrine, by which the popular teachers have for ages beguiled the religious world. Grand words about the perfection of Christ's righteousness, as the only foundation for a sinner; but something remaining to be done by the sinner *to get at it*. And in this unrighteous labor the *Reverend Doctors of Divinity* are ready at hand, as guides and assistants to the *exercised* souls, whom they can prevail on '*to be up and doing*.' '—ib., p. 349.

The malignant and censorious spirit which marked this, as well as all Mr. Walker's attempts to expose the errors of the evangelical doctrine and the popular preachers, must have contributed to obscure the arguments he employed, and tended to defeat the object at which he aimed. We are not without hope, however, that Dr. Chalmers has modified some of his views of this preparatory process for the reception of the Saviour, and that he has attained to clearer notions of the evangelical scheme than he had when he published his Address to the Inhabitants of Kilmany. We believe that he would not now reiterate sentiments so obviously calculated to lead men to trust in mere human emotions, and rest in something short of a cordial reception by faith of the atonement and righteousness of Christ.

Although we have felt it a duty to speak in terms of condemnation concerning many doctrines defended in these volumes, and of the entire spirit which vitiates the whole of the controversial pieces, yet we are far from wishing either to depreciate Mr. Walker's character as a critic and theologian, or to discountenance the perusal of his works. On the other hand, we think they can scarcely be read by any established Christian or minister without considerable *clarification* of his views of divine truth—if we may be allowed such a term. There is in the second volume a considerable number of critical observations on passages of Scripture distinguished by acuteness and discrimination;—many of them highly valuable, and all interesting. Had the volumes been both filled with such remarks, they would have been a treasure to preachers of the Gospel. Upon the whole, we may be permitted to say, with due caution against the *nostrums* of the Sandemanian school, and the uncharitable spirit of Mr. Walker in particular, that the perusal of a large portion of these volumes would prove of essential service to many in the present day—especially in reference to critical views of Scriptural truth;—but we forewarn every one that he must not expect to find any excitement to his devotional feelings, or any stimulants to practical godliness. The Author treated Scriptural theology just as he treated logic, mathematics, and the classical languages, with admirable skill and great acuteness; but with the cold indifference of the anatomist or the savage ferocity of the gladiator. We can only add, by way of final commendation, that no purchaser of these volumes will have to complain of a deficiency of matter, or of the common sin of book-making. There are materials enough for at least five respectable octavos. Though the type is small, and the reading in one sense heavy and wearisome,—though the discussions are frequently minute, and to some readers may seem to be trivial and microscopic, yet we confess we have been deeply interested in their perusal, and not uninstructed by the closer inspection we have been enabled to make of the Author's peculiar sentiments.

Art. III. *Truths from the West Indies. Including a sketch of Madeira in 1833.* By CAPTAIN STUDHOLME HODGSON, of Her Majesty's 19th Regiment of Foot. London: William Ball. 1838.

THE crisis at which we are arrived in the history of Negro Emancipation calls for devout acknowledgment to the Author of all mercies. Our fathers labored, and we have entered into their labors, but instead of gathering from past success incentives to self-congratulation and indolence, we must feel pledged,—solemnly pledged, to a continuance in well-doing. There is no concealing the fact that our triumph has exceeded our hopes,—let us take heed that we are not thrown off our guard, and rendered criminally neglectful of the measures which our adversaries may adopt. The hour of unexpected triumph is always a season of danger. The mind seeks repose from the excitement to which it has been subjected; and relaxes its efforts at the very moment those efforts are most needed, and when they would prove most productive. This has been the case in past times, and it will be so in our own day, unless the leaders of public opinion are alive to the danger, and supply to their constituents early, precise, and full information. The experiment now made in our colonies is unparalleled in the history of our species. Servile classes have previously emerged from slavery, but the circumstances under which the transition has been effected have differed vastly from those characterising the recent change in our colonies. Whatever those circumstances the revolution is cheering. To see any of our fellow men,—partakers of our common nature, and sharers in our blissful hopes, forcing themselves upwards in the scale of rational existence, wrenching from the iron grasp of tyranny its long abused power, and arraying themselves anew in the attributes and rights of immortal beings, is a spectacle ever grateful, however calamitous the evils by which it may be momentarily accompanied. We do not hesitate to declare that the freedom of our now enfranchised bondsmen would have been cheaply purchased by civil convulsions, at which our ears would have tingled. Happily, however, it has been wrought by the force of moral principle, guided and signally blessed by that beneficent Being who is known in every age as the Father of the fatherless, and the refuge of the oppressed. It stands on record a proof to all succeeding times of the omnipotence of truth, the certain triumph of humanity, however formidable the forces arrayed against them, and protracted the struggle to which they may be summoned.

It can no longer be matter of doubt that a slave population, degraded and oppressed for centuries, a population which every effort has been made to brutalize, to whom kindness has been a stranger and cruelty a constant guest, who have been deprived alike of

home, of kindred, and of religion, may yet retain enough of our common nature to estimate aright the boon of freedom, and to apply its benefactions to their own improvement. The controversy of centuries has been terminated ; the inhuman creed of slave dealers and of slavery advocates has been practically refuted ; the impious dogmas of self-styled Christians and of Christian ministers, who have insulted the God of revelation by claiming his sanction for a system which revels in impurity, man-stealing, and murder, have been rebutted by facts which no sophistry can evade, and from the force of which no honest mind can escape. An advanced position has been gained by the friends of humanity, the importance of which will speedily be seen and felt. The American slave dealers must tremble when they look to our colonies, and woe be to those among them, who have hitherto pleaded the danger of emancipation as the reason of their upholding the existing system, if they do not instantly separate themselves from the impious and fiendish traffickers in human flesh. They can no longer lay the flattering unction to their souls, but must be content if they persist in their course to be branded as hypocrites or unbelievers. As such we proclaim them, whoever or whatever they may be. Bishops, ministers, elders, deacons, or whatever else they may be called, must all be content to have heaped upon them the scorn and contempt of the whole Christian world, if they do not promptly 'bring forth fruits meet for repentance.' But we are forgetting our immediate object, which was to introduce to our readers one of the most important and deeply interesting volumes to which the West Indian controversy has given rise. Its appearance at this precise moment is most opportune, and should it obtain, as it richly deserves, extensive circulation, it cannot fail to be productive of consequences highly beneficial. Captain Hodgson is an officer in her majesty's service, of high connexions, and of unblemished fame. Nearly related to more than one member of the Upper House, he had every inducement to conceal the enormities of our colonial system, but much to his own honor he has drawn aside the veil behind which the dark deeds of colonial functionaries have been long concealed. In October, 1833, he accompanied his regiment to the West Indies, where he remained till near the close of 1836, thus having an opportunity of observing the state of feeling which preceded the 1st of August, 1834, and the measures subsequently adopted in contravention of the Abolition Act. The period of his residence was precisely that respecting which it was of the utmost importance to the interests of humanity, that we should have the explicit and well considered report of an impartial and intelligent bystander. Such a report is contained in the volume before us ; and the object of its publication is to caution 'the people of England that they will be de-

'ceived, if they for one moment believe that the colonists, in 'emancipating their apprentices, have other objects in view than 'to lull the attention of the public in this country, and then, by a 'series of local enactments, to bring back our free negro brethren 'to a condition scarcely one degree removed from absolute personal slavery.'

The necessity for such a caution will not be denied by any who patiently examine our Author's statements. The great value of his book,—and at the present moment it is incalculable,—consists in its exposure of West India society, throughout its several grades. Governors, and lieutenant-governors, bishops, judges, attorney-generals, and magistrates are passed successively under review, and the difficulty felt on closing the book is to say which is the greatest criminal among them. A lively and graphic description is afforded of the habits and bearing of the different classes into which the white population is divided, and it is an appalling revelation which is made. We have long been accustomed to reason on the injurious influence of absolute power on its possessor, but we are free to confess that we were scarcely prepared for the disclosures which Captain Hodgson makes. Bad as we believed West Indian society to be, we did not fully realize the fact of its all pervading depravity. But our Author shall speak for himself. Referring to the arts which were employed to mislead the English public respecting the intentions and character of the negroes, he remarks:

'The following are some of the arts practised to deceive the English public into a belief that the moment freedom was accorded to the slave, rebellion would display her standard from one end to the other of our West India possessions.

'New colonial journals were called into existence, whose editors were commanded to dedicate their columns to fearful descriptions of the well-grounded panic existing among the European population, with dark and mysterious hints as to conspiracies existing on many of the estates, the object of which was the murder of the various proprietors. Government was called upon to be prepared with martial law; an opposition was organized against every governor who might be disposed to lean to the side of humanity; anonymous letters were at night scattered about the public streets, and thrown into the gardens of individuals, containing warnings at which any man might have been moved without the charge of weakness.* All this, it is true, en-

* 'Such was the alarm among the UNINITIATED, that on Christmas Eve, in 1833, it was deemed requisite at Barbadoes to have a regiment ready to turn out at a moment's notice during the night! it being circulated that the negroes purposed commencing the work of death when the whites should have assembled at the ball given at Government House. I subsequently saw, in one of the London opposition papers, a moving description of the consternation prevailing among the *respectable* classes on the occasion alluded to!'

venomed still more deeply the feelings of the colonists against their slaves, but signally failed in goading these poor people into a display of impatience or irritation, (the great wish of the planters,) and which would have afforded a corroboration of their assertions as to the awful position in which the mad scheme of freeing the blacks had placed them. Repeatedly at night, flames were seen ascending from different estates; the bell of alarm resounded from a thousand quarters, and the military were called out to afford their aid; but on arriving at the spot, it was generally discovered that the terrific act of incendiarism consisted in the simple burning of some untenanted shed or useless roots, effected by the planters' emissaries, with the view of fixing the odium of the act upon the negro; or if any damage were really done, it could generally be traced to some inebriated overseer having allowed his lighted cigar to fall among the canes.

'This was perfectly well known upon the spot; but those who had courage to expose the scheme were by far too few to withstand the powerful majority, whose ends were gained when these burnings were trumpeted forth in their newspapers, and subsequently re-echoed by their organs in England.

'A stranger to West India local politics might, with good reason, inquire whether the injury which *must* infallibly accrue to the plantations in the event of a rebellion, (to which all these arts would seem to propel the negroes,) would not more than counterbalance any distant advantage which they might derive from the awakened sympathy or timidity of the government in England.

'This forcibly struck me, and it was only by a residence upon the spot, and by a careful observation of passing circumstances, that I was enabled to unravel the secret springs of action. The contrivances resorted to shall be exposed to the gaze of my countrymen.

'The colonists were perfectly aware, in the first instance, of the innate mildness and submission of their unfortunate slaves; and in the second, that government could crush instantaneously the most powerful rising among them, should they be goaded to that extremity; while the English public being ignorant of these facts, and their newspapers teeming with descriptions of the insurrection at Barbadoes, the proclamation of martial law in Trinidad, the execution of a band of conspirators in Demerara, the consequence would be a large augmentation in the price of sugar, and probably a doubt as to the expediency of following up a bill which appeared fraught with such calamities. There was also another important reason for inducing in England a belief that the West Indies were on the verge of destruction. It was hoped that many absentees, owners of large estates, would immediately take the alarm; and fancying beggary before them, command their agents to dispose of the same at any sacrifice. This was eagerly anticipated by a band of harpies upon the spot, and numerous were the splendid properties purchased at an almost nominal sum. Surely these advantages fully counterbalanced the burning of a few plantations, or the sacrifice of some dozen useless negro lives.'—pp. 30—34.

In order fully to understand the policy of the colonists we must know something of their general character,—their standard of

morals,—and the official integrity of their functionaries. Let our readers study the following pictures, and they will no longer be surprized at the atrocities which constitute the every day performances of these gentlemen.

‘The clergy depend in a great degree for existence on the different Houses of Assembly ; their incomes can at any moment be reduced or augmented ; let them hesitate to acquiesce in any proposition submitted by the planters, and they are exposed to beggary, to worse than beggary ; since the press, controlled by the same planters, will inflict wounds upon their reputation which no time can cure. It is therefore scarcely to be expected that they should encounter the danger which an open sympathy in favour of the slave would drag upon their heads.*

‘These remarks will, of course, apply with more or less force, according to the character of the prelate who may be nominated to preside over the Church in this part of the world ; and if government should have the misfortune to make an indiscreet selection, the wide-spreading evil is shocking to contemplate. The bishop has, at least, eight hundred thousand souls under his care. What an awful responsibility, and, for a good man, what a god-like office ! But if he should be one with attainments far beneath mediocrity, buoyed up with vanity, whose airs of presumption, at once overbearing and undignified, render him the object of universal ridicule, what moral influence can he exert over the community at large ? What benefit can his numerous flock derive ? Can any good or wise measure be hoped from one whose miserable littleness of soul leads him to regard as an object of the highest importance, as the pinnacle, indeed, of earthly happiness, the being received with the roar of cannon at every island he may visit ?

‘Imagine the dignified position of a bishop, seated in the barge of a man-of-war, reckoning with feverish excitement the number of salutes fired in his honor, and then complaining, with childish pettishness, that there had been ONE † discharge too few !

‘Do we not almost weep for poor human nature, when we hear that a bishop arriving in a port, and discovering that it was after the hour when military regulations sanctioned the firing of a salute, preferred to remain until the following morning on board, so that then (and that too on the Sabbath) his presence might be duly announced by the thunder of artillery ; interrupting the religious ceremonies of the day, assembling together all the idle of the station, and needlessly and cruelly harassing the troops, who are compelled to march several miles under a tropical sun, for the purpose of forming a guard of honor ? But do we not more than weep, if upon its pleasing Providence to

* ‘The Rev. Mr. Harte, a clergyman at Barbadoes, noted for his benevolence, after being persecuted in every possible form, for endeavouring to instruct the negroes, was finally arraigned on, if I remember correctly, a charge of high treason.’

† ‘A literal fact.’

inflict an awful hurricane upon a portion of the diocese, casting thousands and tens of thousands naked and beggars upon the public streets,—do we not, I repeat, more than weep, if we find a bishop, so far from endeavouring to stay the effects of the mighty calamity, increasing them a hundred-fold by his insane and dangerous measures? If appointed a *distributor* of the funds so generously accorded by the British public in aid of the suffering thousands, does he correctly discharge his sacred duty in granting large sums to planters* in absolute affluence, in insisting that other large sums should be expended in beautifying *his* churches, or in other words, feeding his vanity, at the very moment so many hapless blacks were rotting in the highways, without one hand being stretched out to relieve their misery, or any prospect of receiving one farthing of what the people of England chiefly intended for them, the most numerous and the most helpless? And when checked in these proceedings by the head of the government, what words are sufficiently strong to apply to the man who could circulate pamphlets upon the subject, thereby compelling the governor to publish a reply in the newspapers, to counteract the perilous intent of the episcopal attack?

‘What a spectacle! What an example to the community! The king’s representative and a bishop in *public* collision, and in collision on such a subject!

‘With an example like this, little can be expected from the inferior clergy, save neglect of their spiritual functions, and indecent interference in worldly matters. It is lamentable to observe the eagerness with which, in the West Indies, they enter the arena of angry discussion, and how constantly the colonial journals are filled with effusions penned by clerical gentlemen, breathing a spirit the very reverse of what should be expected from teachers of Christianity, while at the same time they convey no very elevated idea of the literary attainments of West India clergymen.

‘I am not desirous of pursuing this subject; the reader’s own feelings will determine how far instruction to their flocks can be expected from characters like these.’†—pp. 35—40.

Of the members of the bar generally, an equally unfavorable sketch is given; and the scenes that take place in their misnamed courts of justice are represented as begging all description.

* ‘A singular reason was advanced by the colonists for aiding the planter in preference to the slave, viz. that the latter being the former’s *property*, the more he was maimed or reduced by sickness, the greater the former’s *loss*, and *ergo*, that the planters should receive accordingly!! Had it not been for the energetic measures of Sir Lionel Smith, this abominable doctrine would have been carried into effect.’

† ‘If the reader can obtain a few Demerara papers, it will be worth his while to peruse some productions therein, signed ‘W. W. Harman,’ rector of St. Swithin’s parish, in which is comprised that portion of district D. from Plantation Best to La Grange, inclusive.’

'I confess,' says our Author, 'I could not witness without amazement the extraordinary scenes occasionally exhibited in their courts of justice—scenes to which, in comparison, those at our own *Middlesex Sessions*, or even those at the Recorder's Court at *Cork*, shine resplendent with dignity. The lie is frequently given from the Bench to the Bar, and of course retorted from the Bar to the Bench; the Secretary for the Colonies has frequent appeals from the mutual recriminators, and the Governor-General of the islands is occasionally called upon to suspend a judge.

'All, therefore, is anarchy, violence, and vulgarity, in the higher courts; and increased anarchy, violence, and vulgarity, in the minor. Sometimes one magistrate orders the constables to conduct a brother magistrate to the jail; while he that is thus sentenced seizes the constable by the throat, and defies his enemy to fulfil the threat. All this in the presence of numerous gangs of slaves, whom the party to which these well-conducted gentlemen belong represent as inaccessible to reason, and to whom subordination or obedience to the laws cannot be taught. The following extract from a journal, detailing one of these occurrences, will amply corroborate what I have advanced:—

'Mr. Daniel Hart appeared before Dr. Madden this day, charging an apprentice with a robbery to the amount of five shillings.

'Dr. Madden.—There is not a shadow of proof against the accused, and I shall at once discharge him.

'Mr. Hart.—I am a magistrate, and—

'Dr. Madden.—I cannot permit you, nor any one else, to come into my court and attempt to browbeat me by violence. You must conduct yourself with propriety, or I shall insist on your leaving the office.

'Mr. Hart.—I will not leave the office until I please. I AM A MAGISTRATE AS WELL AS YOU, and will remain until I choose to go.

'Dr. Madden.—You shall not, if you conduct yourself improperly. Constables, put Mr. Hart out of the office.

'Mr. Hart (to the constables).—Put me out, if you dare. Recollect I am one of your employers. I am as good as Dr. Madden.

'Dr. Madden.—Constables, I call upon you, and upon all present who are special constables, to put Mr. Hart out.

'The constables stared and stood motionless. Dr. Madden called upon Mr. Mitchell, the reporter for the *Despatch*, and who is a special constable, to put Mr. Hart out. Upon Mr. M. going up to Mr. Hart, Mr. H. seized him by the collar, and gave him in charge to the constables, with orders to take him to the cage; and they would certainly have done so, had not Dr. Madden gone out into the piazza and rescued him.'

'Before the reader has recovered from his astonishment at this truly West Indian forensic scene, I will plunge him into still greater by introducing to his acquaintance a celebrated judge of one of the colonies.

'Through what channel he obtained the appointment, I will not stop to inquire; suffice it to say that he was an Irishman, piqued himself upon his Hibernian humor and accent, and burned to rival in facetiousness the renowned Lord Norbury of punning fame. This might have

been tolerably harmless ; but he was at the same time one of the most dissolute characters in existence : living publicly with a harlot ; drunk at all periods ; night after night found insensible from liquor in the public streets ; and in the morning bearing even on the judgment-seat the marks of recent and beastly debauchery. Can the mind of man imagine a more degrading spectacle than that of such a person pronouncing the stern sentence of the law ?—pp. 42—46.

The inveterate prejudices to which the slave system has given rise are familiar to our readers. They pervade colonial society, and operate with deadly force against its improvement. In other quarters of the globe the manumission of a slave has been followed, gradually it may be, but still certainly, by his identification with the superior and governing body. His personal qualities have been allowed fair play, and if they were such as to merit esteem and confidence, he has been admitted into the best circles and has attained his proper influence among his brother freemen. This was signally the case in Rome, as every school-boy knows. But it has been different in the West Indies. The manumitted African slave carries about with him the badge of his former servitude. The color of his skin is a standing witness against him, which perpetuates injustice after the legal sanction claimed for it has long been withdrawn. No matter how affluent, polished, and virtuous he may be,—character has not the weight of a feather against the fatal mark which his Creator has stamped on his brow. This feeling is carried to the most absurd, and were it not for the wickedness of the thing, we should say the most laughable extent, as the following extract will show :

‘ A short time after my arrival, I witnessed an exemplification of this feeling, in a somewhat singular manner ; and for the amusement and edification of the reader, I will describe the circumstances in detail.

‘ One night at a ball, I perceived an extremely pretty girl, seated, in a melancholy manner, in a corner of the room, the generality of the ladies passing her with a sneer, or with averted head. She looked so innocent, and, at the same time, so unhappy and forlorn, that I sympathized with her evident suffering, and to remove her embarrassment, led her to the dance.

‘ I soon saw that I had committed a solecism against fashionable manners. There was such whispering among the ladies, such flaunting of fans, such marked personal rudeness when they came in contact with me and my partner, that I was beyond measure relieved when the set was concluded. I was now shunned by the ladies, and pointed at as a species of monster.

‘ Totally at a loss to divine why I was thus cast out of the pale of society, I availed myself of the favour with which I flattered myself to be regarded by a certain ‘Lady-Patroness’ of the assembly, and implored from her a solution of the mystery. At first she scorned reply ; but moved afterwards by my evident contrition and mortification, she

at length exclaimed, 'What could induce you to insult the ladies in such a manner? what put it in your head to dance with a *Costie*?'

'I was now more puzzled than ever. I was well aware that fine ladies in all coteries have little pet words to describe various objects, and that occasionally something very naughty may be wrapped up in something apparently very simple; but this appeared to me so far-fetched, that I at once displayed my ignorance, and confessed, with a blush, that I had never before heard the term '*Costie*.' My peace was made, my fair protectress assured the society that I had merely sinned from error, and prepared to instruct me in colonial etiquette.

"You must know, then," she said, (I repeat her expressions word for word,) 'that there are different castes in the West Indies. For example:

"A Mulatto is the offspring of a black and white.

"A Mustie is the offspring of a white and a mulatto.

"A Fustie is the offspring of a mustie and white.

"And a Costie, you wicked man, is the offspring of a fustie and a white. You have therefore committed a crime to-night almost as heinous as if you had selected for a partner a Sambo, which all the world knows is the offspring of a mulatto and a black."—pp. 60—62.

Those who have perused a work bearing the name of Mrs. Carmichael, and entitled, '*Domestic Manners in the West Indies*,' must be aware of the glowing descriptions she has furnished of the social habits and moral worth of the colonists. How this lady could permit her name to be attached to a publication drawn up by others, and which sets truth at defiance in every page, it is not for us to say. It is enough to remark, and truth compels the declaration, that a more immoral and vicious state of society does not exist on earth. It is corrupt at the very heart, outwardly fascinating to the casual observer, but loathsome and defiling within. The every day practices of the colonists are so utterly at variance with the most obvious requirements of common morality, that great difficulty has been experienced by the friends of the negro in making them known to the English public. There has been a false delicacy on this point, but the time is come when it must be laid aside. The interests of the enfranchised population are at stake, and the truth must therefore be told. Captain Hodgson treats this part of the case with all the instinctive delicacy of an English gentleman; yet he discloses enough to awaken our loathing and disgust. Several examples are given, for which we must refer to the volume itself. The following extract, in refutation of Mrs. Carmichael's representation, will suffice for our purpose.

'Without longer preamble, I fearlessly assert, that this description of the state of morality in the West Indies is not only incorrect in every point, but that it is almost out of human possibility that chastity can exist among the female population of the whites, owing to the

licitious examples which are presented to them from their very childhood. Now to facts—facts notorious to all who have had the misfortune of residing in these colonies. Almost every unmarried man on his first arrival, whether a stripling from school, or one whose appearance and grey hairs denote a speedy gathering to his fathers, forms a connexion with a negro or coloured girl, who, for the time (for he is constantly changing) bears his name, is openly seen at the windows of his residence, and resides with him until it suits his views to marry. Hence, it comes to pass, that scarcely an European is without relatives, the offspring of these connexions. A young lady, on becoming a wife, finds herself at once the step-mother of a large family of mulattoes; and a married woman, arriving from England unexpectedly, sees her husband surrounded by harlots, many of them evincing proofs of approaching maternity. The mother is introduced in like manner to the prostitute of her son, and the sister to that of her brother. Is it in the nature of things that the female mind can remain long uncontaminated amidst scenes like these? Farther even than this; so little in this corrupted clime is chastity regarded, that passing unnoticed the disgusting shamelessness with which adultery is perpetrated and applauded, I have known fathers—yes, *fathers*—compel their daughters to associate familiarly with their mistresses, and allow these strumpets, *en famille*, to claim precedency over their legitimate European offspring. I am not harsh enough to deny that these unhappy girls MAY continue virtuous, MAY remain unpolluted in the veriest stews of corruption; still the probability is, I should imagine, that mind and body must be irretrievably lost! That I may not be considered as drawing on my imagination for these frightful pictures, I will ask the organ of the colonists, already alluded to, whether she can dispute in the minutest points these details, and whether she be not acquainted, and that intimately, with many to whom my remarks will apply?—pp. 67—69.

The following scene, which occurred at a levee, in Trinidad, is thoroughly colonial, and would move our laughter were not the happiness of thousands in the hands of the men described.

‘Notwithstanding this coarseness of manners among the colonists, they pant with extraordinary anxiety for the distinction of *military rank*, and the privilege of exhibiting a tinselled jacket. They have, therefore, formed a large force of militia, with an enormous list of colonels and generals. They seize every opportunity of appearing in costume; and to see them caparisoned in comical fancy trappings, smelling of treacle and stinking of rum, ushered into an apartment with pomp, and responding to brilliant titles, beggars any caricature ever produced by the inimitable Cruikshank.

‘Hearing one day at Trinidad that a levee was to be held, and never having been presented, I made up my mind to attend it. On the morning fixed for the ceremony, a constant discharge of ordnance was kept up from gun-fire until twelve o'clock; a line of soldiers was formed in every street, and a guard of honour over each store which had the good fortune of calling a militia-chief, master. Making my

way with some difficulty through formidable bands, and hearing many witty remarks as to how much finer their uniforms were than those of the king's troops, I, at length, succeeded in reaching the government house. Being rather before the time, I amused myself by surveying the scene. The first conspicuous object was a pasteboard figure of a man, the size of life, pierced with innumerable bullet-holes. This, I believe, was intended as an illustration of the perfection to which the colonists had arrived in pistol-shooting, at which they daily practise with the view of becoming proficient in the noble science of duelling; or it might have been a hint as to what a satirist of their proceedings might expect. In different parts of the chamber stood huge tables, covered with tumblers and cases containing brandy, rum, and shrab. While I was puzzling my imagination as to what could be the appearance of people, whose throats were capable in this scorching clime of swallowing such fiery ingredients, the folding-doors were thrown open, and in rushed tumultuously, not exactly a herd of swine, but something not unlike—the magnates of the island!—generals, colonels, majors, hussars, lancers, and dragoons, artillery and infantry, with a staff that defies enumeration.

‘Never, never can be erased from my memory the first impression made by the motley gang. At the impulse of the moment, I started back with alarm, apprehending that I had fallen among maniacs, or, at all events, a crew of inebriated masqueraders: being, however, seriously assured that they were officers, I screwed my muscles to rigidity, and prepared to mark the result. They were arrayed in uniforms, of which it was impossible to say which was the most fantastic: the strolling players of the colony might well be suspected of having let out their theatrical wardrobes for the occasion.

There were guerilla dresses, Hungarian pelisses, and improved (according to the wearers' taste) British uniforms. Grey-headed old men were habited as dashing lancers, and boys of sixteen appeared in the garb of generals. The chief * barrister of the settlement, in person the very counterpart of the lowest description of bum-bailiff, with a fat, unmeaning countenance and bloated features, wore a sort of golden armour, with an aiguillette and epaulette of enormous dimensions on each shoulder; while on his breast glittered a bauble, meant to represent the star of the order of the garter. His clerk followed him at an humble distance as squire, or aide-de-camp, modestly caparisoned as a colonel of hussars. There was a linen-draper as quarter-master-general, and an auctioneer as adjutant-general. Six store-keepers, or rum-sellers appeared as brigadiers, attended by a suite of prenties boys, dressed as king's aides-de-camp. The exact nature of the remaining uniforms I could not define, so plastered were they with gold and silver. I shall, therefore, merely observe, that they were all equally

* ‘I have unconsciously fallen into an error in describing this person as the ‘chief barrister.’ I should have said a *leading* one. The merit of being the *chief* is on all sides conceded to Mr. Charles Warner, who, being a gentleman by birth, does not mix in these upstart follies.’

magnificent, and the wearers thereof of rank equally illustrious. During some time, they in solemn majesty paced the apartment, jingling their spurs in a manner truly warlike, and striking with awe and envy us poor soldiers of his majesty's line. At length, 'impatient for the fray,' they commenced an attack on the delicate refreshments, with which I have described the tables to be garnished. Demi-jean* after demi-jean vanished before these heroes. I had before heard of fire-eaters, but never until this moment could I have believed it possible for mortal man to swallow the liquid fire, quaffed with such eagerness by these generals and colonels. And now voices were given to them; they talked, 'heavens how they talked!' They had lately, be it understood, been employed in the field of Mars, for which they shall receive due honour in a future chapter. By their account, the army in the peninsula underwent less hardships than those encountered by them in the marshes of Naparima; and the troops under Sir John Moore retreated with less order at Corunna, before the French, than did they before a concourse of old women and children at Cocorite. And they contradicted each other: one general swore by his puncheons, that *his* division had done the work—while another, in frantic language, claimed the palm for his. The chiefs were joined in the discussion by their respective staffs, and assuredly there was less confusion of tongues at the tower of Babel. Angry scowls overshadowed the countenances of all parties, and I, every moment, expected to witness a sanguinary combat, when fortunately the door of the presence-chamber was unclosed, and in REELED these worthies to offer their homage to that dignified representative of majesty, better known by the HONOURABLE appellation of the 'immaculate vice-treasurer.'

'After the levee, with the hope of burying all angry feelings, the militia officers adjourned to a tavern, where a collation was prepared, at which presided the 'immaculate vice-treasurer;' enlivening the scene by the exhibition of several acts of tomfoolery, and aiding in keeping up the disgusting revel by the spouting of his usual maudling orations. Here swords were actually unsheathed by the warriors, and nothing but the magic word ARREST, could have prevented their blades from being stained with blood. Peace being, however, once more restored, the officers remained at table until night-fall, when they quitted for the theatre, where was to be a performance, as the play-bills had it, 'under the immediate patronage of the militia, who would on the occasion appear in full uniform.' They were, of course, headed by the same 'immaculate vice-treasurer,' under whose eye again occurred scenes, which I will not sully the paper by recording. It is enough to tell, that after noise, oaths, and blows among the men, shrieks and fainting among the women, many members of the party hurried to the neighbouring fields with pistols, and the miserable farce was terminated by more than one fearful tragedy.'—pp. 80—87.

We have recently witnessed to the astonishment of the

* 'A bottle containing about four-gallons-and-a-half.'

empire an insidious and base attempt to provide a substitute for African slaves in the person of the Coolies of India. The attempt has been made—alas! that such should be the fact—under the sanction of her majesty's present ministers; but thanks to Lord Brougham the daring wickedness has been dragged to light, and its progress has been stayed. The attempt was but a repetition of what had been tried on a smaller scale with the peasantry of Madeira and Fayal, two islands subject to the crown of Portugal. No sooner had the British legislature decreed the annihilation of slavery, than vessels were despatched from our colonies with speed and secrecy to these islands, where the most glowing descriptions of the fortunes to be realized in the West Indies had previously been circulated among the peasantry. The result was just what Lord Brougham and other opponents of the East India slave trade affirmed to be inevitable, and a knowledge of it only increases our satisfaction, at the success of his lordship's meritorious efforts.

Once arrived in the colonies, they found themselves beyond redemption at the mercy of those by whom they had been deluded, and who now throwing off the mask, sold the astounded creatures to the highest bidders, by whom they were distributed over the country, without, as I have been informed, in many instances, the least regard to the ties of family. In every conceivable point of view their lot was infinitely more miserable than even that of the negroes; for although exposed, like these, to the same treatment as to the degree of toil and coercion, they were far from being sharers with them in the advantages intended to be secured by the 'Abolition Act.' The black slaves had the right, at any period, of purchasing their immediate freedom; not so with the white slaves. 'Seven years,' said the bond; and well resolved was each Shylock to insist to the last on the pound of flesh.

But even had the Portuguese, like the negroes, possessed the right of offering redemption-money, it would have availed them nothing. Far from their country, with which no communication was carried on, save through the circuitous route of England, it would have been impossible for them to quit the place to which they had been beguiled; they must have betaken themselves to the woods, and then, compelled by want of food to return to the vicinity of the towns or plantations, they would have been seized and condemned as vagrants; in other words, their former state as slaves on the sugar estates to the planters, would have been changed for that of slaves on the public roads to the government.

The circumstance of the Portuguese and their masters being ignorant of each other's tongue would have been attended at first with some degree of inconvenience and embarrassment, even had the colonists, on the score of humanity and generous feeling, been totally opposite to what they are; but it was now found fraught with serious evil, in the violent and impatient manner (in the absence of the power of explanation by words), with which the managers endeavoured to point out to these

labourers what was required from them, only served to heighten the consternation with which the discovery of the deceptions used had already filled them.

Conceiving that sufficient has been said to convey an accurate idea of the immediate position of the Portuguese on their reaching the estates of persons by whom they had been purchased, I will present an outline of their subsequent lot.

Without distinction of sex or age, they were indiscriminately mixed with the negroes; the robust man, the delicate female, the tender child, were alike compelled to toil in the cane-fields, under a tropical sun, and the same quantum of labour was demanded from them as from their fellow-slaves—the negroes.

In vain, after a short time, did they begin to implore as a mercy, that at all events, if slaves they must remain; they might be sent to tobacco estates, where, under the shade, they could work without being struck by immediate death. In vain, on their prayer being refused, did they endeavour to make known their condition to the public authorities—no interpreter of their language could they find; and in one island no interpreter was allowed. In vain did they strive to escape to the towns, with the hope that their ghastly appearance, and bodies mangled by stripes, might attract the attention of the humane; they were quickly stopped by the guards stationed at all points, and lodged in the prisons on the estates, where some expired from the sufferings they were doomed to undergo; or if, by chance, one did overcome the vigilance of the watchmen, and make his way towards the government house, he was seized and shipped off to the coast; an effectual way, truly, of precluding the possibility of his obtaining a hearing.

The constitution of these white slaves soon began to break under this treatment. Disease in hideous forms was not slow in exhibiting itself; and it was shown beyond a doubt, in this instance, that the labour, which is so fatal to negroes, can never be performed by men whose bones and sinews are covered with a white skin.

Whole families, and theirs was the happiest lot, were swept from the face of the earth; while those who had the misfortune partially to recover, were, if unable to pursue their labour, turned off homeless and friendless by the vampires who had banqueted to the last drop on their hearts' blood. Their condition became so truly piteous as to move the very blacks to compassion. So broken in spirit were these free-born subjects of the crown of Portugal, that they were to be seen sitting on their knee the charity of the British West India negro slaves; and the charity sued for was never refused by the kind-hearted, calumniated black.—pp. 216—221.

A petition was presented by the apprenticed Portuguese of Trinidad to the governor which speaks for itself; and details a series of atrocities which may well shame into silence the advocates and panegyrists of colonial integrity.

We regret that our limits do not permit our extracting the account given by our author of the measures adopted in Trinidad, under the immediate sanction of Sir George Hill, in August,

1834, to drive the negroes to rebellion. We know no terms sufficiently strong to express our sense of the culpability of the governor. It is enough to remark, that his conduct was worthy of himself. Having embezzled the public money to a considerable amount, while vice-treasurer for Ireland, he obtained from his Tory patrons a colonial appointment, in which he has been madly continued by their Whig successors. For such a man to forget what was due to the sovereign he represented was only natural, but that thanks should have been rendered him for the prevention of an insurrection which was never dreamt of, and which he did his utmost to excite, and that, too, by men professing to be the friends of the negro, is one of the most singular and disgraceful facts in the history of our colonial office.

We must close with the following extract, in which, referring to the future, Captain Hodgson enforces on the Abolitionists the necessity of persevering in the course they have hitherto pursued. We concur in his advice, and heartily recommend it to our readers.

‘It is to the people then that we must look in this instance, and more particularly to that portion or *party* among them, if we may fairly call by that name those whose objects are so far above the ordinary objects of party,—it is to them I say who have virtually done all that yet has been done, that we must look for the accomplishment of all, (which is the greater part) that yet remains to be done. To that party then I would say in conclusion, Let them go on as they have begun, and the same success that has attended their past endeavours, will also wait upon their future labors. Let them continue, as they have pledged themselves to do, and as they have done in one memorable instance,* in a spirit more pure than patriotism, more holy than mere human benevolence, to make this the paramount object of their public endeavours, the indispensable condition of their political confidence, and it cannot be but that nicely balanced as the two great parties of the state now are, whichever is for the time at the helm, willingly or perforce must fall into their views. Let them only not fear to use their power so lately tried, let them only not shrink from their new responsibilities, nor draw back from the performance of their increased, though altered duties, and that great experiment which we said before was to be tried, and which it cannot be too often repeated this country has undertaken to try, shall be made under their auspices, and to their honor; the experiment I mean of civilizing and raising the black to the level even of the white.

‘What may be the issue of this mighty attempt is known only to Him who has created both, and who scans with an unerring eye the capabilities of each; but to them, that is, to the Emancipationists of

* * The late Gloucestershire election, where the candidate was rejected, because he would not pledge himself to immediate abolition.

Great Britain, will belong the praise of having made the trial ; and when that trial has been made, but not till then, they will have done what man could do, to vindicate, in the person of the degraded African, the dignity of the human race, and the more glorious equality of the Christian brotherhood.'—pp. 349—351.

We need scarcely add our warm recommendation of Captain Hodgson's volume. We have already said enough to evince our opinion on its value, and we shall be surprised if it do not obtain an extensive and commanding circulation. Independently of the views which are broached, and the information communicated, on the long agitated question of slavery, it does more to acquaint us with the genuine character of West India society than any other publication which has appeared for years.

Art. IV. 1. *An Essay on Apostolical Succession, being a Defence of a Genuine Protestant Ministry against the Exclusive and Intolerant Schemes of Papists and High Churchmen. With an Appendix containing a Review of Dr. W. F. Hook's Sermon on 'Hear the Church,' preached before the Queen.* By THOMAS POWELL, Wesleyan Minister.

2. *The Revival of Popery. A Sermon Preached before the University of Oxford, at St. Mary's, on Sunday, May 20, 1838.* By GODFREY FAUSSETT, D.D., of Magdalen College, the Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity.

TO begin with the last, which will show that the Author of the first of these publications may say, with David, 'What have I done? is there not a cause?' we beg our readers to observe, that whatever we may affirm of the popery that is cherished in the University of Oxford, they must not ascribe it to dissenting prejudices ; for it has been all proclaimed at St. Mary's, by the Professor of Divinity. Dr. Faussett's Sermon commences ominously with these words, 'To the sincere and reflecting members of our reformed and *apostolical* church ;' and in this strain the preacher advances, inveighing against Catholic emancipation, till he observes, that 'one thing at least is certain, that a revival of the contest between the churches of England and of Rome has become inevitable, or rather that it has actually commenced, and that inasmuch as it has fallen on us almost by surprise, it has found us very imperfectly prepared for our defence.' 'Now, there are notoriously existing among us a large and influential body of Christians, consisting chiefly of the dissenting sects, which fell into schism, at or near the period of the Reformation ; of

those other denominations which have more recently seceded from the church; and unhappily we may add, of those also, who, though nominally members of the Church of England, have in some measure adopted Sectarian views. All these persons, however widely they may differ from each other on many points, naturally constitute but one class, as far as concerns the matter now before us; viz. that of those who despise, or lightly regard, ecclesiastical authority and Christian unity, the claims of an Apostolical episcopacy, the divine commission of the Christian priesthood; who neglect the guidance of their appointed pastors, put no faith in their exclusive importance as the ministers and stewards of God's holy mysteries, and, by a chain of consequences, as necessary as it is deplorable, degrade the sacraments themselves to a corresponding level; either regarding them nearly as initiatory and commemorative rites, or, at the best, losing more or less of their implicit reliance on them as the seals of the Christian covenant—the efficacious means of grace and salvation. On the other hand, while they thus undervalue the authority and importance of the church, they as proudly exalt their own, claiming the unlimited exercise of private judgment in the interpretation of Scripture, and maintaining the undoubted capacity for such judgment in all ordinary Christians.'

Now, though Dr. Faussett asks, 'How could the advocate of such views enter the lists of controversy with the subtle Romanist?' an acute Jesuit would say, 'Defend me from the advocate of such views, and I will defend myself from Dr. Faussett.' It is a fact that the shrewd Romanist will not enter the lists against thorough Protestants, who are in principle Dissenters, whatever they may be in practice; while he shows, on all occasions, the greatest readiness to break a spear with the Church of England. Such a man would exult over Dr. Faussett's Sermon, and say, 'Go on, Oxford Professors of Divinity, in this career, and our triumph is sure.' For there is not a single principle laid down in this discourse, dedicated as it is to the junior students in the University of Oxford, that can preserve them from popery: on the contrary, the Professor expressly waives the consideration of the traditions of the church, as an authority distinct from Holy Scripture; because it was to be the subject of one of the Bampton Lectures delivered that day; but still he maintains that 'the principle of tradition was not only useful, but necessary, being dangerous only by excess, or abuse.' Also, for poor Protestantism, when its defence is committed to such hands! The question of Baptismal Regeneration, also, is slurred over in a similar manner, with an evident leaning to that papistical dogma; but, on the doctrine of the real presence, as transubstantiation has most improperly been called, and on the worship of saints and images, Dr. Faussett takes his stand. Yet, strange to

tell, after admitting the authority of traditions, as 'a necessary principle,' he labours to show that idolatry, the leading characteristic of religious apostacy, was 'widely prevalent as early as the sixth and seventh centuries; and, in the eighth, the conscientious opposition of the Eastern Emperor only served to confirm its uncontrolled dominion.' Thus, authority is conceded to a tradition of very high antiquity, in favor of a practice which our Professor pronounces idolatry, but which a Romanist would contend never could have acquired uncontrolled dominion if it had deserved that character. A Jesuit would say to the Professor, 'What are your orders worth, if derived from a church which was under the uncontrolled dominion of idolatry, the leading characteristic of religious apostacy?'

On this question, apostolical succession, it is time that the public should be well informed. There are three periods of our history to which these apostolicals may appeal—that of the first introduction of christianity into our isle—that of the visit of Austin under the pontificate of Gregory—and that of the Norman conquest. It would naturally occur to most apostolicals, that the first was the preferable era; for the nearer the fountain the purer the stream; and to men boasting of apostolical succession, nothing is so desirable as to ascend up to the apostolic age. Accordingly, we find some men of this school contend vehemently for the apostolic age as the period of the introduction of christianity, and call the visit of Austin, the introduction of Popery. But unfortunately no mortal knows who introduced christianity into Britain. That many different persons have been mentioned is a proof that it is all utter uncertainty. Lucius, a British king, has been called our apostle; Glastonbury points to its sacred thorn flowering at christmas, as a proof that Joseph of Armathea was the apostle of our isle; and last, not least, came the apostle Paul. This of course is the favourite legend of the apostolicals, but all that they can do is to show that this may be true, which may be said of many another. Woe to the man who could bring no better proof of his title to the estate, or the peerage, which he claims. But as it is utterly unknown who was the man that first preached christianity in Britain, he may have been what is called a layman, without any ministerial ordination at all. We are aware that some, horrified at the supposition of a layman presuming to preach, would exclaim, 'such intrusion into sacred things could have had no existence in apostolic days'; but as 'great swelling words of vanity' have far less influence over us than the wholesome words of our Lord Jesus, by the lips of the inspired writers, we appeal to Acts viii. 1, and xi. 19, to prove, that when 'the whole church was scattered from Jerusalem, *except the apostles*'; 'they who were dispersed went preaching the word.'

Or the first preacher to the Britons may have been one of those, who, influenced by the various causes of dissension recorded in the New Testament, withdrew from the congregation of which he was a member, cut himself off from the unity of the church, and yet, believing christianity true, brought with him, not only that knowledge which he orally communicated to us, but some of the books of the New Testament which would correct any errors of his own. A parallel to this is well known to have occurred in the case of the Nestorians, who separated from what was called the Catholic Church, and yet became active missionaries in the East. What madness has seized men, that they delight to hang their souls upon a hair? For what else are they doing who make their salvation depend on certain rites, whose validity depends on certain men, who trace their priesthood to the Apostles, but who, when put to the proof, are at fault at the very first step?

But Austin, being well known in history, is preferred by some to the anonymous Apostle of an earlier era. Do they mean, then, to give up all the British Christians who lived and died before the monk set his foot on the isle of Thanet, to the uncovenanted mercies of God? Or do they assert that Austin and his monks re-ordained all the British Clergy, or at least all the bishops? We know that, while Rome pushed her mission to the pagan Saxons, the Britons resisted her proud claims, and receded from her contact; and where is the priest who can tell whether his orders have come to him *pure* from the Vatican, or have descended from the possibly schismatic or laic, and certainly unknown source that preceded the visit of Austin? He that can solve this riddle shall be, not merely our *Cedippus*, but our great *Apollo*.

There is, however, another important era which demands the anxious attention of our apostolicals—that of the Norman Conquest. To our shame it may be proved, that none of our historians have so ably developed this event in our history as the French writer Thierry. But we all know that William deluged the church as well as the state with his Normans. “*Vœ victis*” was his cry. The most atrocious means were employed to substitute a French for a British, or rather a Norman for a Saxon hierarchy. In this conflict, a shepherd was often ousted by a wolf, and the bishop *de jure* was superseded by the prelate *de facto*. With whom then did the succession rest? Did might constitute right? But the whole tribe of the continental priests in communion with Rome, are smitten by Dr. Faussett, with the anathema pronounced on idolatry, that ‘they shall not enter the kingdom of heaven.’ For he traces up ‘the uncontrolled dominion of Idolatry’ to a period prior to that in which we were inundated by priests and bishops from France. As this was the last importation, and the article was forced upon the market by

the iron hand of a conqueror, the Established Clergy are deeply interested in this event, as vitally affecting their succession.

We pass over the rickety reign of Henry the Eighth, because the breach in the succession may be supposed by Mr. Froude to have been healed, when the Pope's Nuncio, in the reign of Mary, reconciled the nation to the See of Rome. But what shall we say of the apostacy under Elizabeth, and all the subsequent changes down to the deprivation of the Non-juring bishops? Never was there a more entangled web than this boasted apostolic succession. Well might Mr. Froude fly to the infallibility of Rome; for nothing short of this could quiet the conscience that seeks repose in sacraments administered by this boasted apostolical priesthood.

But Dr. Faussett protests against this section of his own church, as well as against the evangelicals and the schismatic dissenters, regarding as true churchmen none but those who are nearer to Rome, than the evangelicals, and farther from it than the Froudeites, or Puseyites. Are these alone the church of England? What a minute fraction of Christendom! You may put their church in a nut-shell. The greater part of the laity do not know whether they belong to it or not.

It will, however, be said by some, that though these Faussettites are the *élite*, the Church of England is a genus, consisting of all who are neither protestant nor catholic dissenters, and including several species. These are, beginning at one extreme, and ending at the opposite, the following:—

I. The dissenting or methodistic churchmen.

This was formerly a much larger class than it is at present; but, though now diminished, it is not yet extinct. They are lovers of good men under every name, rejoicing in activity and usefulness, meeting cordially with the Dissenters and Methodists, no longer as formerly, indeed, preaching for them, but lamenting with Baptist Noel, that this fraternal interchange of service is forbidden by episcopal authority. A few of the clergy of this class would much rather see in their pulpits, some Dissenters, than many of their own church, and think the dissenting sacrament as valid as their own; it can excite no surprise that others, at the opposite extreme, hate and despise this portion of their own brethren, more than Dissenters or Methodists. There lately were, if there are not now, lay preachers in this section, who without scruple officiate in the villages for those who are not within the established pale.

II. The evangelical churchmen.

This and the preceding sect, were originally identified, but are now very distinctly and rather widely separated; for while the former party have no fondness for the trammels of their own

church, many who agree with them in doctrine and religious spirit, strive to be as high Churchmen as conscience will permit, and indulge in a kind of preaching which shocks their own pious hearers as very little better than that of the worldly clergy. But even within this circle, there is anything but uniformity; for some have so much fire as expands their hearts and threatens to burst the shackle; while others have so much icy prudence and policy as to damp their zeal, if not to quench their vital fire.

III. The Calvinistic Churchmen.

These are not only satisfied that the articles of the Establishment are Calvinistic, but they say, 'if they are not, they ought to be; for this is the doctrine of Scripture, and we could not be Churchmen at all, if we did not believe that the 17th Article was intended to teach election.' This party agree with the theology of the great mass of the Evangelical Dissenters; though, for want of a theological education, Calvinism is seldom judiciously preached in the Church of England. Lady Huntingdon cherished and increased this band of Churchmen.

IV. Antinomian Churchmen.

Dr. Hawker, of Plymouth, may be regarded as their type; and when the coal-heaver of Gray's-Inn-lane was called to his great account, many of his disciples took refuge in this section of the Established Church. Mr. Vaughan, of Leicester, went farther in this course than almost any other man; but many an Antinomian Churchman makes his hearers antinomians, without being compelled to eat the bitter fruits of his own labours. In a Dissenting pastor must expect to do, if he disseminates these principles.

V. The Arminian Churchmen.

The Calvinistic class look towards Whitefield and the Tabernacle; but the Arminians turn to Wesley and the Foundry. The differences between these two distinguished men, made most acute abroad, where they formed two dissenting parties; but a distinction as real, within the endowed pale, escaped public notice. The Christian Observer has, at one time, been under the influence of one of these parties, and at another, under that of the opposite.

VI. The Orthodox Churchmen.

Orthodoxy among Dissenters means evangelical truth; but in the Establishment, it means almost anything but evangelical truth. Here, however, we might make a sub-division, for some go so near to the Evangelical clergy as to be mistaken for them, while others go as far to the opposite extreme of baptismal regeneration, and the *opus operatum* of popery.

VII. Millenarian Churchmen.

These are at present borne upon a spring tide; and are so full

of the speedy appearance of Christ, to reign bodily on the earth, or in the air, we know not which, that ~~this~~ is, with them, 'the Gospel of the Kingdom,' with which they threaten to preach themselves and their hearers mad.

VIII. Irvingite Churchmen.

When the tongues prevailed at Newman Street, they began to speak within the established pale; but, being silenced by authority, this class was kept low. Now, however, that Irvingism is not identified with strange voices, it is more freely cherished in the Established Church.

IX. Swedenborgian Churchmen.

A clergyman of Manchester was the chief propagator of the New Jerusalem Church, which still boasts of many disciples in the Church of England.

X. Southcotian Churchman.

We have ourselves been called to combat with such anomalies, and, in other instances, we know that episcopal orders have been employed to give weight to the pitiable revelations of Joanna.

XI. Socinian churchmen.

It is well-known that a grand effort was made by this party to obtain exemption from the necessity of swearing to Trinitarian creeds and articles; but, though they failed, few were honest enough to quit their livings; and in high places, even in cathedrals, Socinianism has been the favorite creed.

XII. Worldly churchmen.

Many, both of the clergy and laity, care nothing about the distinctions we have mentioned; but look upon the State Church as a very good way of keeping men in order, of providing genteelly for the younger sons of good families, and thus making religion respectable. The clergy of this class would say, with great nonchalance, 'I never trouble myself, or my hearers, about doctrines; but endeavour to make my parishioners good husbands and wives, fathers and mothers, sons and daughters, neighbours and subjects, and then tell them, God is very merciful, and no doubt they will be saved.' These preachers purchase at a book-stall, sermons which they never read till they enter the pulpit; and think that hunting and horse-racing, theatres and cards, are very good Christian amusements.

XIII. Popish churchmen.

In our haste to reach these, we have passed by some parties, rather than strive to bring up the number of sects to a hundred and one, as some have done with regard to the Dissenters. The 'Oxford Tracts' may be regarded as the manifesto of the Popish class. The mere tyro in British ecclesiastical history knows, that there was a large and influential body of our clergy whose first wish was to have no reformation at all; and their second, to have as little as possible. These took a midway station

under Henry VIII.; reluctantly went farther with Edward VI.; returned readily to Rome under Mary; and went back sulkily to the half-way house, on the accession of Elizabeth. The 'Liturgy' and 'Catechism' of the Establishment show the influence of this party, which has always struggled against the Protestant tendencies of the better portion of the Church of England. The accusations of the Puritans have been repelled as calumnies; but a more honest spirit is springing up in the breasts of the papistical party, which justifies all that has been said and done by those who regarded the Church of England as not sufficiently reformed to be thoroughly Protestant. The extracts which Dr. Faussett has given in an appendix, show that it was not without reason, that he preached at Oxford, a sermon, 'on the revival of popery,' within his own church. We have not room for these, but the following from the 'Remains' of Mr. Froude may suffice to put our readers in possession of the secret.

'You will be shocked at my avowal, that I am every day becoming a less and less loyal son of the reformation. It appears to me plain, that, in all matters which seem to us indifferent, or even doubtful, we should conform our practices to those of the church which has preserved its traditionary practices unbroken. We cannot know about any seemingly indifferent practice of the Church of Rome, that it is not a development of the apostolic *ηθος*, and it is to no purpose to say, that we can find no proof of it in the witness of the six first centuries—they must find a disproof if they would do any thing.'—'I think people are injudicious who talk against the Roman Catholics for worshipping saints and honouring the virgin and images, &c. These things may, perhaps, be idolatrous: I cannot make up my mind about it.'—'P. called us the papal Protestant Church, in which he proved a double ignorance, as we are Catholics without the popery, and Church of England men without the protestantism.'—'The more I think over that view of yours about regarding our present communion service, &c. as a judgment on the church, and taking it as the crumbs from the apostolic table, the more I am struck with its fitness to be dwelt upon, as tending to check the intrusion of irreverent thoughts, without in any way interfering with one's just indignation.'—'Your trumpety principle about scripture being the sole rule of faith in fundamentals (I misuse the word) is but a mutilated edition without the breadth and axiomatic character of the original. Really, I hate the reformation and the reformers' more and more, and have almost made up my mind, that the rationalist spirit they set afloat is the *pseudo-protestant* of the revolution.'—'Why do you praise Ridley? Do you know sufficient good about him to counterbalance the fact, that he was the associate of Crammer, Peter Martyr, and Beza?'—'I wish you could get to know something of S. and W. (Southey and Wordsworth) and understand something of our generation?'—*Froude's Remains.*

Dr. Faussett has given also an extract from the same author, in which he proposes to restore the monks in order to oppose the Dissenters.

But while the Professor shows, by a passage from a French work, that Rome is exulting in the march of affairs at Oxford, what are our Protestant bishops about? Their superintendence and authority are vaunted as essential to the preservation of the clergy from erratic movements; but these are denounced and opposed from various quarters, before we hear any thing from those who are placed on high, and supported at an immense expense, to see that the machinery of the church shall not go wrong.

Such is the efficacy of acts of uniformity, liturgies, or articles established by law, diocesan bishops and ecclesiastical courts! Such schisms there are within that church, which denounces all without as schismatic. Dr. Faussett exposes Mr. Froude's schemes for introducing monks, in order to check the progress of dissent; and there are churchmen who, shocked with that proposal, say, 'if it must come to this, give me dissent.' It is, indeed, surprising that the party which denounces the reform movements, as an imitation of the long parliament, does not see, that, in imitating the Lauds and Cosins of that day, it is doing the very thing that formerly united the whole nation against the Established Church. If the Froudeans or Puseyites could prevail, they would drive the more Protestant churchmen into the ranks of dissent, and would still fail to reconcile themselves to Rome, which would never be driven from its lofty maxim, 'let them come over to us: we shall never go over to them.'

Already the less papistical party which Dr. Faussett espouses has armed against itself the Wesleyan polemic, and shown that those who thought to cajole the methodists into the bosom of the establishment did not know them. The work which stands at the head of this article is written neither on the principles of the Dissenters, who think that the polity as well as the theology of the Christian church is prescribed in the 'New Testament'; nor on the principles of the establishment, as a *pure divine* episcopal church. It is moderate enough for a midway man, but severe enough for one who was expected to throw his weight into the scale of the church when it threatened to kick the beam. Mr. Powell shows that the inspired writers give no support to high church claims, and that the earliest fathers prove there was no original difference between bishops and presbyters. He exposes the nullity of the Popish ordinations of English bishops; and demonstrates the true apostolical succession, which is that of doctrine and spirit. As a Wesleyan, he naturally alludes to Archbishop Usher's idea of a bishop, as *primus inter pares*, as it is exhibited in the superintendent methodist preacher, who was

originally called the assistant preacher, because he assisted John Wesley. Such a diocesan episcopacy, Mr. Powel, of course, thinks lawful, provided it can be guarded against the assumption of a divine right.

‘Scriptural episcopacy is strictly the feeding and governing of the flock; and has nothing to do with governing ministers. Every true minister is a *Scriptural Bishop*.

‘Scriptural Church polity, as appears by the gifts of the Holy Ghost, by the example of the apostles, by the duty of doing all to edification, *allows* of and countenances such prudential arrangements amongst the ministers, as that some should have *more eminently* the office of governing in the church, presiding in the councils of ministers, &c. and that others should more particularly labor as *evangelists*, as *pastors*, as doctors, or teachers; others as apostles, or missionaries. This arrangement must never interfere with the principle, that the act of every *true minister*, in preaching, baptizing, administering the Lord’s Supper, and *ordaining* to the ministry, or governing the church, is, by *divine right*, equal to that of any other minister. A *superintendency* thus restricted and guarded, is not anti-scriptural. It violates no law laid down there. It is recommended by the distribution of the gifts of the Holy Ghost. No scriptural tyranny can be exercised by it. It promotes order, union, strength, and the edification of the whole. Call it episcopacy if you please. The name is not very important, only define the thing. I think the name episcopacy is not to be commended, because by *episcopus* or *bishop*, the Scriptures never mean a *superintendent of ministers*, but *only* of the *flock*; and, because, the use of the word in ecclesiastical writers has become ambiguous; and will always leave room for *cavilling*, and pretences to Ecclesiastical *tyranny*. It is against the strictest rules of right reason designedly to put an *ambiguous* word into a definition; the man that does it is a knave.

‘Episcopacy in the Church of England, viewed as the reformers viewed it, was in other words, a superintendency, of no more than human authority, designed for the *order*, *edification*, and *good government* of the *church*; *established on principle*, that all ministers by divine right are equal. All her ministers, who are qualified by piety, talents, and divine knowledge; by the special gifts of the Holy Spirit moving them to the work of the ministry; and who are solemnly set apart to it, according to the usages of that church, are true ministers of Christ. But every wicked man, in this or any other church, every unconverted man, however set apart, is a wolf, is a hireling, a thief, and a robber in the church.——The attempt to claim authority for bishops, as an order, by divine right, above that of other ministers, either in that church, or out of that church, is to declare war against the *divine right* of all *true ministers* and against the *peace* and *security* of every Christian Church. The advocates of these claims are the schismatics, or causers of division. They should be marked and shunned by every friend to the peace of the church. The man who aids them, or who wishes them God’s speed becomes a partaker of their sin, and an enemy to the peace of the church.’

The following passage is very significant, as coming from one who recognises superintendent ministers in his own communion.

‘Antichrist came into the church by an unguarded use of ministerial superintendency. The common appellation of bishops, says Beza, was that of minister, till, for the sake of government, one minister was placed over others, and began to be distinguished by the name of bishop. Justin Martyr calls him the president. From this, the devil placed, first, the foundation of tyranny in the church, bringing in the notion that the whole government of the church was, together with the name, given into the hands of one person. The scheme went on, from the bishop to the metropolitan—from metropolitans to patriarchs. Lastly the Pope claims to be universal bishop, Lord over the whole church, and to sit as God in the temple of God.’

In an appendix, Mr. Powel attacks Dr. Hook’s famous sermon, before the queen. It is entitled, ‘Hear the church,’ which is a counterpart to a text that has been imputed to a fanatic; ‘top not come down.’ This latter perversion of scripture, though more gross, is formed on the same model as Dr. Hook’s text. Favorite as it is with the church of Rome, it shows the truth of the remark, that the catholics quote the scriptures like men who know their hearers are not allowed to read and judge of them for themselves. Dr. Hook’s hearers might suppose that his text stood in the ‘New Testament’ in the form of a *command*; but our readers know that he has violated good taste, by taking the words out of their connexion, which is, ‘if the offending brother refuse to hear the church to whom you tell the offence he has committed; let him be to you *as a heathen*.’ With this affront to his distinguished audience, contained in his very text, the Dr. has associated another, in the flippant, vulgar sort of argument by illustration, which he has employed, to show, that the Church of England is the same as the old Church of Rome in England, ‘just as a man remains the same, after he has washed his face, as he was before.’

Is not this a dainty dish
To set before a queen?

Who can wonder that it should be presumed he was told never to preach before the Queen again? But as that is now contradicted; we must give our virgin queen credit for more forbearance than was shown by another virgin Queen, who cried out from her pew to the preacher, ‘desist from that ungodly digression, and go on with your text.’ Mr. Powell attacks this elegant simile of washing the face, and shows that the washing must have been with dirty water, if the churches remain the same. But he clearly proves, that such is the ‘contradiction between the two, that the

‘Dr.’s position is a mere fallacy, involving the real absurdity that ‘two religious societies, whose peculiar doctrines and discipline contradict each other, are one and the same; so that black is white.’ Mr. Powel concludes, that ‘the right of the Church of England to those church endowments which existed before the reformation is merely statute right. The parliament has as much power to alienate as to appropriate. If the church of England has a righteous claim to those endowments, any other church might, by another statute, have an equally righteous claim to them.’

All this from one of those whom bishops have lately been courting, and coaxing, and claiming as their own dear children! It is manifest, indeed, that the author belongs not to the class which opposes to the divine right of prelacy, the divine right of congregational episcopacy; but he would be thought by this latter party to be not far from the kingdom of God, and by the former is very likely to be called ‘a political Dissenter.’ To call him by this odious name, would be more easy than to answer his book, which the apostolicals are bound in honour and conscience to attempt. To grapple fairly with his arguments, would take the whole coterie, seven years. But they are more likely to pass it by unnoticed, or despatch it with a dignified sneer; ‘for the children of ‘this world are wiser in their generation than the children of ‘light.’ They who have nothing but the Bible to rest upon, may feel themselves obliged to grapple with texts; but they who trace their succession through those monsters of wickedness, the popes, up to the apostles, disclaim the vulgar methodistical road of proofs from holy writ, whose insufficiency they prudently maintain.

We, however, should have preferred a more complete discussion of the scriptural argument, than Mr. Powel has adopted. It would be profitable for the church of God, and safe for the souls of men, to be thoroughly imbued with this conviction—that a Christian might have studied the ‘New Testament,’ through a long life, committed every text to memory, and examined the import and connexion of every word; and, yet, never once have thought of this figment of apostolical succession by diocesan bishops. In fact, if his religious notions had been derived solely from the scriptures, he never would have thought of that which some men make essential to salvation. Shade of Chillingworth! whither has fled thy maxim, ‘The Bible alone is the religion of Protestants?’

If the Oxford writers of tracts deny the sufficiency of Scripture, Dr. Faussett joins them in contending for the necessity of tradition, by which they deliver themselves over, bound hand and foot, to the Pope, who solemnly deprived of her throne, and cursed Queen Elizabeth, the author and head of that church to which they belong. It is not uncommon for this party to de-

nounce Dissenters, as in league with infidels, though, when a clergyman became the 'devil's chaplain,' it was not one of his partners in episcopal ordination, but a Dissenter who met him in single combat, and put his party down; and, now, there is no body of people that is so notoriously giving up Christianity to the scorn of the infidel, as that which is contending for the exclusive validity of Christian orders and sacraments, derived through the Church of Rome. If we could suppose that this alone, is genuine Christian religion, this which recognises the popes and bishops of the corrupt ages, as the authorised ministers of Jesus Christ, channels of mercy to mankind—a rational man has a right to deny that this religion could come from the moral governor of the world. Miracles could not prove it. God himself taught his ancient church, that the moral was above the physical evidence. If a man wrought signs and wonders to induce others to worship idols, they were to stone him to death. The moral glory of Jesus Christ gives him a higher claim on our reception than all the splendour of his miracles. For the whole force of the miracles rests on a moral principle—that the holy God, who is truth and no lie, would not employ his power to bear witness to an impostor and palm on us a delusion. But the apostolical succession through the Roman monsters, gives the lie to the moral character of God, and renders the highest evidence of Christianity null and void.

Jesus Christ, however, declares, that he will, at the last day, say to the workers of iniquity, 'I never knew you!' What! never knew the men who were his only genuine ministers! Never knew the true shepherds and bishops of souls! Never knew the only men whom he empowered to give the true sacraments on which the salvation of his people depended! He must have known and acknowledged them, if he owned any of his flock; for the acceptance of the poor sheep depended upon the recognition of these as the true shepherds! It is of no avail to say, that the judge *will* not own the workers of iniquity *in that day*; for he will declare, 'I *never* knew you.' With all those who regard the word of Christ as firmer than the pillars of heaven, this sentence is quite enough to shiver to atoms the boasted chain of succession through monsters of iniquity, to grind it to powder and scatter it to the winds.

The creation of an order of priests between bishops and deacons, is another brand of infamy on the whole anti-christian confederacy. It is in the teeth of the epistle to the 'Hebrews,' and is without a shadow of support from the 'New Testament,' which knows no priests among Christians, (who are themselves a royal priesthood,) but Jesus Christ the apostle and high-priest of our profession, through whom we all equally draw nigh to God. If by priest, they mean nothing but presbyter, why do they not say so? Do

they not know, that priest is no real translation of: *ἱερεὺς*? By persisting in this false use of terms, they are practising an imposition on mankind. But the popish party by claim to priestly orders, and most consistently pretend to offer the sacrifice of Christ over again, by which they identify the Lord's Supper with the mass, and deny that "Christ has by one offering for ever perfected them that are sanctified." The whole scheme that converts Christ's ministers into priests, is the most impudent imposture ever practised upon a credulous world.

The effrontery that would pretend to support these priestly claims by an appeal to Scripture, might provoke to wrath a 'Moses, the meekest man upon the face of the earth'; but the policy of those who fly from the sufficiency of the Scriptures to the necessity for tradition, betrays the fatal secret, that their party is dearer to them than the Bible. For what is this but the principle of infidelity? And what but a synagogue of Satan is the church which is not built upon the foundation of the prophets and apostles, 'Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone.' It is 'out of this church that there is no salvation.' When, therefore, we see the efforts of some men, whether apostolicals, or Puseyites, or jesuits, to draw men off from the foundation of prophets and apostles to traditions and fathers, our consolation lies in the hope of their failure. Many who listen to the perverting doctrine do not believe it; but go to the Scriptures alone, as if they had never been told that these alone cannot make them wise to salvation.

But no thanks to the men who would pervert souls, if they could; and when we reflect on the tendency of mankind to trust to rites and forms, and think of the declaration of Scripture, that 'the kingdom of God is not meat and drink, but righteousness and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost;' and 'that in Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision, but a new creature'—'the faith that worketh by love;' we are alarmed for many of those who are led away by such as cry up our apostolical church; they are likely to go into eternity with a lie in their right hand, trusting to a succession that is itself a lie; and if it were true, has no power to save.

When we look back on the desolations of popery, and see how this master-piece of Satan has done the work of Apollyon, the Destroyer, we cannot read of its 'deadly wound being healed,' without feeling intensely interested in Puseyism. No sane man could suppose that, whatever some monks in their cloisters might do, the ordinary mass of mankind would see any material difference between Oxford Protestantism and that accommodating popery which is ready to offer itself for adoption at the present crisis.

We are glad, that, within the Establishment, some are attempting to oppose the abomination that maketh desolate; but they who would do this successfully, must go back to the better principles of those who were taught by the fires of Smithfield to hate the Man of Sin.

Art. V. 1. *Antiquitates Americanae, sive Scriptores Septentrionales rerum Ante-Columbianarum in America.* Hafniæ, 4to. 1837.

2. *History of the United States, from the discovery of the American Continent.* By GEORGE BANCROFT. Third Edition. Boston: 1838.

IN these two Works, published in Copenhagen and Massachusetts, are discussed both sides of the curious, and not uninteresting questions, whether America was discovered by the Northmen before Columbus? and whether Christians formed settlements in the Western hemisphere in the Middle Ages?

The American historian seems to dispose of these questions somewhat too summarily in the negative; and although his work generally is written both with candour, and with an ability that fully justifies its success; and although it always places the subject of which it treats in a clear and striking light, there are grounds, on this particular point for doubting the correctness of the writer's judgment, as set forth in the following passage:

'The national pride of an Icelandic historian,' says Mr. Bancroft, 'has claimed for his ancestors the glory of having discovered the Western hemisphere. It is said that they passed from their own island to Greenland, and were driven by adverse winds from Greenland to the shores of Labrador; that the voyage was often repeated; that the coasts of America were extensively explored; and colonies established on the shores of Nova Scotia, or Newfoundland. It is even suggested that these early adventurers anchored near the harbor of Boston, or in the bays of New Jersey; and Danish antiquaries believe that Northmen entered the waters of Rhode Island, inscribed their adventures on the rocks of Taunton River, gave the name of Vinland to the south-east coasts of New England, and explored the inlets of our country as far as Carolina. But the story of the colonization of America by Northmen, rests on narratives, mythological in form, and obscure in meaning; ancient, yet not contemporary. The chief document is an interpolation in the history of Sturleson, whose zealous curiosity could hardly have neglected the discovery of a continent.*

* *Antiquitates Americanae*, Hafniæ, 1837. The chief work. Schönning's ed. of Sturleson, i., 304—325. Thorfæus, *Winlandia Antiqua*. A de Hum-

The geographical details are too vague to sustain a conjecture; the accounts of the mild winter and fertile soil, are, on any modern hypothesis, fictitious or exaggerated; the description of the natives applies only to the Esquimaux, inhabitants of the hyperborean regions; the remark which should define the length of the shortest winter's day, has received interpretations, adapted to every latitude from New York to Cape Farewell; and Vinland has been sought in all directions, from Greenland and the St. Lawrence to Africa.† The nation of intrepid mariners, whose voyages extended beyond Iceland, and beyond Sicily, could easily have sailed from Greenland to Labrador; no clear historic evidence establishes the natural probability that they accomplished the passage.—Bancroft, i., p. 5.

In dissenting from this conclusion, we desire to express a very high estimation of the work from which the extract is taken. The two published volumes of this Third Edition, of perhaps the ablest of the numerous histories of the United States, whether English* or American, reach only to the end of the 17th century. But if finished as begun, it will unquestionably be the most valuable of them all; and where so much has already been done so well, error upon a point hitherto obscure, does not call for severe criticisms. The accomplished American biographer of Columbus too has expressed the same opinion; or rather, having neglected to consult some sources of information upon it, Mr. Washington Irving fell into the not uncommon error of measuring probabilities by his own limited information. He accordingly substituted a well turned period for logical deductions, in support of his opinion, that no communication of Europeans with the Western continent, reasonably to be called colonization, had ever taken place before the days of Columbus.

‘As far as authenticated history extends,’ says he, ‘nothing was known of terra firma, and the islands of the Western hemisphere, until their discovery towards the close of the 15th century. A wandering bark may occasionally have lost sight of the land-marks of the old continents, and been driven by tempests across the wilderness of waters, long before the invention of the compass, but *none ever returned to reveal the secrets of the ocean*; and though, from time to time, some document has floated to the old world, giving to its wondering inhabitants indications of land far beyond their watery horizon, yet *no one*

boldt, *Examen Critique*, ii., 124, &c. Of American writers, Wheaton's *Northmen*, 22—23; Belknap's *Amer. Biog.* i., 47—58; Moulton's *New York*, i., 113—125; Owing's *Columbus*, iii., 292—300; E. Everett, in *N. A. Review*, xlvii., 161—203.

* *Antiq. Americana*, 289, 291, 296.

† The English press has within a few years produced two histories of the United States, of various and great merit, from the pens of the Rev. Howard Hinton, and the Grahames.

ventured to spread a sail, and seek that land, enveloped in mystery and peril. Or, if the legends of the Scandinavian voyagers be correct, and their mysterious Vinland were the coast of Labrador, or the shore of Newfoundland, they had but transient glimpses of the New World, leading to no permanent knowledge, and in a little time lost again to mankind.'—Introduction to the Life and Voyages of Columbus.

It detracts nothing from the fame of Columbus, that so far from facts bearing out this statement, the daring navigators of the North, 500 years before his time, had not only sought the New World, but even colonized it; and not only did the adventurers soon return to reveal the secrets of the ocean, but intercourse was still occasionally kept up with the mysterious Vinland during three centuries after its discovery. These unquestionable facts seem indeed to raise our opinion of the searching understanding of Columbus. His inquiries into Northern and Western navigation before his own time, have been too lightly passed over by all his biographers. He certainly visited Iceland; and it is far from improbable that he was acquainted with the westward voyages from that country and from Greenland. Mr. Irving should have afforded us the advantage of his industry upon this topic. He is the less excusable as he professedly examines the subject of the voyages of the Northmen in the West; and Dr. Forster's History of those voyages was a book to be found in every good library. The Manuscripts now published in Copenhagen contain a most satisfactory confirmation of Forster's opinions, and do honor to his sagacity.

Crantz, the pious old historian of Greenland, had learnedly opened the way to a portion of the truth almost a century ago. 'The first discovery of North America,' says he, 'is ascribed to the Greenland-Norwegians; and this piece of history is too singular, and too little known to be passed over in silence. It is related at length by Mallet,* and Pontoppidan,† from Amgrim, Jonas, and Torfæus, and corroborated by the testimony of Adam Bremensis, who wrote about the time of the discovery.‡ To which list he might have added the English writer, Ordericus Vitalis.

These hints seem to be most satisfactorily followed out in the Danish work before us, on American affairs in the times preceding Columbus, in which it is shown; that from the 10th to the 14th century, the coasts of the United States, Nova Scotia, and Labrador, were more or less known to Northern voyagers; and that they were for a long time scenes of missionary labors. The narratives

* Introduction à l'histoire de Daunensara, pp. 174—190.

† Nat. Hist. of Norway, pp. 423—433.

‡ The History of Greenland, from the German of David Krantz, i., p. 253.

now printed complete for the first time, are portions of manuscripts well known to have been preserved by Icelandic families, whose ancestors were the chroniclers of the controverted events in which their forefathers bore an active part. The genealogical tables of these people are not the least curious pages of the work. Thorwaldsen, the sculptor, Professor Finn Magnus, of Copenhagen, and several other individuals now filling eminent stations in Denmark and Iceland, are traced directly through four and twenty generations to Snorri Thorfinson, who was born in America in the 11th century. Assuming that this genealogy can be verified, it is our present purpose to offer to our readers a narrative of the most interesting circumstances which preceded and followed the birth of this first American-born white man.

It is an undisputed fact, that the colonies of Northmen were established in the middle ages in Greenland; and their decline forms one of the most surprising events in northern history, upon which light has been shed by late inquiries. In connexion with those colonies, an Icelander, named Eric the red, emigrated in the spring of 986 to Greenland; and Bjarn, a son of one of his followers, then on a voyage to Norway, resolved on his return after the emigrants had sailed, to follow his father. Neither Bjarn nor his companions had made the Greenland voyage before; nevertheless they unhesitatingly agreed to risk the dangers of an unknown sea. After sailing many days to the west, they approached a coast differing entirely from that of Greenland, which had been described to them as remarkable for its icy mountains. This country was flat and covered with forests. Bjarn refused to land, as his ship did not want wood, nor water. Sailing thence to the North East, for three days, they discovered a large island, with a bold mountainous coast covered with ice. They did not land here; but taking advantage of the same wind, reached Greenland on the fourth day.

These discoveries excited much interest; and Leif, one of the sons of Eric, chief of the Greenland colony, soon made a new voyage in the same direction. Land to the Westward was speedily found, but rocky and without grass, and on the higher hills covered with ice. This country Leif called Hellaland, or the land with a rocky surface. The next coast made was flat and woody, with a sea board of soft and white sand; and it was called by the discoverers, Markland, or the land of forests. Sailing then to the South-west, they discovered an island which lay to the eastward of the mainland, and they entered a channel between this island and a promontory projection in an easterly and northerly direction. They sailed westward; and saw much ground left at ebb tide. Afterwards they went on shore in a place where a river, issuing from a lake, fell into the sea. They brought their ship into the river, and from thence into the lake,

where they cast anchor. Here they constructed some temporary log huts; and, when they had made up their minds to wait there, they built large houses, afterwards called Leif's-booths. A German, who was one of the party, one day brought in *wild grapes* from the woods, with which the ship's long boat was filled. They thus passed the winter; and returned to Greenland in the spring. This country they called Vinland, from the large quantity of grapes found wild there.

Soon afterwards, in 1002, Thorwald, a brother of Leif, made a more southerly voyage to the newly discovered country. After passing the winter in Vinland in fishing, this party made further discoveries to the south, on a coast thickly studded with islands. In another year, Thorwald sailed eastward, and then northward, past a remarkable headland enclosing a bay, and which was opposite another headland. They called it Kialarnes, (Keel-Cape). Sailing along the eastern coast into the nearest firths, they landed on a promontory covered with wood. Having selected an agreeable spot here for a settlement, they killed eight or nine of the natives in endeavouring to take them prisoners; and the leader of the party, Thorwald, lost his life in an attack made by the natives in revenge. He was buried on the spot, under a pile of stone, in the form of a cross, to signify his having the burial of a christian, as the Greenland colonists were at that time baptized. This party also returned immediately to Greenland.

In 1006, a more numerous emigration took place, under a brother-in-law of Leif and Thorwald. Women accompanied the party, and they carried with them all kinds of live stock, it being their intention to establish a colony if possible. They touched at all the spots first discovered; and proceeding still more southerly than Vinland, they arrived at the place, where a river falls into the sea from a lake. They steered into the lake, and called the place Hop. On the low grounds they found wild wheat, and on the heights vines. One morning they observed many canoes, which approached them on the friendly signals of white shields being exhibited; and the natives in them looked with astonishment on those they met there. These people were *sallow-coloured* and ill-looking, had ugly heads of hair, large eyes and broad cheeks, the present description of the Esquimaux. The emigrants erected their dwelling-houses a little above the bay, and spent the winter there. No snow fell, and the cattle found their food in the open fields. In the beginning of 1008, the natives came again to barter. They preferred red cloth, and gave furs and squirrel skins in exchange. They wished to buy swords and spears, but the leaders of the emigrants prohibited their people from selling them. In exchange for a skin entirely grey, the Skrellings, (the natives) took a piece of cloth of a span in breadth. Their barter was carried on in this way for some

time. The Northmen then found that their cloth was beginning to grow scarce, whereupon they cut it up in smaller pieces, not broader than a finger's breadth, yet the Skrellings gave as much for these smaller pieces as they did before for the larger ones, and even more. Milk soup was also tasted by them, and they preferred it in barter to anything else, and so "*carried away their bargains in their bellies.*"

Hostilities soon afterwards broke out between the natives and the emigrants; and the latter had much difficulty in defending themselves. Upon the return of the emigrants homewards, they touched at Markland, where meeting with five Skrellings, they caught two of them, boys, to teach them the Norse language, and to baptize them.

The *Skrellings* here spoken of are admitted to be Esquimaux; and their disappearance from these latitudes may be accounted for on the hypothesis that the Indians of our time, who have since been the inhabitants of the parts of America supposed to be Vinland, are a race of conquerors.

The countries thus visited by the Northmen, are conjectured to be Newfoundland (Hellaland); Nova Scotia (Nova Scotia); New England from Cape Sable to Cape Cod (Vinland); Cape Cod, (Kialarnes); Martha's Vineyard (Straumey); and Hope's bay (Hop).

The Danish editor of these chronicles, Professor Rafn, adds many details to prove, that the present character of the coasts selected as the scenes of these early voyages, corresponds with great exactness to the descriptions. The most plausible objection of Mr Bancroft seems to be that of the alleged mildness of the winter; but on this head two positive testimonies are adduced by the professor, which go far to substantiate the allegation. To voyagers from Greenland and Iceland, the comparative superiority of the coast of the American continent in any latitude south of Nova Scotia, will readily account for a more violent exaggeration than is to be found in the *Antiquitates Americane* on this point, and greater correctness of description than is exhibited in them is not usual in manuscripts of the period in question, but which are undoubtedly authentic.

But if all other coincidences are slender, the treatment of the *Aborigines* by these adventurers bears most marvellous signs of genuineness. The cruel disregard of the rights of humanity, and the fraud exemplified in the few instances noticed above in the early intercourse of Christians with heathens, were but precursors of the heart-breaking oppression exercised in later times by us towards the uncivilized races. The manuscripts from which these narratives are printed, and of which fac-similes are given in this volume, although not contemporaneous with the events, still are of so early a date, as to precede by many centuries, the un-

denied acts of the Spaniards, and other christians in the new world that could have furnished material for fiction or plagiarism. Nor is it correct to say, as Mr. Bancroft says, that these are merely *mythological* narratives. Be they true or false, they are accounts of alleged voyages to these western lands; and not of the character of those northern legends, which are familiar to the readers of Scandinavian mythology. In regard to the astronomical evidence, the Danish editor says,

‘ Besides the nautical and geographical statements, one of the ancient writings has preserved an astronomical notice, when it is said, that the days in Vinland were of more equal length than in Iceland or Greenland: thus on the shortest day the sun rose at half-past seven, and set at half-past four, making the shortest day nine hours, which gives for the place latitude 41°. 21’. 10’.; and corresponds with other data to give the same region.’

The region thus indicated is New England, the coasts of which, as shown in a map furnished with the Northmen’s names of the places they now visited, are described with surprising exactness in these ancient manuscripts. Among them several geographical treatises of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries are not the least curious.

‘ Along the coasts of Denmark, it is stated in one of these treatises, the ocean joins the Baltic. To the east of Denmark to the north of Norway. To the north of Norway is Finmark. There the coast extends to the north-east; and the east to Bjarmia. From Bjarmia the land runs north to Greenland. Beyond Greenland to the south lies Hellaland, and Markland; whence it is not distant to Vinland, which some think to be joined to Africa. England and Scotland form one island; but two kingdoms. Ireland is a large island. And Iceland, also an island, lies to the north of it. All these countries belong to the part of the world called Europe.’—*Antiq. Amer.* p. 289.

Gradually the western countries were lost sight of, one of the last notices of them being on the occasion of the voyage of a Bishop Eric, from Greenland thither, for a missionary object in the twelfth century. The infant settlement, probably, shared the premature fate of the Greenland colonies; and, for the same reason. The examples adduced of the ill-treatment of the aborigines are not only so far from being solitary cases, that they indicate the usual character of the intercourse of the Christians with them. In Greenland similar conduct is known to have excited against them the violent hostility of the Esquimaux, which doubtless contributed greatly to their ruin. Commercial monopolies were also fatal to the prosperity of the Greenland colonies;

and the *direct* course to Vinland from the western parts, was at that period beyond the power of the boldest sailor as then instructed in navigation.

But the unfortunate result is especially interesting, as a lesson to regulate the future conduct of civilised man with the uncivilised; and without undervaluing the other topics to be illustrated by such inquiries, it is most satisfactory in reference to the former subject to find, that the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries in Denmark, has resolved to pursue their investigations further, and to publish them in its annals and memoirs. In order to devise with success, how in our own and in after times, civilised society shall spread its genial influences over the ruder regions of the earth it is indispensable to survey with care many occasions of failure in the devastating progress of marauders and conquerors in past ages; and the extending labours of such societies as this, or of the similar institutions in Germany, France, and our own country, are signs of an excellent spirit.

Art. VI. *First, Second, and Third Reports of the Inspectors of Prisons; appointed under the Provisions of the 5 & 6 W. IV., c. 36, to Visit the different Prisons of Great Britain, and presented to Parliament pursuant to that Act. Ordered by Authority to be Printed. 1836, 1837, 1838.*—1. For the Home District. 2. For the Northern and Eastern Counties. 3. For the Southern and Western Counties. 4. For Scotland.

AMONG the various important subjects which now agitate the public mind of this great country, there is not one which more justly engages attention, nor is more certain to possess an enduring and increasing interest, than Prison Discipline. Upwards of half a century has elapsed since the strenuous exertions of the noble-minded but devoted Howard first aroused the attention of the legislature and the country to the disgraceful and shocking state of our prisons at that day,—and the high motives which urged him to persevere in his philanthropic and pious course, ought to animate every sincere Christian to an imitation of his example, till the objects of his glorious career are fully attained.

* The noble lines which conclude the inscription on the monument erected to his memory in St. Paul's, and which deserve to be remembered and circulated, enforce and illustrate this view. They were, we believe, the production of the late Mr. Whitbread.

‘He trod an open but unfrequented road to Immortality,
In the ardent and unintermitted exercise of Christian charity.

May this tribute to his Fame
Excite an emulation of his truly glorious achievements.’

In the Introduction to the useful work which contains the results of his meritorious labours, he says: 'he could not enjoy his ease and leisure in the neglect of an opportunity offered him by Providence of attempting the relief of the miserable.* From such motives of action, untainted with selfishness, eventual success to the cause of humanity necessarily followed; and though the devoted hero fell a victim to the discharge of his self-imposed duty, yet his name will remain to future ages encircled with a halo 'above all Greek, above all Roman fame,' and the reward promised to all such doers of the will of God, awaits him at the resurrection of the Just.

The work to which we have referred contains the results of Howard's laborious investigations. In order to acquire an adequate knowledge of the shocking and shameful state of the gaols at the middle of the last century, it is necessary to peruse his statements attentively;—but their general condition is probably known to most of our readers to have been as bad as possible, and a perfect disgrace to an enlightened country. The expression which had become proverbial, to 'rot in gaol,' was no merely figurative one, but was too literally true both in a *physical* and *moral* sense. Young or minor offenders, and the innocent unjustly accused, were completely contaminated and ruined by unavoidable and immediate intercourse with old and hardened criminals of the blackest dye,—while the noxious vapours of the gaols were the prolific causes of a constant and disgusting disease, which derived its name from the peculiar place of its origin. So late as the year 1750, at the Assizes in London, two judges, the lord mayor, one alderman, and others of inferior rank, were carried off in a manner by no means theretofore uncommon, viz. by the infection of the 'gaol fever.† The want of the most essential necessities to existence, water and air, forms a constant topic of complaint with Howard,—and the consequences of such a want are too obvious to need particularizing. Such a state of the gaols could only have been produced by the most perfect neglect on the part of those whose duty it was, or ought to have been, to inspect and visit them,—and one of the necessary consequences of such neglect, was the terrible irresponsibility of the gaolers, whose conduct was a perpetual alternation between bribery and extortion, corruption and oppression. The evil may be traced in the audacious but ineffectual attempts made by the legislature to remedy it,—‡ and in those publications which represent the manners and customs of the social state of their times, and are perhaps after all the best authorities on such subjects, viz. the *Standard*

* Fourth Edition, 1792.

† See Howard's Works, vol. i., sec. i.

‡ See the 32 G. II., c. 28, sect. 11 and 12.

Novels. The misconduct of gaolers, and the gross state of the gaols, is a constant and favorite topic for the powerful satire of Fielding.

The efforts of Howard were followed not many years after by the labors of the late Mr. Bentham. In his celebrated work entitled, 'Panopticon,' published in 1791, he makes some valuable suggestions on the subject of Prison Discipline; but his main object was to point out a mode of construction and management of prisons, by which a complete system of inspection might be established, viz. in the power of watching any of the prisoners at any moment unknown to themselves.* This suggestion, with some others, would no doubt, if acted upon, have been a great improvement in the then existing system (for hardly any thing could be worse than that); but the establishment of the modern improved plan of separation in cells is far more efficient and desirable. In some of his subsequent philosophical treatises on Punishment, Mr. Bentham also directed the attention of the country to this important subject. The public mind, however, seems to have slumbered many years. Meanwhile, our Transatlantic brethren began to arouse themselves on this vital topic,—and their efforts have produced one of those beneficial re-actions in Europe, which have already contributed, and will continue to contribute so materially to the advancing civilization of mankind. About the year 1790, the state of Pennsylvania tried the experiment of remodelling the prison at Philadelphia, and the attention of Europe was drawn to it by an interesting publication by the Duke de la Rochefoucauld, in 1794. The principle adopted in this reformed prison (called the Walnut Street Prison) was that of solitary confinement, but *without labour*. The result of the want of the accompaniment of labour to solitude, which operates at once as a relief to the mind and an exercise to the body, was found at last to be most injurious; prisoners sickened, died, or too frequently became lunatic, under such a violation of the laws of our nature. It should never be forgotten that criminals are *men*. The failure of the Walnut Street Prison is clearly established to have arisen *solely* from the omission of labour. The attention of America having been thus drawn to the subject, the State of New York founded what has since become the celebrated *Auburn Prison*. At first the same principle was adopted as in Pennsylvania, and the same disastrous consequences ensued. Eventually, however, each prison adopted a different modification of the principle of separation; and they have become the respective models of two opposing systems which continue to divide the

* It is commonly supposed that the *Milbank Penitentiary* was built upon this view; but Mr. Bentham, we have strong reason to believe, never considered it as an effectual trial of *his* idea.

American states. The principle of the *Auburn* system is that of separation during night, and of common labour by the prisoners during the day ; but with the *total prevention* (as far at least as is practicable) of *any intercourse between them*. They are not allowed to converse. Hence it has acquired the name of the 'Silent System.' On the other hand, the principle adopted in Philadelphia or Pennsylvania, is that of *complete separation* of the prisoners *from each other*, day and night, (*not solitary confinement*) but with the all important *addition of labour*. This has acquired the name of the 'Separate System.' We shall in a subsequent part of this article give our reasons for preferring the *latter* system,—but it would seem that though the other is gaining ground, yet that the *Auburn* is most popular at present in the United States. We are informed in the able Report on the Penitentiaries of America, made to the French government by Messrs. G. De Beaumont and A. De Tocqueville, that 'in spite of the weight which Pennsylvania threw into the balance, the Auburn system continued to obtain a preference,—Massachusetts, Maryland, Tennessee, Kentucky, Maine, and Vermont, have gradually adopted the Auburn plan, and have taken that prison as a model for those which they have erected.* And it appears also that 'the Annual Reports of the Boston Prison Discipline Society give a decided preference to the Auburn system.' On the other hand, it appears that intelligent Europeans are favorable to the *Separate System*. Dr. Julius, who was sent out by the Prussian government in 1834, on a similar mission to that of Messrs. Beaumont and De Tocqueville, returned a strong advocate for that system, although averse to it at his departure ; and M. Duepéteaux, the Inspector General of the Prisons in Belgium, has made a similar report in its favour to the Belgian government. We feel little doubt that our American brethren will gradually change their views on this subject, and follow the system which receives the united testimony of the most enlightened minds in Europe. But to revert to England. Many years ago, the attention of the public mind here was again roused by the able publication of Mr. Fowell Buxton,† on 'Prison Discipline,' and the 'Notes of a Visit to the Prisons in Scotland and the North of England,' by Joseph John Gurney,‡ and chiefly by the unwearied exertions of a lady, whose energy, talents, philanthropy, and perseverance in her noble work, are beyond all praise. It is unnecessary to say that we refer to Mrs. Fry.§ In spite of the indifference of some, the hostility of others, and the contempt of many who ought to have known better, she continued

* Translation by Francis Lieber, published in Philadelphia, 1833.

† Published in 1818.

‡ Published in 1819.

§ This lady's visits to Newgate first became regular in 1816.

her truly Christian labors, and finally succeeded in drawing the public attention most strongly to the state of our prisons. We shall refer to the First Report of the Inspectors of the Home District, for a description of her meritorious exertions, which deserve all praise and remembrance. They say :

‘ For many years previous to the formation of the Ladies’ Association for the Improvement of Female Prisoners, Mrs. Fry devoted much of her valuable time to the moral and religious instruction of the depraved female inmates of this prison [Newgate], who at that time were in such a lamentable state of degradation and disorder that it was scarcely deemed an act of prudence for any visitor to enter the ward and yards allotted to them. At her suggestion, and by her exertions, a resident matron was appointed,—before this, the females were under the sole care of male turnkeys. This most judicious and important step greatly facilitated the gradual introduction of the improvements that followed, the happy effects of which soon become apparent in the altered conduct and manners of the prisoners. To assist Mrs. Fry in her exertions, the Ladies’ Association was formed, about twenty years ago. It is only due to these Ladies to say, that they have been the means of introducing much order and cleanliness,—that they have provided work for those who had before passed their time in total idleness,—that they have introduced much better regulations than had been heretofore observed for the government of the women on their passage to New South Wales. They have also, by the occasional presence, and by the disinterested efforts of the virtuous and pure of their own sex, restrained the dissolute manners and vicious language of these unhappy women, constraining them by the silent but powerful influence of their own virtuous example to the adoption of improved principles and conduct,—and above all, they have been the means of conveying both moral and religious instruction by their regular readings of the Holy Scriptures.’*

The persevering efforts of these ladies gradually directed the public mind to the subject of their labours. About the year 1818, the Prison Discipline Society was formed. The attention of the legislature was awakened, and the useful Act of 4 Geo. IV. c. 64, was passed in the year 1823. Some years afterwards, Mr. Crawford was sent out by the Government to America to inquire into the state of the American prisons. On his return he presented an able report, which excited considerable interest. The statute of 5 & 6 W. IV. c. 38, was then passed, by which the Secretary

* A most interesting and modest ‘Sketch’ of the origin and nature of the proceedings of this Ladies’ Association was published in 1832 by John and Arthur Arch, Cornhill. See also the concluding chapter of Mr. Gurney’s ‘Notes’ of his Northern Tour, before referred to, for an account of their successful operations, which are truly cheering and encouraging to every philanthropist.

of State was empowered to appoint a sufficient number of persons, not exceeding five, to visit and inspect* either singly or together, every gaol, bridewell, house of correction, penitentiary, or other prison or place for the confinement of prisoners in any part of Great Britain, and to examine any person holding any office in such gaol, &c., and to inspect all books and papers relating thereto, and to inquire into the matters touching the same. These inspectors were to make separate annual reports in writing, which were to be laid before parliament. Under the power thus vested in Lord John Russell, he appointed the five following gentlemen inspectors for the different districts of the country, viz. William Crawford, Esq., and the Rev. Whitworth Russell, for the Home District, i. e. the Metropolis, Middlesex, and adjoining Counties; Captain Williams, for the Northern and Eastern Counties; Dr. Bisset Hawkins, for the Southern and Western Counties; and Frederic Hill, Esq., for Scotland.

Each of the three last mentioned gentlemen has presented three separate Reports,—and the two first named have presented the same number of joint Reports, which have been laid before the House of Commons, and published with other parliamentary papers,—and contain matter of deep public interest. The grand object to which their labours tend is the establishment of a uniform system of Prison Discipline throughout the country,—but as yet they have of course been engaged solely in the essential preliminary task of *ascertaining* the existing state of our gaols, and arguing on the advantages of different plans from their respective experience. The information which they have obtained is of great value, and the subjects of investigation to which they direct the attention of parliament are of surpassing importance. We must certainly agree with those who hold that the efforts of Christian philanthropists should be strenuously directed towards the increased efficiency of every means adapted to the *prevention* of crime. Whatever is calculated to elevate the condition of the great masses of our people, by the spread of genuine religion, sound morality, and intellectual improvement among them, will find in us most warm supporters; but as it is an unhappy necessity of the condition of human nature in its present state, that ‘offences must needs come,’ we confess we hold it no matter alike of deep public interest and of awful responsibility, how those offenders are treated. It is our imperative duty to offer every practicable means to our fallen brethren for their *reformation*,—it is no less our duty not to inflict any wanton, or

* The beneficial results in *Ireland* arising from the appointment of *Local Inspectors* are well put by Mr. Gurney in a letter addressed by him to the Lord Lieutenant, in the year 1828, and which contained a report of his visit through the Irish prisons, accompanied by Mrs. Fry.

excessive, or *vindictive* punishment upon them. They are *men* like ourselves,—creatures of the same God who has expressly declared that ‘Vengeance’ is His prerogative, with which it is His will that no human beings should presume to interfere. The Judaical system of punishment, founded on the principle of *retaliation*, ‘an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth,’ was *expressly* abrogated by our Lord, when he laid down those principles of charity and kindness which should regulate our conduct towards each other, and which give even the abandoned criminal a claim upon our exertions in his behalf. The true and only justifiable objects of the punishment of an offender, are the security of society as effected in the *deterring* of others from following his pernicious example, and the *reformation* of that offender himself, if possible. In the early stages of society, men have acted in imposing punishment upon a feeling of *revenge*, and have adopted sanguinary and cruel modes of inflicting it. This feeling has gradually given way before the softening influences of civilization,—but late indeed has the idea arisen of endeavouring to *benefit* and heal the criminal himself. Indeed, a great analogy may be observed in the conduct of men towards their fellow-creatures labouring under *moral* and *mental* diseases. The unhappy subjects of both have been considered as beyond the operation of measures of quiet and peaceful control, and kind and gentle treatment. The strait-waistcoat and the prison-bars, have been thought the only means in the power of society for its protection. But other measures are beginning to be adopted with success, and a profound study of the human mind has led to the suggestion of experiments in kindness and moral training which have been found quite available with *lunatics*. It is well observed, in a section on ‘the probability of reforming convicts generally,’ in an admirable Report on Convict Discipline in Van Dieman’s Land, by Mr. Maconachie, transmitted to Lord Glenelg by Sir John Franklin, the Lieutenant-Governor, and ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, April, 1838, that

‘Surely the tasks are not dissimilar of training weakness of *intellect* up to strength, and training weakness of *moral principle* also. And the same tenderness of feeling may surely be engaged in leading vice to virtue, as in conducting infancy, whether of years or intelligence, to manhood in either. If asked then, whether such a result may be expected of our penal treatment of criminals in the colonies, as is given of the Hanwell treatment of lunatics at home, I am prepared most confidently to reply that it will be whenever their treatment shall be modelled on similar principles, whenever the lights of true benevolence and moral science shall be brought to bear on both alike.’

We confess we cannot indulge much hope from any efforts to reclaim *very old and hardened offenders*,—but with the young and

the great bulk of criminals, we are satisfied much might be done, and that the most beneficial results to themselves and the community might be produced by a thorough system of penitentiary discipline, carried on with vigour throughout the land.

The Reports of the Inspectors too completely disclose the unhappy necessity for their own existence. It is no less surprising than lamentable to peruse the first reports, and discern such a negligent state of our gaols from one end of the kingdom to the other, especially, but with some admirable exceptions, in Scotland, and even in this very metropolis. So little check over the conduct of prisoners in Newgate, as that drunkenness and gambling should be frequent, and that persons of notoriously bad character should easily gain admission!* It is gratifying to find that since the first visits of the inspectors, improvements through the country have been made, and doubtless in consequence of their reports; but these amendments are at best partial and limited, and go a very little way indeed to rebut the conclusion irresistibly forced upon the mind of an impartial inquirer, of the imperious necessity for some *uniform system of thorough and efficient Prison Discipline throughout the realm*. It is to lay the ground-work for this valuable measure that the inspectors have been appointed; and as we conceive it to be of great importance that the public mind should be now directed to the questions connected with this subject prior to any *legislation*, we have drawn the attention of our readers thus strongly towards it. Our object is simply *truth*. We are not wedded to our opinions,—and certainly have no personal interests to serve by the advocacy of any particular views. We rather wish to *excite* inquiry and investigation, than to lay down principles and plans as fully established, and certainly we have no wish to prejudice the subject. We shall now proceed, under the influence of this feeling, although our own views may be urgently enforced, to examine the interesting questions raised by the reports of the inspectors.

The most prominent topic which justly occupies them, is an examination of the comparative merits of the ‘Silent’ and ‘Separate’ systems. It seems pretty well agreed among all

* The famous controversy between the House of Commons and Lord Denman, which excited so much attention at the time, and not having ripened to decision, yet remains a vexata quæstio of parliamentary law and privilege, viz. on the authority legally conferred by the House on their own officer, to publish with impunity injurious reflections on private individuals, arose from a statement in the First Report of the Home Inspectors, about Newgate. They found that a ‘book published by Stockdale, of a most disgusting and indecent nature,’ was in the possession of a prisoner without any attempt at concealment! Among the various controversies to which this statement has incidentally given rise, there has never been the slightest doubt alleged of its perfect accuracy. Surely, it was time to *inspect*!

philosophic inquirers into the subject, that *some* degree of separation among prisoners should take place. The evil against which Howard, and Bentham, Mr. Fowell Buxton, and Mrs. Fry, so strongly protested, of promiscuous communication between prisoners, tried and untried, and convicted of every variety of crime, is *admitted* to be such as that no remedy can be effected but by an utter abolition of the practice. The mind of the inquirer is then brought to a consideration of the *best means of separation*. On this vital and interesting question, enlightened men of both hemispheres are at issue; but the 'Separate' system seems the European, and the 'Silent,' the American favourite. We confess we agree with Mr. Hill, and Messrs. Crawford and Russell, that the former system is preferable by far. The two last named of these gentlemen, in their second and third Reports, enter into a most admirable, full, and searching investigation of the question, and their arguments appear to us perfectly convincing.

The first grand defect in the 'Silent' system which strikes the impartial observer, is *its failure* to effect its object. It is *impossible to prevent* communication. Men thrown together *will*, somehow or other, correspond. Accordingly, we find Messrs. Crawford and Russell report,

'That it is impossible to convey an adequate idea of the successful dexterity in fraud and artifice, in which this system has been the means of training prisoners; and if once it were to become fixed and general by authority, we do not hesitate to say that we defy the most vigilant and zealous superintendence to defeat the contrivances which the prisoners would employ to baffle it. Now, while the prisoner's mind is thus occupied with attempts to elude the vigilance of his monitor, (which from the very nature of the case must often prove successful,) or amused by secretly applauding the attempts of others, can it be believed that, under such circumstances, his mind can receive any salutary impression of the penal nature of his condition, or have inclination or opportunity for self-examination or reflection?'

—Second Report, p. 2.

The constant effort to produce even a near approach to non-communication, demands a degree of watchfulness on the part of the monitors and wardsmen so extremely irksome, that few will give it,—and when they do, the irritation produced in the minds of the prisoners against them is excessive, from the punishments inflicted in consequence of that vigilance. So strong is the desire of men to communicate, that we find from Messrs. Crawford and Russell's Report that, in the year 1836, the number of offences for 'talking and swearing' in the House of Correction Cold Bath Fields, averaged twelve per diem! They very justly observe upon this, that

‘Here are many punishments *super-imposed* upon that to which the prisoner was originally sentenced, who is thus oppressed by sufferings beyond the award of the law. The prisoner sees that the privations which occasion him most discomfort are not the punishments to which he has been *legally sentenced*;—hence arise, mental irritation, a sense of injustice, a forgetfulness of his offence, and an unconsciousness of his guilt, which effectually close every avenue by which admonition might reach his mind, and render hopeless and unavailing the efforts of the chaplain.’—p. 3.

And this evil, let it be remembered, falls with greatest weight upon the *untried*,—for as some time must necessarily elapse before the recently committed prisoner can be made acquainted with the regulations, the consequence is, that that portion of his confinement which *precedes* his trial is the *most irksome* and vexatious.

The intelligent inspectors then explain with equal force and distinctness the great difficulties which lie in the way of procuring proper monitors, who, under this system, are taken from the prisoners themselves. They proceed to show that the grand object of the legislature, viz. a *uniform system*, would fail of effect from the insuperable difficulties attending its execution, except in the great towns of the kingdom. They conclude their able exposition of the evils of this system by pointing out the pernicious consequences of what is termed *recognition* or acquaintanceship among the prisoners, and consider it under three aspects: 1st. As it affects an innocent man; 2ndly, As it affects a criminal who from a sense of guilt is led to penitence and resolutions of amendment; and 3rdly, As it affects a culprit who is determined to continue in his course of crime.

The consequences thus forcibly put by the inspectors appear to us so obviously injurious that we shall not trouble our readers with detailing them. The company of the tainted is not the best for those similarly diseased. If a prisoner is to be reformed, he must be *elevated*, and placed under other influences than those of his companions in guilt. The purification must come ‘from above’ him. The inspectors conclude, therefore, that

‘The *Silent* system not only fails in attaining those important ends at which it professes to aim, but it is also open to grave and serious objections with reference to the means which it thus unsuccessfully employs. It fails in its attempt to prevent intercourse between the prisoners,—it is forced to inflict punishments, for the purpose of commanding obedience to its numerous and perplexing regulations,—these punishments are carried to an extent which its advocates do not attempt to justify,—it does not protect the prisoner from the evils of gaol association,—by the employment of prisoners as wardsmen and monitors, it in a great measure remits the prisoner’s legal penalty, and affords admission to abuses and irregularities of a dangerous character,—its restrictions fall with excessive and undue severity upon the untried prisoner, who in reason and justice ought to be less rigorously dealt

with than the convicted offender,—it excites irritation of mind, and in many cases vindictiveness of spirit in the prisoners,—it is from the impossibility of rendering its operation equable and uniform, utterly unfit for general adoption,—it is complicated and cumbrous in its construction,—apt to be constantly deranged in its movements,—and requires for its efficient working, a degree of watchfulness and vigilance which is shown to be unattainable, even under the most favourable circumstances,—and finally, it does not even contemplate the adoption of any means by which the evils of recognition can be prevented.*

The inspectors then proceed to consider the advantages presented on the other hand by the '*Separate*' system. They first justly assert it as the *right* of an *untried* prisoner, (who has hitherto indeed been too little regarded in prison discipline, but whose position ought manifestly to be widely different from that of the *convicted*,) to be exempted from the society of those whose company is calculated to injure his morals, outrage his feelings, and debase his character. But not only is seclusion from his contaminating associates a right which the *untried* prisoner is entitled himself to demand, but it is one which we contend the best interests of society are materially concerned in being exercised. The corruption which such a prisoner may have imbibed during his confinement, spreads its pestiferous influence all around him. He becomes the centre of a new circle of depravity. But possibly it may be thought by some persons to be a hardship on the prisoner, who ought at least to have an option. We agree with these gentlemen that he ought *not* to have such an option. If the interests of the individual and of society alike demand his seclusion, we hold that they justify its imposition. But we do not believe that when the species of confinement practised and contemplated is understood, any *innocent* prisoner would hesitate for one moment to *prefer* it to the company of guilty associates. Let it be always borne in mind, that the advocates for separation (at least the *judicious* ones) never intend by that term any *solitary confinement*, although we believe that much of the prejudice existing against that system is founded on such a misapprehension. Such an isolation would indeed be equally cruel and mischievous; it would not be *reformatory* punishment, but absolute torture, and would unquestionably display its mischievous futility in repeated instances of insanity. It, therefore, by the system of separation, were intended *perfect soli-*

* Miss Martineau, in the First volume of her late popular work, '*Western Travel*,' devotes a chapter to *Prisons*,—and in it, graphically displays the superiority of the *Separate* over the *Silent* system. She bears testimony to some of the evils stated above as existing in the Auburn prison in America; and with the narrative power which she is so well known to possess, details some affecting incidents which vividly show the efficacy of kindness and moral training under the *Separate* system.

tude, we should be the first to lift up our voice against it, but on the contrary, what is intended?

‘The prisoner is placed in an apartment, at least ten feet square, and ten feet high, sufficiently large to enable him to take exercise. This apartment is well lighted, ventilated, and warmed,—water is laid on,—and in the fitting up, every arrangement is adopted essential to the prisoner’s health. To this apartment the prisoner is strictly confined by day and night,—nor is he allowed to leave it at any time, except for the purpose of attending divine worship. This seclusion, however, is broken by daily and stated visits of the governor, chaplain, surgeon, and other prison officers. *The prisoner enjoys the privilege of seeing his friends,—he has every facility afforded him for consulting with his legal adviser,—he may send and receive letters,—he is permitted to have unobjectionable books,—he has the option of any employment that can be conveniently furnished to him,—he is exempted from all discipline that is calculated to create irritation,—he is tempted to commit no violation of prison rules,—he is exposed to no quarrels, and his mind cannot be tainted and demoralized by the relations of the burglar, nor his ears assailed by the language of the blasphemous and obscene.*’—Second Home Report, p. 11.

Such is the seclusion we recommend,—one, which it would be for the benefit of every *untried*, and would be the wish of every *innocent* prisoner, to enjoy. But now let us examine what are the advantages possessed by such a system as respects the *guilty*?

They are put with great feeling and force by the author of an article on the ‘Penitentiary System of Pennsylvania,’ in the ‘*Encyclopædia Americana*,’ and which is reprinted by him at the conclusion of his translation of the Report by Messrs. De Beaumont and De Tocqueville, to which we have before referred. Mr. Lieber says—

‘The greatest step we believe which a convict of the common sort can make towards reformation, is from thoughtlessness to thoughtfulness. Few of those committed to prisons are accustomed to think,—it is for want of thought that they become guilty. Surrounded, as they are in the Auburn system by a variety of objects during the day, they cannot feel the same inducement to reflection as under the pressure of constant solitude. It is difficult for a man, even accustomed from his youth to reflection, and to a mode of life which offers a great variety of objects and subjects, to entertain himself in long-continued solitude. He must occupy his mind with himself. The writer may be permitted to refer to his own experience, having been imprisoned for a considerable period during a time of political persecution,—and though he was not haunted by remorse, and had more resources from the habits of his past life than can fall to the lot of most of the inmates of prisons, he can testify to the power with which solitude forces a man to make himself the subject of his contemplation—a power which can hardly be realized by one who has not felt it. How strongly must it

operate on the common convict! Deprived of most of the resources of educated men,—constantly reminded of the cause which brought him into this situation,—undisturbed by any distracting objects,—enveloped in silence—he needs must *think*. This power of solitude was acknowledged by the wisest and best of antiquity, who retired from the walks of men to prepare themselves for great tasks by undisturbed contemplation.* The labour which the convict performs in his cell, and which is indispensably necessary, does not disturb him, because it soon loses the distracting power of novelty,—and though it will engage him sufficiently to prevent him from sinking into torpid sullenness (as experience shows) it does not interrupt his contemplations. When he has once begun to reflect, he must come to the conclusion that virtue is preferable to vice, and can tranquillize his troubled mind only by resolving on reformation,—he must at last seek comfort in the mercy of that Being who created him in his goodness, *and who will receive him, notwithstanding his guilt, if he is sincere in his repentance*. This will be the natural course of most prisoners in uninterrupted solitary confinement, judging from the observation we have made on convicts thus confined.'

And our Home inspectors, after adopting a similar line of remark, say—

'We are well aware that there are those who consider as wild and visionary any hopes which may be entertained of the reformation of a criminal. We trust that it is unnecessary for us to state that we do not concur in this opinion. We feel assured that in this country, little need be urged against a doctrine which regards the convict as an outcast, possessing no interests beyond the grave, and worthy of no more considerations than the beasts which perish. If, as we firmly believe, no human being, however guilty, is excluded from the means of repentance and the hope of mercy, we cannot too strongly condemn opinions which appear to us to be opposed to the spirit and precepts of that Divine Being who 'desireth not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should turn from his wickedness and live.' We have had some experience of the character of criminals, and are persuaded that there are periods in the lives of even the most hardened, when the mind is awakened to reflection, and the heart overwhelmed with sorrow. In these seasons of sensibility, much may be done to eradicate the dominion of vice by the inculcation of Christian principles and the force of good impressions,—and it is the duty of a Christian government to present to every prisoner the means by which instruction may be imparted, and repentance cherished. In the quiet of the prison cell—and when humbled by correction—the warnings, promises, and consolations of the Gospel, come home to the conscience with redoubled force. *There is no feature in the Separate system which more favourably distinguishes it, than the facility which it affords to the minister of religion in the discharge of the various duties of his sacred office.*'—p. 14.

* The learned Author might also have referred to the example of our Lord himself.

To all those, therefore, who with us, look confidently to the *reformation* of the great majority of criminals and of almost all the young, this system presents such favourable opportunities for exerting the proper beneficial influences on a convict, that we must confess ourselves, warm, but not bigoted, advocates for its adoption. Mr. Hill, guiding himself by the experience afforded him in his inspection of Scotland, and, especially, by the admirable results of the separate system, produced at the Glasgow Bridewell, where it was established in 1824, and has been maintained ever since, concurs in strong approbation of it. In his 'Third Report,' he says—

'The continued experience of the separate system has *confirmed* my conviction of its reasonableness and efficacy; and I am *more and more* satisfied, that while, on the one hand, it prevents the danger and corruption arising from the associations of criminals, it is not, on the other hand, attended with gloomy depression of the mind or baneful effects on the health; and that it places the offender in that position in which there is the *best* opportunity for cultivating the higher feelings of his nature, and raising his ideas to new and superior objects. It has been supposed, that separation leads sometimes to insanity or idiocy; but, under good management, I am satisfied that it has no such effect. Certainly, no instance of the kind ever came to my knowledge; and the governor of the Glasgow Bridewell assures me, that there has not been a *single case* in that prison during the whole *twenty-five* years that it has been under his charge.'—p. 7.

Mr. Hill proceeds to detail a most striking proof of the *preference* even, bestowed upon it by the prisoners. He says—

There are now five inmates of the Glasgow Bridewell, who are there *of their own free will*; some of them having asked permission to remain after the expiration of their sentences, and the others having petitioned to be admitted.'—p. 7.

Mr. Hill's comment appears to us to be extremely judicious.

It may be said, indeed, that this fact proves too much, for that a prison ought never to be made a place of *attraction*. It appears to me, however, that those who are willing to submit to the restrictions and labour of such a prison, must be in so destitute a state as to be *under strong temptations to crime*; and that it is, therefore, *fortunate when they consent* to give up their personal liberty for a time.'—p. 7.

Mr. Hill, adds—

'Highly, however, as I think of the plan of separation, I am strongly of opinion, that it should *always be accompanied with useful employment, instruction, opportunities of reading, frequent visits of officers, and daily exercise in the open air*. Not, however, that I think,

we should always wait until *all* these necessities can be obtained ; for so great are the evils of association among criminals, that, in my opinion, it is better to dispense with one or two of these desiderata than to allow such evils to continue.—p. 7.

While these three inspectors deriving their experience from the metropolis and its adjoining counties and from Scotland, concur in the propriety of the adoption of the 'separate' system, it is necessary to inform our readers that the other inspectors, viz., Captain Williams and Dr. Hawkins, seem rather inclined to favor the 'silent' system, and our desire for an impartial discussion of this important subject, instead of merely one-sided advocacy, induces us to place their arguments before our readers for their careful consideration. The first of these gentlemen says, that to

'Those unacquainted with the precision, regularity, and minuteness attained without difficulty under military discipline, the details of the system of 'silence' must naturally seem cumbrous and prolix ; while to myself, after some experience with the army, this does not at all appear to be the case. It must, however, be admitted to possess one superior quality among others—the placing men under trying circumstances where they are compelled to exercise and may acquire the valuable habit of *self-control*. At the same time, social duties are kept in view ; for it exacts respect to authority, order, cleanliness, decency at meals, and industry at labour. The silence, irksome as it may be, is, moreover, gratefully and beneficially mitigated by the consolations of religion and the lessons of instruction.'—*Third Report, Northern District*, p. 5, 6.

In reference to these remarks, we beg to observe that we do not deny the 'Silent' System to possess advantages, which would be much greater than they are, if it could be rendered *efficacious* to its professed object ; an assumption which is made in the extract just given, but which is contradicted by all *experience* hitherto. Nor can we admit the analogy which is drawn by Captain Williams, between the recruits of the army and the inmates of our prisons to be a correct one. The former are men in a state much more open to discipline than the latter ; and even if some be refractory, they are surrounded by unsympathising companions, whose professional habits and feelings lead them to discourage any attempts at the breach of discipline.

Dr. Hawkins in his 'Third Report,' has summed up what he conceives to be very strong objections to the Separate System,—viz.

'1. The difficulty and expense of procuring suitable labour for the inmate of each cell.

'2. The want of cells sufficiently large, light, and well ventilated in

many existing prisons, and the expense of fitting up and building such cells in new prisons.

'3. The obstacles which the prisoners will have to encounter if suddenly seized with illness.

'4. Since solitary or separate confinement is the most severe punishment hitherto annually resorted to, what further punishment remains in store for those who commit offences in their cells?

'5. The daily visits of the surgeon and chaplain would require their number and salaries to be increased.

'6. By some recent statutes, solitary or separate confinement is restricted even for offences of a deep dye to one month at a time, and to three months in the whole year. Are the first petty theft and the thrice-committed midnight burglary to be treated with the same rigour?'—p. 2.

The first of these objections we shall presently examine at large, when treating of the plan for labour strongly recommended by Mr. Hill.

The question of expense and construction, is one upon which that gentleman and the Home Inspectors furnish us with answers. Mr. Hill, in his 'First Report,' says,

'One reason urged against the system of entire separation is the expense necessary for providing a separate cell for each prisoner; but, even this reason, I consider to be almost groundless, especially, if it be admitted, that the prisoners should sleep in separate cells at night. A small addition to the cost of a cell large enough for a prisoner to sleep in, is sufficient to make it large enough also for him to work in during the day, and to pass his whole time in it. To show how little the expense of a cell is increased by enlarging its dimensions I may refer to the new prison now erecting at Dundee. The architect prepared the plan according to the system by which the prisoners work together by day and sleep apart at night; and eight feet was considered sufficient height. One flat of cells has been built;—but I have ascertained that the height of the cell in the two remaining flats may be increased to nine feet nine inches at the *small total* expense of £100.'—p. 13.

The Home Inspectors have also appended several plans, framed after great consideration for the construction of prisons with separate cells at the end of their 'Third Report.'

The fourth and last objections appears to us, we confess, founded on the fallacious assumption, that *separate* necessarily means *solitary* confinement. With all due submission to the learned inspector, we object to the advocates of the one system being confounded with those of the other. We have already given our reasons for our strong opposition to *solitude*, and our equally warm advocacy of *separation*. Separation from what and from whom? From bad company,—from their *fellow-prisoners*. The severe penalty awarded by the law is *solitary* imprisonment, which

it wisely *limits to short periods*. The confinement we want is *separate*, and which *might be perpetual*.

We have gone, at this great length, into the comparison of the 'Separate' and 'Silent' Systems, because that subject was justly thought of so much moment by the government, that they particularly directed the attention of the inspectors to it, and it, consequently, occupies a most prominent position in the late reports. It is *the* question agitated in prison discipline by our American brethren, and is unquestionably one of such importance as that it should be thoroughly sifted before *legislation* begins. The partial and short operation which either have had here; and the want among other desirable things of a good statistical arrangement in our prisons; deprive us of much opportunity of ascertaining thoroughly the *effects* of reform upon individual prisoners produced by them. We beg to call the attention of the inspectors, and of those members of parliament who are considering this subject, to the necessity of establishing some efficient *statistical* system, by which the *effects* of the operation of any plans adopted in our prisons may be completely ascertained, and the degree of reform really produced on individuals accurately tested. *Experience* must be after all our great guide and teacher.*

The next important subject which seems to us to suggest itself, is put forward by Mr. Hill, as one to which he evidently attaches great value; viz., *the employment of the prisoners in productive labour*. In his 'First Report' (which is a most able document and sums up with great clearness the chief existing evils of the Scottish system), Mr. Hill, says:---

'I hope and believe that there are but few honest families who are, at the same time, prudent and industrious, who are worse off than the

* Our desire for impartial discussion induces us to state, that Mrs. Fry is rather opposed to the universal operation of the 'Separate' System. By the kind permission of that lady, we are enabled to lay before our readers an extract of a letter transmitted by her to Paris, and published, we believe, in that city. 'I believe nothing so likely to conduce to the real improvement of principle and conduct in delinquents, and to render them fit for a return to society, as a limited number of them being regularly instructed and working together in small companies, under faithful, constant, and strict inspection, and at night always sleeping in separate cells. . . . If after the plan of being associated in small companies has been tried on any prisoner, he returns to undergo the penalty of a second condemnation, a more vigorous plan had better be adopted. I think they should then be confined *separately*, having instruction and employment and a certain number of visits daily from the officers of the prison,' &c. We must add, that the 'Third Report' of the 'Home Inspectors' lately published, enforces at great length the arguments adduced above from their 'Second Report' in favour of the 'Separate' System. There is, also, an interesting sketch of the history of the improvements in our goals; and, altogether, it is a document of great public interest and importance and well worthy perusal.

inmates of prisons ; but, I think, there is no doubt but many who are deficient in either of these particulars, *but who, nevertheless, are free from crime*, are in every respect, except personal liberty in an *inferior* condition to that of many *prisoner, who are generally altogether released from the labour by which alone the poor and honest man can obtain the necessaries of life.*—p. 6.

Mr. Hill proposes to correct this anomaly. After stating, (p. 14) that he ‘believes there is no part of Scotland in which ‘productive labour could not readily be procured for prisoners, ‘especially, if there were one general system of management,’ he suggests, that all prisoners should be made to work. ‘Some ‘benefit’ he says, ‘would be obtained in a pecuniary point of view ‘(at Perth, the prisoners earn their food in this way); but the ‘most important advantage would consist in the *effect on the habits* ‘of the prisoner, and in the security the arrangement would afford ‘that *no prison should become an object of attraction.*’ Mr. Hill then assigns his reasons for preferring productive to unproductive labour, and we adopt his view of the subject. He says, ‘to ‘engage in the first is creditable to any one, but to be required ‘to perform the latter is *degrading, and is certain to produce a ‘mischievous effect on the feelings*; and whether a prisoner be ‘tried or untried, I would never subject him to it.’ In his ‘Second Report,’ Mr. Hill follows up the same view. ‘Industry ‘and economy should be leading features in the management of ‘every prison ; and a great effort should be made to render them ‘*self-supporting* ; but I have little doubt, that the prisoners may ‘eventually earn more than their cost, so as to afford an opportunity of introducing the *important principle of compensation for ‘injury.*’* In his ‘Third Report,’ Mr. Hill examines, at some length, the only objection which we think can plausibly be made to his suggestion, and it is one very likely to find many advocates ; viz., that productive labour in the prisons would interfere with the labour of persons out of them. Mr. Hill (p. 9) grapples with the three different states of the market ; firstly, the *natural* state, (*i. e.*) where there is a sufficient amount of profitable labour for all who choose to work. Here the work, if not done by prisoners, would probably *go undone*. Secondly, if trade be excessively brisk, then the work would be undone, and a greater extent of injury to society would be created than the mere amount of labour would ordinarily indicate. Thirdly, if trade were very dull, the direct benefit to society from the labour of prisoners would be trifling ; and might be dispensed with in the same way as might

* This suggestion of compensation for injury, forms an interesting object for the mind of the intelligent philanthropist to contemplate in the moral vista of the subject ; but is we fear, at present, rather too distant to be practically pursued.

the labour of any other moderate number of workmen. And Mr. Hill concludes, with the following pithy question. 'The great fault constantly found with criminals is, *idleness*. But if, by engaging in labour, they would have displaced other workmen, why regret that they should have been unemployed? And why upbraid them with their laziness? *If their labour in prison will be mischievous, their labour out must have been equally so.*'

The remaining topics in the reports of the inspectors, to which we can alone devote space for reference, are connected with the prevention of crime and the care of prisoners after the termination of their confinement.

Captain Williams in his 'Third Report' suggests, that 'boys and girls without friends or ostensible means of livelihood should be sent upon their discharge from prison to the *poor-house*, and there kept until some means could be devised for their disposal. If the state was to assume the guardianship of destitute children, and was empowered to distribute them through the colonial possessions, either in the numerous government departments or as apprentices to individuals, it would be the most effective means of checking juvenile delinquency.' The view on which the first suggestion is made, seems to us better met by Mr. Hill's proposal for the foundation of 'National Schools of Refuge,' to which we shall presently refer. The second suggestion deserves attention, but it appears to us should rather be part of a well-organized scheme of emigration. The captain judiciously looks to the general extension of *infant schools* for the humbler 'classes as a 'most powerful prevention to juvenile delinquency.' With the following admirable remarks we fully concur.

'The first impressions on the mind are most important, frequently determining future happiness or misery. A very minute inquiry at Manchester and Liverpool has satisfied me of the surpassing value of thus inclining infancy to the acquisition of correct principles and habits, by the gentle, simple, and recreative methods followed in these institutions. —p. 7.

Dr. Hawkins in his 'Third Report,' says, that

'We can only look forward with confidence to the following means as a steady check on the tendency to crime: first, a well-organized constabulary force, prompt in all places, not merely to seize offenders, but above all to prevent and anticipate the commission of offence; and, secondly, the extension of summary jurisdiction, and such other measures as may be tried in the case of lighter offences, either to obviate the necessity for imprisonment, or to shorten its duration; and, lastly, the creation of *new facilities* for affording the means of *honest labour* to discharged prisoners, and above all to acquitted ones.'—p. 4.

This last suggestion is one of the very deepest interest and importance, and requires the earnest reflection of every Christian

philanthropist. It should undergo thorough discussion before any means are adopted by the legislature on the subject. Mr. Hill states ('First Report,' p. 15) that 'there can be no doubt, that the neglect of parents in not teaching their children a trade or means of getting an honest livelihood (owing often to their own habits of crime or drunkenness) is a common cause of the child's depravity.' He proposes, therefore, that the prisoners should be taught some branch of trade or occupation by which they might earn their livelihood on quitting imprisonment. Still it is important to give more than this instruction. Mr. Hill states (and we entirely concur in his useful suggestion) that he thinks, 'great benefit would arise as well to the community at large as to the offender himself, if an *asylum** were opened on the principle of the refuges for the destitute, in which prisoners at the time of liberation who had not a sure prospect of leading an honest and respectable life if they returned to society at home, should be encouraged to enter, with a view to their receiving some little instruction in agricultural pursuits, and then going out to one of the colonies.' And in his 'Third Report,' the same intelligent gentleman says—

'In my former reports, I pointed out the great service which would be rendered by a national house of refuge in Scotland,—and I would again venture to submit this subject for consideration,—as, I believe, that by no system of prison discipline can the reform of offenders, of many, at least, be completed, unless there be a place to which they may go after leaving prison, when situations for them have not been obtained. If the locality were well-selected, and the management economic and efficient, such an establishment might I am satisfied be made nearly self-supporting. I would have neither bolts, bars, nor high walls,—no *compulsion* to remain,—on the contrary, the only terms on which an inmate should be allowed to stay would be peaceable demeanor and good conduct. And in order to prevent any possibility of creating a distinction in favour of a criminal, and to extend the advantages of the refuge as far as possible, I should strongly recommend that the place be open to *all who choose to enter*,—but that the regimen and quantity of labour required be such, that none will be likely to avail themselves of it, except those who from their forlorn condition, are in fact dangerous members of society, and likely to resort to crime as a means of subsistence.'—p. 9.

Mr. Hill concludes his admirable report, with remarks in which we perfectly coincide, and with which we shall terminate our comments on the reports of the inspectors. 'A yet wider field, however, as regards the prevention of crime, remains open

* Such a house of refuge was founded in New-York, in 1825, and the example has been followed in other states. See De Beaumont and De Torqueville's Report, Part III., c. i., for a full and interesting account of the principles on which such houses are conducted.

‘in the general and enlightened education of the people; in the removal of causes of poverty and disease; in the prevention of those sudden fluctuations of income which now expose the labouring man to the temptations of alternate penury and affluence,—and, lastly, in providing the people with constant opportunities of obtaining healthful recreation and innocent amusement.’

One topic of great importance connected with Prison Discipline, and to which the public mind has been much directed of late years, is the system of *transportation* used as a mode of punishment. Little doubt can exist among impartial inquirers as to the gross evils which for some considerable period past have pervaded, and still do pervade that system; but an intelligent inquirer, Dr. Lang, considers that those evils are not *necessarily* inherent in it. That gentleman, in a work of considerable talent and deserved reputation,* has pointed out with clearness and force the unwise, nay, we must take the liberty with him of saying, the absurd, regulations which have made transportation a boon rather than a terror; but those regulations form only a part of our colonial misgovernment of New South Wales. Dr. Lang, however, combats the position of the learned Archbishop of Dublin, Dr. Whately, who in his Treatise on ‘Secondary Punishments,’ published a few years ago, endeavoured to show that the whole system of transportation might be usefully suspended. The first-named reverend author states five great causes (and he has the advantage of speaking from personal experience) of the failure of that system in the Australian Colonies:—namely, first, the want of a sufficiently numerous *free* emigrant population, which rendered it almost necessary at first, and has encouraged the plan ever since of placing the convicts or servants with the inhabitants of Sydney; second, the unlimited importation and consumption of ardent spirits; third, the gradual relaxation of penal discipline; fourth, the facilities for acquiring wealth and influence enjoyed by emancipated convicts;† and, fifth, the transportation of *educated* convicts. On each of these points Dr. Lang enlarges with a knowledge of the facts derived from personal experience,‡ and the warmth of just indignation at the evils produced alike to the colony and the mother country which might be naturally expected from his sacred function of minister of the gospel. But he does not confine himself merely to the description of evils—he suggests remedies, and points out a practical road for making transportation efficient to its end. He recommends the discontinuance of the *assignment*

* ‘Transportation and Colonization,’ 1837. Valpy.

† A few months ago there was an account in the newspapers of a man, formerly a convict, who died at Sydney worth upwards of half-a-million !/.

‡ The evidence lately given before the Transportation Committee seems to make his statements mild.

system, which he shows to be clearly practicable, if *free* labourers be imported into Australia in the manner now happily commenced, and which there is every reasonable certainty will continue. He demonstrates the practicability of employing transported convicts at government labour exclusively, without increasing the expense of transportation to the mother country; and points out the great advantages which might be derived from the wise employment of their labour in clearing ground, &c., for the formation of locations or settlements for free emigrants—in making and repairing roads, hedges, and other public works. The length to which our remarks have already extended will not permit us to criticise the work of Dr. Lang as thoroughly as the importance of the subject deserves. He says,* ‘by a uniform and steady adherence to the judicious maxim of Lord Bathurst;—viz., *‘strict discipline, regular labour of a severe description, and constant superintendence;—the following results might reasonably be anticipated,—first, there would be at least double the amount of labour performed by any given number of convicts; second, the cost of the police and judicial establishments of the colony, at present enormous and annually increasing, would be progressively diminished—as the enforcement of strict discipline would leave the convict comparatively few opportunities of committing fresh crimes; third, the demoralizing influence of convict principles and practice on the free population would be checked for the future, and, eventually, completely neutralized; and, fourth, the reformation of the convicts would be rapid and extensive.’* These are results most devoutly to be wished for! Transportation if it is to be used as a *punishment* must be surrounded with *terrors* instead of *gifts* to its objects. But we have not room to go at large into this subject, and, perhaps, it is even yet premature. A committee of the House of Commons (Sir William Molesworth in the chair), is now inquiring into it; and we shall look anxiously for their report.† Meanwhile, let us congratulate the friends of their race on the deep attention which the *reform* of our fallen brethren is receiving from the government and the legislature. The first step in the way of a thorough uniform system of Prison Discipline has been taken—the holy work has begun. Intelligent and permanent officers have been appointed to control the gaolers—to ‘keep the keepers’ in order—to check abuses heretofore too rife—and by watching carefully the results of experience, to put parliament in possession of the only safe and solid basis of legis-

* c. 15, p. 207, 208.

† Since writing the above remarks, and very recently, the Committee have published their Report, of which, however, we cannot at present take the notice we could wish.

lation. Already from such husbandry valuable fruit has been gathered. The able Reports to which we have directed the attention of our readers, should be perused by every member of parliament and every Christian philanthropist. Whatever may be the differences of opinion arising upon them, they at any rate afford materials for a discussion of most important topics. The legislature has already begun to act. By a statute of the last Session, the 1 and 2 Vict. cap. 82., a prison for juvenile offenders was established at Parkhurst, in the Isle of Wight, of which the preamble declares the object. 'Whereas, it may be of great public advantage, that a prison be provided, in which young offenders may be detained, and corrected, and may receive such instruction, and be subject to such discipline as shall appear *most conducive to their reformation*, and the repression of crime.' May this object be realized, and success attend this rational and benevolent effort! May the sincere christians of the land unite their efforts for the reformation of their fallen fellow-creatures, remembering that the unhappy circumstances of many of them have made them 'more sinned against than sinning,' and remembering, also, that the wisest and purest and loftiest of us all, are directed by our great Teacher to prostrate ourselves in the presence of our Almighty Father, for that we 'also are sinners!'

Art. VII. *An Analytical and Comparative View of all Religions now extant among Mankind; with their Internal Diversities of Creed and Profession.* By JOSIAH CONDER, author of 'the Modern Traveller,' &c., &c. London: Jackson and Walford.

WHEN the questions at issue between the Jews and early Christians were brought before the heathen Gallio, they were treated by him, without any apparent sense of indignity, as mere questions of *words and names*; and the most appropriate language which another magistrate could find to characterise these controversies to a visitor was 'certain questions of *private superstition and of one Jesus*.' We make no doubt that the feeling still prevailing in many minds, savours strongly of the contempt indicated by these expressions, and that any patient balancing of the respective defects or excellencies of different creeds, would be regarded by them as a task fit only for '*senseless*, not to say, *graceless zealots*.'

Heartily do we wish that this contempt were altogether causeless; but there are, we fear, very few even among the serious portion of the community in whom an impression of disappoint-

ment will not follow the perusal of a work like the present. It will require actual inspection and examination to convince this class of readers, how extensively they may attain an acquaintance with '*systems of religion*' without meeting with any thing like '*religion itself*.' The poverty of language has indeed seldom been felt more painfully by our own mind, than in the two-fold usage which commonly obtains of this word. *Religion*, it is well known, stands sometimes for a '*system of religion*', sometimes for a '*principle of religion*'; and between these two meanings there should be, in reason, something resembling the connexion of *cause* and *effect*, or of a *means to an end*. A *system* of religion, to be worthy the name, should be at least conducive to the formation and maintenance of a '*principle of religion*,' and a *system* of Christian *doctrine* have a plain relation to the promotion of Christian *practice*. It is needless for us, however, to say how precarious and almost null this relationship often is. As a history of the church is as much a history of the progress of heresies as of the spread and triumph of truth, so is a view of the various forms of christianity, little more than a view of the various distortions and caricatures to which that holy religion has been subjected. It is little more than a view of the subtle attacks and corruptions which the genuine faith of the gospel has undergone. It is but too much an account of distinctions without differences, of the forms and ceremonies of religion exalted into its substance, of contentions for barren creeds and puerile observances, of the ever-varying phases of fanaticism and error. There is much in even the nomenclature of the numerous divisions of the christian world, which is sufficiently repulsive. We question whether the scholastic formalities of logic could furnish a much more wearisome collection of barbarisms than is exhibited by a catalogue of ecclesiastical sects. Nothing more would be necessary than to transcribe a column from the index of a volume like the present, or even to adduce a sample of the names which the author has collected in p. 593, to indicate what we intend.

Thus then for the various, so-called, *Christian* denominations. If from these we pass to the diversities of Pagan creed and profession, the startling difference which may subsist between *religion* and a *religion*, will become strikingly obvious. It is not extravagant to assert, that by any one who should aim to trace, in reference to a Pagan nation, the affinity of these apparent correlatives, their mutual distance would be found to be as great

'As from the centre thrice to the utmost pole.'

The sceptical historian of the '*Roman Empire in its Decline*,' has observed of the different systems of religion which existed previously to the Christian, that by one class they were re-

garded as equally *true*, by another as equally *false*, and by a third as equally *useful*. He might have added, that they were all *in reality* (and in this remark we may comprehend the varieties of *Modern Paganism*) *equally absurd* and *equally pernicious*. We apply these epithets advisedly without exception or reservation. The classical scholar will possibly be shocked at our temerity in thus denouncing the poetical mythology in which he has discovered so many beauties; but to any one who may be inclined to doubt the justness of the strictures, we would recommend the attentive study of the elegant compilation * of Mr. Keightley, himself a first-rate scholar, or of such a work as the *Fasti* of Ovid, himself a first-rate classic. Let such a reader only notice the characters of the Deities introduced in the pages of these authors, the contradictory accounts given of their origin, the dubious relations they sustain to each other, the equivocal nature of their power, the clumsy legends explaining their often ambiguous names, the ridiculous tales of their adventures, together with their at once perplexing and amusing multiplicity, and then say, whether *absurdity* be an unfounded charge. For ourselves, we confess when we think of the manner in which all the laws of priority and sequence of evidence and probability are constantly confounded in these theologies, we feel it a mockery of the term system to apply it to them. Much more fitly, we think, are they imaged by Milton's gloomy void:

‘ ——— a dark
Illimitable ocean, without bound,
 Without dimension; *where length, breadth, and height,*
And time and place are lost; where eldest Night,
And Chaos, ancestors of Nature, hold
Eternal anarchy, amidst the noise
Of endless wars, and by confusion stand.’

A writer who would voluntarily choose such a theme for the occupation of his time and talents must be supposed to have in view the instruction and information, rather than the gratification of his readers, and it would be wrong either to exact or expect from his pages the interest attaching to a selected portion of religious history. Arrangement excepted, the class of compositions to which the present must be considered as belonging, is that of cyclopædias or dictionaries, and by such a standard ought its value to be estimated. That its utility in this department will be appreciated by the public, may be inferred from the success of the numerous publications of similar character which have recently made their appearance. Some of our readers may recollect that about two years ago, a volume, entitled ‘the Book

* The Mythology of Ancient Greece and Italy.

of the Denominations,' passed under our review. In noticing its merits, we had also occasion to notice and characterise, as well the earliest attempt of the kind, *Evans's Sketch of all Religions*, as two other similar publications by Adam and Williams. The present work, in its design and general purport, of course resembles its predecessors; but differs from them by being more comprehensive in the range it embraces, and we may add, more philosophical in its plan and spirit. In the following extract from the preface, the accomplished author has stated the general maxims by which he has been guided in its preparation.

'The most difficult, or at least the most delicate part of my task has been, to preserve that impartiality which may reasonably be looked for in an account of religious opinions, without affecting an irreligious neutrality, or compromising my own most sacred convictions of truth. To conceal my opinions would have been fruitless hypocrisy; and I can only hope, that I have not suffered them to betray me into any defect of candour or violation of charity. I have not attempted to treat of the Roman Catholic tenets in the character of a Romanist, or of Mohammedanism in that of a Mussulman; nor have I scrupled to speak of sects as sects, or of heresies as heresies. The Searcher of hearts knows, however, that my earnest desire and steady aim have been, to vindicate the catholicity of Christ's church—to harmonize the creed of its true members, rather than to exasperate our mutual dissensions—to show that the religious differences among Christians, chiefly arise from causes extrinsic to the common rule, and supreme arbiter of faith.—and to lead to the practical conclusion, that, as Christianity is demonstrably the only true religion, so no one need despair, with the Bible in his hand, of ascertaining for himself, under its various disguises, the genuine lineaments of *true Christianity*.'—pp. vi., vii.

In our opinion, the course which the author has adopted is essentially the correct one. In a publication like the present, impartiality is indeed unquestionably a quality of prime importance; but this does not require *that a favourable portrait should be drawn of every denomination*. A picture may be *faithful* without being *flattering*, and it is in *fidelity*, not in indiscriminate flattery, that true impartiality consists. It is not even essential to impartiality, that in a description of religious sectaries a *neutrality* of opinion should be observed, and that every remark which may be astringent of their errors should be scrupulously suppressed. It is indeed essential that their sentiments and practices, however erroneous, should not be wilfully *misrepresented*; but by no means that they should not be *exposed*. It is even the *duty*, we will add, of an author who undertakes to analyse the diversities of existing creeds and professions, to endeavour to qualify his readers to pronounce on their merits. As is the case with the historian, his work must sustain the complete character

of commentary and narration. He must consider himself responsible for the *impressions* as well as for the *facts* which he gives; must hold himself bound to exhibit every person or party he introduces, as far as possible, in the true light; and without being the *advocate of any*, be the *judge* of all.

If there be any class to whom such a bird's-eye view of the varieties of religious belief as the work before us is likely to be useful, it must be those who have not yet taken up their fixed theological position; who have not yet closed their minds against any modification of their tenets; whose opinions are not yet indurated into obstinacy, nor their partialities into prejudices. But how can these be profited by such a universal complaisant mode of representation as shall tend to confound their perceptions of difference, and leave the wilderness of conflicting opinion as intricate as they found it? We would yield to none in reprobating the unworthy trickery which, under pretext of making a '*book for all*,' should construct a *manifesto for a party*; but there is a difference between dishonest partizanship and tame indecision. The spirit of acrimony and animosity which so often infects writers on controversial subjects every one is right in complaining of; no one can be justly displeased with fair and temperate argument.

Our author, we are happy to say, seems to have thoroughly appreciated the force of these distinctions. Nowhere in his volume does the pen of a furious partizan appear; throughout, he maintains a tone of dignified candour, his impartiality at the same time not being suffered to degenerate into indifference. The distribution which he has made of the mass of materials before him, may be gathered from the headings of the different chapters, which we subjoin.

The first chapter is introductory, containing a discussion of the questions, What is Religion?—How many religions are there?—Which is the true religion?—Chapter II. is a comparative View of the Eastern and Western Churches.—Chapter III. On the Eastern Churches—IV. On the Russian Greek Church—V. The Latin Church, or the Papacy—VI. The Lutheran and Reformed (or Calvinian) Churches—VII. The Anglican and Scottish Churches—VIII. The Protestant Dissenters (with whom are classed the Methodists)—IX. Protestant Sects (comprising the Quakers, the Irvingites, &c.—X. Protestant Controversies—XI. Monotheistic Religions (under which head are included Judaism, Magianism, and Mahomedism), and XII. Polytheism and Pantheism.

From this brief summary of the contents of the volume, it will be perceived that no important branch of the subject has escaped the writer's observation, and we may fairly compliment him on the ability with which he has filled up the outline. The course of his previous pursuits, his known soundness of judgment and varied intelligence, peculiarly befitted him for such a task with facility

a d credit; and if the present volume does not greatly add to the literary reputation which he already enjoys, it will certainly fully sustain it. The views throughout are, as we have hinted, enlarged and philosophical; and in the parts which embody the writer's own comments, there is often visible much acute discrimination. The chapter, or rather section, with which we have ourselves been most pleased, is that on the doctrinal peculiarities of the Quakers; the cause, we believe, is, that this particular section contains more of original composition than others, and is less of a compilation.

We will recommend to careful perusal at this time, the whole of Chapter VII. containing our Author's analysis of the tenets and pretensions of the English Church. The more outrageous of these pretensions, after being for a time kept out of sight, seem again about to be revived in all their Anti-christian effrontery. The notions promulgated in high places of the Establishment, and even in some instances from evangelical pulpits, respecting the efficacy of sacraments, as showing the semi-papistical tone which the instructions of the church are assuming, are among the most alarming signs of the times. It will amply repay the reader's time and attention to review the notices of the controversy on this subject, as carried on within the limits of the United Kingdom, which he will find in this volume. The following extract from the Ecclesiastical Polity of the 'judicious Hooker' will show that in his expositions of vital truth, the above writer did not always merit that epithet.

'Sacraments,' says Hooker, 'are the powerful instruments of God to eternal life.' 'It greatly offendeth, that some, when they labour to show the use of the Holy Sacraments, assign unto them no end, but only to *teach* the mind by other senses that which the word of God doth teach by hearing. . . . They are heavenly ceremonies which God hath sanctified and ordained to be administered in his church: first, as marks whereby to know when God doth impart the vital or saving grace of Christ unto all that are capable thereof; and, secondly, as means conditional, which God requireth in them unto whom he imparteth grace. . . .

'For we take not baptism, nor the eucharist, for bare *resemblances* or memorials of things absent, neither for *naked signs* and testimonies assuring us of grace received before; but (as they are, indeed, and in verity), for means effectual, whereby God, when we take the sacraments, delivereth into our hands that grace available unto eternal life, which grace the sacraments represent or signify. . . . We receive Christ Jesus in baptism once, as the first beginner in the eucharist often, as being by continual degrees the finisher of our life. . . . Baptism is a sacrament which God hath instituted in his church, to the end that they which receive the same might thereby be incorporated into Christ; and so, through his most precious merit obtain, as well that saving grace of imputation which taketh away all former guiltiness, as, also, that

infused divine virtue of the Holy Ghost, which giveth to the power of the soul their first disposition towards future newness of life. The grace which we have by the holy eucharist doth not begin, but continue life. No man, therefore, receiveth this sacrament before baptism, because no dead thing is capable of nourishment. . . . The bread and cup are (our Lord's) body and blood, because they are ~~common~~ instrumental, upon the receipt whereof the *participation* of his body and blood ensueth.'—pp. 339—340.

We quote this language, because it is, we repeat, the identical doctrine which men of high standing in our *venerable* universities are now sedulously disseminating from the press as especially adapted '*for the times*,' which is circulating in numerous publications of equally *venerable societies*, and to which some even of the more enlightened clergy, in their horror of every thing which might betoken a proximity to Dissenters, are lending their countenance. *Its consonancy with the language of the ritual and dissimilarity with the language of the articles* is an anomaly of which our author takes notice. He manifests, indeed, a benevolent care and diligence in bringing forward whatever can be plausibly alleged in mitigation of the glaring inconsistency, and, with this view, has opposed to the paragraphs of Hooker, equally decisive paragraphs from Burnet. We must be pardoned, however, for thinking that these quotations go rather on the principle of showing *how an innocuous meaning may be attached* to certain startling phraseology than of inquiring candidly *what the genuine meaning is*. The discrepancy of these two authorities, is only the consequence of the previous discrepancy which exists in the formularies to which both appeal, and which is itself again only the consequence of the discrepant materials which originally mingled in the constitution of the church to which both belonged. We scarcely know whether most to admire or compassionate, the learned pains with which many sturdy champions of this heterogeneous establishment labour and have laboured to attach to her the perfection of a doctrinal unity. Undoubtedly, it is natural, that they should desire to give a semblance of coherency to her teaching, but then, among the multitudinous elements which compose the body of her teachers, how to do this?

Uniformity there may be in her profession;—*and a large price has been paid for it*; and to the full credit of it her members are welcome; but surely to claim for her *real unity*, or any other unity than that of her external incorporation, must be the height either of simplicity or presumption.

It is truly remarked, by one of the boldest assertors of her claims, that 'in the English church may be found differences as great as those which separate it from Greece or Rome. Calvin-

‘ism and Arminianism, latitudinarianism and orthodoxy, all these sometimes, simply such, and sometimes compounded together into numberless varieties of doctrine and school, and these not merely each upholding itself as true; but with few exceptions, denouncing all the rest as perilous:—such is its state even among its appointed ministers and teachers.’*

There are one or two minor criticisms, which, in case of Mr. Conder's undertaking hereafter a revival of his volume, we respectfully submit to his consideration. In the first place, we are not prepared to subscribe to the perfect accuracy of the terminology which in some cases, he has adopted. If the use of *appellatives* be to *contradistinguish*, it is surely objectionable, specifically to appropriate the term ‘Monotheistic’ to such religions as Magianism and Mohammedism.

It has struck us further as a deficiency in the work that nowhere does it present us with a delineation of the *general outlines of the Christian system*.

The author professes, in his preface, to exhibit the ‘*generic divisions*’ of the religious world; but as if forgetting this, or presuming on the reader's ability to supply the omission for himself, after determining by a few brief positions in the introductory chapter the religion of Christ to be the true one, he immediately launches on the jarring ocean of sects and schisms. Why not first make an attempt to sketch the leading features of the only religion deserving the name, of that perfect revelation which can boast of its fruits, ‘Glory to God in the highest on earth peace, and good-will to men;’ and which is indeed a ‘divine philosophy.’

Not harsh and crabbed, as dull fools suppose,
But musical as is Apollo's lute,
And a perpetual feast of nectar'd sweets,
Where no crude surfeit reigns.

We regret the omission the more, because, by it, the author has lost his only opportunity of relieving the dreariness of the scenery which his volume, though with no fault we are sure of his, places before the eye.

The most serious fault, however, which has impressed our minds in the examination of the volume has been the modified tone of condemnation in which Mohammedanism is occasionally spoken of. This is, sometimes, such as would almost lead us to class it with those heresies, which, though demonstrating the perversity of unaided reason, are yet not fundamentally fatal. Not only is it asserted to be less anti-christian than Judaism; but it is

* Newman, ‘on Romanism and Popular Protestantism.’

even compared advantageously with the Unitarian creed. The latter class of religionists are, indeed, taught that the religion of the Arabian impostor bears a close similarity to their's, and in one passage borrowed from a writer, who with all his excellencies is often misled by a fondness for '*the striking*' in style, a portion of our admiration and gratitude is even challenged for the author of Islamism.

'Let the Arabian prophet be called heresiarch and impostor; yes, but a reformer too. He kindled from side to side of the Christian world, an extraordinary abhorrence of idol worship, and actually cleansed the plain of Asia from the long-settled impurities of polytheism. Did he overthrow christianity in Syria, in Africa, in Spain? No; superstition only, for christianity had died away from those countries long before. A respect for man, for nature, for God—a respect not characteristic of the frenzied zealot,—was shown in the injunction so strictly laid on the Moslem armies, not to destroy the fruits of the earth, not to disturb the labor of the husbandman, not to cut down the palm or the olive, not to poison or stop the wells, to spare the old and the young, the mother and her babes, and in a word, to abridge war, as far as might be done, of its horrors. In reading these military orders, and in following the march of Khalifs who received them, it is impossible to exclude from the mind the recollection of wars waged by Christian, most Christian kings, not against distant and equal foes, but on their own unoffending and helpless subjects; wars which left nothing behind them but smoking ruins and a bloodsodden wilderness. Call Mohammed, fanatic or impostor; but language wants a term—or, if it might afford one, the rule of Christian propriety forbids it to be used—which should fitly designate the Philips, the Ferdinands, the Louises of our modern European history.'—p. 623.

Now without attempting the vindication of the personages with whom Mohammed is thus brought into contrast, we cannot but deem it a singular zeal which would represent us as under religious obligations to the latter. The accidental benefit which resulted from his successful proselytism is of no value whatever as *an element in the estimation of his character*, and can give him no right to rank as a 'reformer.' With equal reason, otherwise, might our eighth Henry claim to be venerated, as such. As far as the personal merits of Mohammed are concerned, the question is, what was his *motive* for his denunciation of the existing idolatry,—whether zeal for divine honour or for his own individual aggrandisement, and whether while he confessedly unmasked deception, he was not himself *a wilful deceiver*? Nor can we consent, in estimating the merits of his religion, to leave out of the calculation the positive doctrines which it promulges. No rejection of Romish errors can palliate or render innoxious his own audacious blasphemies. As for the fact that his religion was, in a

sense, a modification simply of the Christian system, we see in this only the evidence of his more atrocious presumption. It is Judas betraying Christ with a kiss. We can, ourselves, conceive of no greater insult offered by a heretic to the Gospel than his knowingly and deliberately mixing up his own unhallowed speculations with its pure and heavenly doctrines.

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- Art. VIII. 1. *Fisher's Drawing-Room Scrap-Book* for 1839. With Poetical Illustrations by L. E. L. London: Fisher & Co.
2. *Syria, the Holy Land, Asia Minor, &c., illustrated.* In a Series of Views drawn from Nature by W. H. BARTLETT, THOMAS ALLOM, &c. With descriptions of the Plates by JOHN CARNE, Esq. Third. London: Fisher and Co.
3. *Fisher's Juvenile Scrap-Book.* By AGNES STRICKLAND and BERNARD BARTON. 1839. London: Fisher and Co.
4. *Jennings's Landscape Annual for 1839; or, the Tourist in Portugal.* By W. H. HARRISON. Illustrated with Paintings by JAMES HOLLAND. London: R. Jennings.
5. *The Oriental Annual; containing a Series of Tales, Legends, and Historical Romances.* By THOMAS BACON, Esq., F.S.A. With Engravings by W. and E. FINDEN, from Sketches by the Author. London: Charles Tilt.
6. *The Keepsake for 1839.* Edited by FREDERIC MANSELL REYNOLDS. London: Longman and Co.

THE appearance of these beautiful volumes always disposes us to moralize on the flight of time. Presenting themselves to our notice at the close of the year, they remind us that stern winter is again approaching; that another spring and summer, with all their hopes and joyousness, have been dissociated from the future and are united to the past; that we stand nearer to the grave, and possess a briefer interest in what is 'seen and temporal,' than when their gay predecessors claimed our attention, and beguiled us from other and severer pursuits. These are thoughts we love to cherish. They come with no saddening influence on our spirits, but infuse an element of purity and greatness into the heart of man, which no earthly success can minister. Proceed onward we must. It is our destiny, and should be our joy. So far from shrinking from its contemplation, it is the part of wisdom to realize the fact, and daily to cherish the emotions it is adapted to enkindle. But the crowded state of our pages warns us against pursuing these reflections, and compels us to restrict ourselves to our critical province.

We shall briefly notice, in the order in which they have come

to hand, the volumes at the head of our Article, simply premising that our remarks will be few, and our extracts sparing. Works of permanent value, claim a more extended notice than our space permits, and we must not therefore devote what is due to them to volumes, the interest of which, however beautiful they may be, is necessarily limited and transient.

Fisher's Drawing-Room Scrap-Book, has been a favorite with the public for several years, and the style in which it makes its appearance for 1839 will increase rather than otherwise its reputation. Miss Landon announces in her Preface, that it will probably be the last volume of the series she will edit, as she is about to leave England for an indefinite period. The character of the publication differs from that of most of its rivals, containing nearly treble the number of highly-finished plates given in other Annuals, and combining within itself the varieties by which they are severally distinguished. The Engravings are selected from the many expensive Works published by the Messrs. Fisher, and the poetical illustrations are, with few exceptions, furnished by the fair editor. 'For the last few years,' she informs us, 'the *Drawing-Room Scrap-Book* has been the cherished record of my poetical impressions, and my only poetical work; and I grew gradually to look forward to June and July, as recalling my first keen delight in composition, and giving words to those fancies and feelings which constitute especially a woman's poetry.' As a collection of Engravings, executed for the most part with considerable ability, and illustrated by poetry, whose even tenor pleases, though it cannot delight, this volume is well entitled to the favor it has obtained. As an ornament to the drawing-room, it is without a rival. The following verses, by Bernard Barton, are in happy unison with the general character of the work.

‘THE FLOWER GARDEN.

‘This world is a valley of tears, we are told,
 But it is not all sorrow and gloom;
 For nature delights brighter truths to unfold
 By her song-birds, and flow'rets in bloom.
 ‘Would'st thou learn, then, the lore her glad lessons impart,
 At morning, or evening's hours,
 With love, hope, and gratitude shrined in thy heart,
 Go, and muse in a garden of flowers!
 ‘Oh! there may'st thou see how the Being who planned
 The Universe first by His skill!
 Whose fiat divided the sea from the land,
 In His works is all wonderful still.
 ‘Not alone in this *greatest!* the word of his power,
 Which fashioned earth, ocean, and sky,
 Is shown in the exquisite form of each flower,
 And the tints which enrapture the eye.

‘ Ay, look on the Lilies ! they toil not, nor spin,
 Yet earth’s proudest monarch, arrayed
 In the utmost of pomp that ambition can win,
 Their beauty and grace might upbraid.
 ‘ Or turn to the Rose, and the Jasmine’s bright stars,
 If thy heart would true loveliness know ;
 Their splendour no lurking deformity mars,
 As in lustre unsullied they glow.’

The second volume in our list is a work of a vastly different character from the preceding, and much more to our mind. It contains a series of splendid Engravings illustrative of the scenery of *Syria, the Holy Land, Asia Minor, &c.*, and has been got up at an immense cost. With an enterprising spirit, which merits most liberal support, the Messrs. Fisher have sent out artists of acknowledged ability for the express purpose of taking accurate views of the most interesting places and objects in a land which teems with absorbing and solemn associations. From the views thus taken, the plates included in this volume have been executed; and there is, consequently, a freshness and individuality, a picturesque and graphic character in them which greatly enhances their value. We see the persons and places depicted, the habits of the people, the grandeur of their ruins, the splendor of their architecture, their gorgeous temples, the forms of their superstition and the unrivalled richness of their scenery. The book teems with life, and speaks with a voice to which it is instructive to listen. The illustrative matter has been furnished by Mr. Carne, whose competence is proved by his ‘ Letters from the East.’ We greatly regret our inability to quote from it, but should be doing injustice to ourselves, as well as to the Messrs. Fisher, if we did not strongly recommend our readers to indulge themselves with an attentive and continuous perusal of the book. It will amply repay for the labor,—indeed, the style is so pleasing, and the materials are so rich, that its perusal will be one continuous gratification. The only regret which a reflecting mind can experience will be felt at the termination of its labors.

Fisher’s Juvenile Scrap-Book is sure of a hearty welcome from the younger members of our families. It contains several tales and descriptive pieces, interspersed with poetical stanzas, well fitted to engage the attention and to minister to the gratification of young readers. We should have been better pleased, if two of the pieces had not been made to insinuate false views of the character and principles of the men who opposed the tyranny of Charles the First. English literature has too long been poisoned in this way, and we regret to see the evil perpetuated in the fascinating volume before us. The impression made on juvenile

readers by the the two tales of 'The Royal Captives' and 'Aunt Eleanour's True Story,' is the reverse of what historical fidelity requires. With this exception the volume has our entire approval. The literary department has been prepared 'with peculiar reference to the important object of uniting information 'with amusement and moral instruction;' and its decorations are in a style of improved elegance and neatness. We need not say more to recommend it to our readers.

The present is the tenth volume of *Jennings's Landscape Annual*, and is so closely connected with the former volumes of the series as to be sure of meeting with a warm reception from the purchasers of them. Its immediate predecessor was devoted to Spain, from which the transition is easy to Portugal, the subject of the present volume. The plates, eighteen in number, are from paintings taken on the spot, by Mr. Holland, who has succeeded very happily in the selection of his ground, and the artistic arrangement of his subjects. The views of Oporto and Coimbra are excellent, uniting in a much greater degree than is usual, the distinctness of individual objects with the harmony and general completeness of the scene. The architectural magnificence of the monastery of Batalha, which still retains much of its original beauty, forms the subject of six engravings, two of which are devoted to the splendid mausoleums of Don John and Don Emanuel.

Mr. Harrison, the Author of 'Tales of a Physician,' has supplied the literary portion of the volume, and the ample materials at his command have enabled him to throw considerable light on the history, antiquities, literature, superstitions, and manners of Portugal. Legendary tales have been worked up with other and more veritable narratives, while the bounds of sober history have been marked by the old English character employed to introduce these fictions. 'Thus, it is hoped,' remarks the Editor, 'that while offering attractions to the lovers of light literature, the volume will possess somewhat of the permanent value of a standard work.' The following sketch of the life of Camoens, the great poet of Portugal, will be read with melancholy interest.

'Luis de Camoens, the poet, par excellence, of Portugal; for the honor of giving birth to whom, as in the instance of Homer, several towns contend. Lisbon, however, is supposed to have the just title to that distinction, while Coimbra has the honor of numbering him among her students. He was the son of Simon de Camoens, the master of a trading-vessel, in which he was cast away, and, with the greater portion of his fortune, was lost. With the genius of poetry, he appears to have possessed no ordinary share of its romance. His handsome person, good humor, and accomplishments, gave him a passport to the best society in Lisbon: where it was the custom, as in Spain and other

countries, for the youth to indulge their mistresses with nocturnal serenades. Camoens suffered severely for following the fashion; for having been detected in paying his devoirs in this manner to a lady of high rank, her relations took the matter so much in dudgeon, that he received an order on the following morning to quit Lisbon; and from this circumstance the misfortunes of this hapless son of genius may be dated.

Thus banished, he sought an asylum among his mother's family at Santarem; where, resuming his studies, he first conceived the idea of writing a poem on the discovery of India by Vasco de Gama. He seems soon to have grown weary of a life of inaction, and accordingly, embracing the profession of arms, embarked with a body of troops for Africa, then the seat of war. The vessel in which he proceeded thither was attacked by a Moorish galley of greatly superior force; but after a most desperate battle, in which the poet signalled himself by deeds of the most daring valor, the Crescent yielded to the Cross, and Camoens, with the loss of an eye sustained in the engagement, landed in Africa, where he gave additional proofs of his courage and prowess. It is said of him, that he had no sooner sheathed his sword after a victory, than he took up the pen to celebrate the deeds of his companions in arms, but forgot his own. His valor, however, met with no better reward from his superior officers than permission to return to Lisbon; the reason assigned for their neglect of his services being a fear of giving offence to his enemies in that city by promoting him to higher honors. He spent some time in fruitless endeavours to obtain a reward for his services from the court of Lisbon; and at last, bankrupt in patience as well as in pecuniary resources, he embarked, a voluntary exile for India, 1553, and, as it appears, with a determination never to return, for on leaving the Tagus he was heard to exclaim, *Ingrata patria, non possidebis ossa mea!*

Having joined the Portuguese army in India as a gentleman volunteer, he served in many expeditions against the native princes, and was subsequently employed in a diplomatic character; and, after having in this capacity visited many parts of India and China, he was appointed to some office in Macao, where, in comparative ease, he composed the greater part of his *Lusiad*. He was shipwrecked on his return from Macao, on the Malabar coast, where he swam ashore, holding his poem in one hand, having abandoned all he possessed besides, as worthless in comparison with it.

After sixteen years' hard service and exposure to an Eastern sun, he returned to Lisbon, where he published the *Lusiad*; when Sebastian, being pleased with the commencing lines addressed to himself, granted him a pension of fifteen pounds, a pittance which, however, he did not long enjoy; for his patron having been shortly afterwards killed in battle, his successor, Henry, to his everlasting dishonor, withdrew the stipend. Fulfilling the destiny almost inseparable from the poetical character, Camoens, literally a beggar, worn down by hard service, wounds, and the heavier oppression of a grieved and mortified spirit, took refuge in an almshouse, where he was sustained by the pittance

begged for him by an old and faithful servant in the streets of Lisbon,—the city which afterwards contended for the honor of giving birth to the man she had abandoned to the cold charity of the world! In this state of misery he died, at the age of sixty-two, in the year 1579.'

—p. 127.

The Oriental Annual has undergone an entire change this year. Its literary contents are furnished by Lieutenant Bacon, whose 'First Impressions and Studies from Nature in Hindostan,' were favorably noticed in the *Eclectic Review* at the time of their appearance.* His style in the present volume is light, cheerful, and occasionally picturesque, calling up and presenting to the imagination of his readers the grotesque and diversified forms of Indian manners and superstitions. The Engravings, taken from drawings of the most eminent artists, after sketches by the Editor, are eighteen in number, and are, many of them, deeply interesting and beautiful. 'The Peak of Teneriffe,' engraved by R. Wallis; 'Sahadut Ali's Palace,' by E. Finden; 'The Temple of Genesa,' at Benares, with its barbaric and thoroughly oriental sculpture, and the two views of Hurdwar, are among our chief favorites.

The Keepsake has come to hand just in time to be noticed, but not soon enough to allow of any attempt at a critical analysis of its contents. It is got up in its usual style of elegance, and consists of light tales, and poetry of ordinary merit. The Editor has returned this year to his former practice of announcing the names of his aristocratic contributors. This was omitted last year, when we ventured to express our doubt of the success of the experiment. The re-appearance of the list may fairly be taken as proof of the correctness of our prophecy. The Marquis of Granby, Lord Jocelyn, the Marchioness of Londonderry, Lord Viscount Maidstone, Lord Manners, Lord Nugent, the Lady Nugent, the Countess Blessington, and the Lady E. Stuart Wortley, are included in the distinguished list. The Engravings, some of which are executed with great spirit, are mostly fancy scenes destitute of historical interest; and the tales which accompany them, are told in a light, airy, and tasteful style. 'Euphrasia,' 'a Tale of Greece,' by Mrs. Shelley, displays deeper pathos and greater power than most of its companions.

* New Series, i., 477.

Brief Notices.

The Pictorial Bible; being the Old and New Testaments according to the Authorized Version. Illustrated with many hundred Wood-cuts, representing the Historical Events, the Landscape Scenes, and the subjects of Natural History, Costume, and Antiquities from the best sources. To which are added, Original Notes, &c., &c. Vol. III. Imp. 8vo. London: Charles Knight.

The concluding volume of one of the best books which has been issued from the English press for many years past. We say this advisedly, and after a careful examination of the Work. It is just such a publication as was needed,—one which combines to a far greater degree than any other, the results of Eastern travels, and of European scholarship. No pains have been spared to render the work complete, and the effort is eminently successful. The wood-cuts are innumerable, and for the most part admirably illustrative of the text. If any are to be excepted we should name those which pertain to historical events, after pictures by the most celebrated masters. Some of these might have been dispensed with, but their insertion is proof of the determination of the publishers to spare no cost in perfecting their work. The Notes are as valuable as they are numerous, and leave little to be desired. Avoiding all doctrinal disquisitions, they are strictly devoted to the history, geography, natural history, and antiquities of the Sacred volume. The publication is consequently free from every tinge of sectarianism, and must prove equally acceptable to all denominations of Christians. We merely discharge our duty to the readers of the Eclectic in emphatically recommending them to possess themselves of a copy of the work. Every Christian parent should place it within the reach of his household.

Illustrations of British History, Biography, and Manners in the Reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary, Elizabeth, and James I., exhibited in a Series of Original Papers, selected from the MSS. of the Noble Families of Howard, Talbot, and Cecil; containing, among a variety of interesting pieces, a great part of the Correspondence of Elizabeth and her Ministers, with George, Sixth Earl of Shrewsbury, during the Fifteen Years in which Mary, Queen of Scots, remained in his Custody. With Notes and Observations. By Edmund Lodge, Esq., K. H., &c., Second Edition, with additions, revised and corrected. 3 vols. 8vo. London: J. Chidley, 1838.

A new and improved edition of a valuable work, from which the future historians of our country will derive numerous illustrations of the manners, state of parties, and political contentions which distinguished the times of our fathers. The work has been before the public for some years, and its general character is too well known to require comment or explanation. The papers of which it consists throw considerable light on some of the most interesting facts of

English history, and are illustrated by notes, the materials for which have been chiefly collected in the College of Arms, with which the editor is officially connected. In the present edition the orthography is modernised,—a great improvement, in our judgment, notwithstanding the anathema which will be pronounced by some sturdy antiquarians. A catalogue of unpublished papers in the ‘Talbot Collection,’ extending to 167 pages is also added, and other minor alterations tending to the improvement of the work are introduced. The volumes are indispensable to a historical library, and the public are greatly indebted to Mr. Chidley, for the opportunity of obtaining them in their present improved condition.

A Dictionary of Arts, Manufactures, and Mines: containing a clear Exposition of their Principles and Practice. By Andrew Ure, M.D. To be completed in Ten Monthly Parts, with upwards of One Thousand engravings on Wood. Parts I. and II., 8vo. London: Longman and Co.

Dr. Ure's reputation precludes the necessity of our saying anything in proof of the accuracy and sterling worth of this publication. It is designed to embody the results of his long experience, as a professor of practical science, and will be found to supply a mass of important information to manufacturers, engineers, chemists, and other numerous classes. It is drawn up in a style at once exact and popular, and is so well illustrated as to be level to the comprehension of the generality of readers. As a book of reference, it is invaluable, and as such, must speedily find its way into every well selected library.

A General Outline of the Animal Kingdom. By Thomas Rymer Jones, F.Z.S., Professor of Comparative Anatomy, in King's College, London. Illustrated by numerous engravings on wood. Part I. 8vo. London: John Van Voorst, 1838.

The design of this work is to diminish the difficulties which have hitherto attended investigations into the structure and internal economy of the animal creation, by divesting them of verbal technicalities, and allusions to physiological principles not generally understood. It is to be completed in ten or twelve monthly parts, and to be illustrated by wood engravings in the first style of the art.

The New Excitement: or a Book to induce Young People to read, for 1839. By the editor of ‘the New Excitement,’ for 1838, and of ‘the Excitement,’ for the preceding years. Edinburgh: W. Innes.

We are glad to see another of these volumes, having witnessed in previous years the delight with which the work has been] hailed by the junior branches of our family. Its design is to ‘furnish innocent and amusing reading for young people, by presenting to their attention accounts of striking appearances in nature—of signal preservations experienced by individuals—and other such narratives as tend to ‘make the reader imagine himself identified with the parties concerned,

‘and to enter with deep interest into their various feelings whether as actors or sufferers.’ The present volume accomplishes this design very happily, by the variety and character of its narratives, and will be found, during the winter’s evenings, one of the most agreeable companions that can be introduced into the family circle. As such, we warmly recommend it to the guardians and teachers of youth.

Letters from the West Indies during a Visit in the Autumn of 1836, and the Spring of 1837. By William Lloyd, M.D. London; Darton and Harvey. 12mo.

Dr. Lloyd accompanied Messrs. Sturge, Scoble, and Harvey, to the West Indies, in 1836, and the present volume consists of the letters he wrote to his friends in England during his absence. It forms an appropriate Supplement to the publication of his friends, and will be read with pleasure by all who are interested in the benevolent object of their Mission. Those parts which refer to Demerara, a colony not touched on by Messrs. Sturge and Harvey, are the most novel and important portions of the volume.

The Christian Warrior wrestling with Sin, Satan, the World, and the Flesh. By the late Rev. Isaac Ambrose. Abridged, methodized, and improved, by the Rev. Thomas Jones, of Creaton, Northamptonshire. London: Seely and Burnside.

The merits of the original have long been known and appreciated by the religious public, and Mr. Jones has performed a good service by rendering the treatise more intelligible and acceptable. It describes the Christian’s adversaries,—shows their varied modes of attack,—gives important directions for using the Christian armour, and affords the scriptural encouragements and prospects of final victory. The abridgment will be found a suitable companion to the exercises of secret devotion.

The Parables of our Lord Explained, in Familiar Conversations between a Mother and her Children. By the Wife of an Irish Clergyman. London: Seeley and Burnside.

This book deserves a place among the most successful efforts of the present day for the benefit of the young. Its style is perspicuous and simple. Great truths are taught in plain language. Its tendency is to make the youthful mind interested in reading the Sacred Scriptures. We can cordially recommend it to Sunday-schools, and as a valuable assistant to the teacher of a domestic Bible class.

The Person and Work of Christ; being a concise but comprehensive View of the Subject. London: Davis and Porter.

The Author of this volume is no doubt a good man. He is, however, too weak to wield a sword or to wear a helmet. His attempts at Biblical criticism are ludicrous. And his arguments for ‘the truth as it is in Jesus,’ are such as will fill the enemies of the Gospel with unmingled delight.

Letters from an Absent Godfather; or a Manual of Religious Instruction for Young Persons. By the Rev. J. E. Riddle, A.M., Curate of Harrow. London: Longman, Orme, and Co.

These letters are the production of a mind that knows the truths of the Gospel, but is so wedded to dogmas and ceremonies, as to be morally incompetent to give a free and full statement of *truth*; because that statement must clash with glaring errors to which it is pledged. A mass of contradiction is in consequence presented to the youthful mind. Thus, in the second letter, the dogma of Baptismal regeneration is advocated; while in the fourth, the doctrine of divine influence is maintained, and the necessity of 'the renewing of the Holy Ghost' most solemnly urged. We venture to recommend the Author to select some of the valuable instructions contained in these Letters, and to put them in another form,—a form unencumbered by the delusive errors involved in the anomalous relation of godfather and the ceremony of confirmation. And if he have moral courage to avow the truth as he knows it,—unfettered by any rites or dogmas, we confidently predict for him much peace of mind and extensive usefulness. 'Fiat justitia, ruat cælum.'

Literary Intelligence.

Just Published.

The History of Protestant Nonconformity in England from the Reformation under Henry VIII. By Thomas Price, D.D. Vol. II.

Truths from the West Indies; including a Sketch of Madeira in 1833. By Captain Studholme Hodgson.

Sermons by the late Rev. W. Smart, Paisley. With a Memoir by his Son, the Rev. W. S. Smart, Linlithgow.

South Australia in 1837; in a Series of Letters: with a Postscript as to 1838. By Robert Gouger, Esq.

Illustrations of the Bible from the Monuments of Egypt. By W. C. Taylor, LL.D.

Letters: True Fame, a Sermon; and Prospects of Ethiopia, a Fragment. By the late Rev. John Jameson, Methron. With a Memoir of the Author by the Rev. David Young, Perth.

The Poetic Reciter; or Beauties of the British Poets; adapted for reading and pronunciation, in public and private seminaries. By Henry Marlen.

Christian Principles taught and explained in a Familiar Dialogue.

Reminiscences of South America: from two and a half years' residence in Venezuela. By John Hawkshaw, F.G.S.

A Complete Refutation of Astrology; consisting principally of a Series of Letters which appeared in the Cheltenham Chronicle, in reply to the arguments of Lieut. Morrison and others, &c. By T. H. Moody.

Plain Discourses (adapted for family reading) consisting of Lectures on the Catechism of the Church, and different parts of the Book of Common Prayer. By the Rev. W. Hutchinson, B.D.

An Elucidation of the Prophecies; being an Exposition of the Book of Daniel and the Revelation. By Joseph Tyso.

THE
ECLECTIC REVIEW

FOR DECEMBER, 1838.

- Art. I. 1. *Historical Researches into the Politics, Intercourse, and Trade of the Carthaginians, Ethiopians, and Egyptians.*** By A. H. L. HEEREN. 2 vols. 8vo. Translated from the German. Second edition, corrected throughout, and to which is now first added an Index, a Life of the Author, new Appendixes, and other Additions. Oxford: Talboys, 1838.
- 2. *Historical Researches into the Politics, Intercourse and Trade of the Principal Nations of Antiquity.*** By A. H. L. HEEREN. Vol. I., Persians. Vol. II., Babylonians, Phœnicians, and Scythians. Vol. III., Indians. Translated from the German. Oxford: Talboys, 1833.
- 3. *A Sketch of the Political History of Ancient Greece.*** By A. H. L. HEEREN. Translated from the German. 1 vol. 8vo. Oxford: Talboys. 1829.
- 4. *A Manual of Ancient History, particularly with Regard to the Constitutions, the Commerce, and the Colonies of the States of Antiquity.*** By A. H. L. HEEREN. Translated from the German. 1 vol. 8vo. Second edition, corrected and improved. Oxford: Talboys.
- 5. *A Manual of the History of the Political System of Europe and its Colonies.*** By A. H. L. HEEREN. Translated from the fifth German edition. 2 vols. 8vo. Oxford: Talboys. 1834.
- 6. *Historical Treatises from the German of A. H. L. Heeren.*** 1 vol. 8vo. Oxford: Talboys. 1836.

THE general literature of Germany is not more than a century old. Klopstock is its reputed parent, and Goethe and Heeren—men of our own time, were his contemporaries. The taste for letters called forth in that country by the Reformation, was long restricted, almost entirely, to theology and ecclesiastical history. To excel in those departments, was felt to be the one

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thing needful to its intellectual and moral renovation,—and its clear understanding, and bold heart, were given to such labour with a characteristic steadiness and perseverance. As the new religious opinions were diffused, province after province cast off their old usage and association, and the great Germanic empire appeared as a house divided against itself. But it was a house already crumbling into ruin; and instead of falling the sooner as the effect of this disunion, it derived a measure of strength and durability from the action and re-action thus awakened that could hardly have resulted from any other cause. What was lost in unity as relating to the whole, was more than compensated by the fresh life diffused through the parts. Now it was, that every German was summoned to be both soldier and polemic—prepared to enter upon the war of the sword, or the war of argument. Such were not times for the rusting of the human faculties. They acquired strength and skill by the exercises to which they were summoned; but, withal, a hardness and severity of temperament, which was not without its dangers. There is a nearer connexion than is commonly supposed, between a full and well-proportioned religion, and a broad and healthy literature. In order to the ample development of either, we want the play both of the milder and the stronger sentiments of humanity; and the wisdom which results from thought as expanded over a varied surface, no less than the energy which takes a vigorous hold on a few leading conceptions. But such matured combinations, are not the produce of a state of things in which men have to struggle for existence.

In this respect, the history of our own country during the civil war, and sometime afterwards, bears a resemblance to that of modern Germany. The comparison, indeed, if examined closely, would be found much to our advantage. Still the resemblance is obvious. From 1640 to 1660, we had little leisure, and almost as little inclination, to attend to any matters of literature which did not bear on some disputed point in theology or politics. Productions which aimed at nothing higher than amusement, not only failed to be appreciated, but were looked upon, at such a moment, as a species of impertinence. Men who occupied themselves with such things, were slighted, or scowled upon, as persons neglecting the interests of their country in her hour of need. It must be confessed, that if there are subjects that may be safely allowed to absorb attention in this manner, those subjects are—religion and government. It was nevertheless a calamity, both to England and Germany, that questions of that nature were so much divorced, at the time mentioned, from the humanizing influence of general literature; though, no doubt, the long exercise of the intellect and heart of both countries on the themes with which they were then occupied, laid the foundation for that greater comprehensiveness, refinement, and power, by which they have since become distinguished.

The civil war in England, and the thirty years' war in Germany, were the effect of long smouldering dissensions, which were not to be brought to any settlement except by some such means. But the good which resulted to England during the latter half of the seventeenth century, from its great struggle, mixed and slow as it may appear, was neither so mixed nor so slow as that which resulted to Germany from the wars in which she was engaged. The evils which England found attendant on the Restoration were trivial, if compared with those entailed on Germany by the treaty of Westphalia. During the next half century, she appeared to have sheathed the sword only to retrograde in every thing that could tend to her elevation. But with the opening of the eighteenth century came signs of improvement. By the middle of that period Klopstock made his appearance; and from that epoch the German mind has developed itself with a rapidity, an amplitude, and a force, which has placed it in advance, in some important respects, of the states to which it was long accustomed to do homage as to precursors and examples.

In classical learning, and particularly in history—both secular and ecclesiastical, the scholars of Germany are furnishing us, almost every day, with splendid examples which we are slow to imitate. In this physical age, they are seen bestowing a profound attention on everything relating to the *mind*—its analysis, its history, and its productions. Gathering up, with a generosity that can hardly be enough admired, every fragment relating to the civilization of past times, and interrogating it to the utmost with a view to the improvement of the present. History is, in fact, their great science. But history on no vulgar scale. Men are hardly accounted as knowing any thing except as they know the steps by which it became what it is. All learning they deem valuable in proportion as it makes them acquainted with the processes which men have been employed in working out on all subjects from the beginning; and as it may further enable them to make the acquisitions of the past, the starting point for the time to come. Among ourselves, those who are skilled in the classical languages rarely turn them to any practical account. If the acquiring of them has been a wholesome discipline of the mind, the mental health said to be thus obtained, is seldom dedicated to objects cognate with the source from which it is supposed to have been derived. But it is not so with our Teutonic neighbours. If Greece and Rome have benefited them, they are resolved on doing something for the benefit of Greece and Rome. If Egypt, Asia, and India, have done their part in accumulating, and conveying to our own time, the treasures which ameliorate the character and condition of mankind, those regions are also traversed, and all that time has spared is explored and studied as with the eagerness of a most filial affection. In short, the ambition of the German spirit would be,

were it possible, to re-construct and re-animate the scenes of distant lands and bygone ages, so as to shut out oblivion, and to divest time and death of half their empire.

In Professor Heeren some of the finest qualities of this spirit are found. The works by which he will be best known in future times are those which treat of Egypt in the days of its splendour, and of ancient Asia. In these volumes he has shown himself learned in the languages of Greece and Rome, so as to be capable of availing himself readily of the most recondite information contained in them. The same volumes also afford ample proof of his large acquirement in many other departments of knowledge, relating more or less to the object of his labours. Upon all the primary sources of information concerning the states and empires included within the range of his inquiries, he has bestowed the attention of a clear, independent, and liberal mind. The simplicity, the sobriety, and the calm and powerful discrimination with which his investigations are conducted, cannot fail to inspire an unusual degree of confidence, both in the soundness of his judgment, and in his unbiassed love of truth. The manner in which he sometimes brings a number of scattered and imperfect rays to bear upon a point, so as to make a manifest approach toward certainty, where, only a little before, no such approach had appeared to be possible, is often, in itself, a high gratification, independently of the interest that may be felt in the matter which he is thus endeavouring to illustrate. Nor is it upon the testimony of *writings* of antiquity only that this singularly judicious scrutiny is exercised. The same good genius attends him when interrogating the great *monuments* of remote time concerning the lands which reared them. Asia and Africa, in their ancient glory, were selected by him, partly because they were regarded by his enterprising temper as presenting a field comparatively untrodden. Without the affectation of seeming to be ignorant of what had been written on that subject, or to be indifferent about it, he resolved to examine the best sources of knowledge relating to it for himself, and to bestow great care on the monuments which still exist in those quarters of the globe, and which within the last fifty years have been so largely described by European travellers. Nowhere, is the learning, and the admirably regulated mind of the author, more observable than when employed in deducing from the architectural wonders of Egypt, Asia, and India, the amount of historical evidence supplied by them. On this enchanted ground we follow Professor Heeren with a feeling of security which few men could awaken. He treads with a firm step where ordinary writers would assuredly fail. What is found, after every witness has been invoked and questioned, to be uncertain, or only probable, he is content to leave as such, and rarely states his conclusions in positive language without arranging so much evidence in support of

them as fully to justify him in adopting it. The limited knowledge, the dominance of fancy, the love of hypothesis, or the impatience of doubt, which would unfit the great majority, even among clever scholars, for becoming sound expositors of the testimony borne by such objects to the story of the ancient world, is rarely, if ever perceptible in Heeren. We must own that when placed by the author amidst the ruins of Babylon, Persepolis, or Thebes, we have looked and listened with no ordinary interest as he has summoned the ancient dead to deliver their depositions concerning the objects before us, and has made the written and monumental testimonies expositors of each other, and the result both a correction of our errors, and an addition to our knowledge. In this manner, the ancients and the moderns are made to affect each other, the attention of the historian being directed to the travels of Sir Robert Ker Porter, as not less worthy of study than the narrative of the ancient Ctesias; to the history of Sir John Malcolm, as equally serviceable on many points with that of the History of Arrian; and to the labours of Burckhardt and Belzoni, as adapted to correct and enlarge our views of ancient Egypt, hardly less than those of Herodotus and Diodorus. In fact, the strength of Professor Heeren consists mainly in this vigorous grasp on all the available means of knowledge connected with his subject; and in the wise use which he has made of the various contributions thus accumulated. By this means, he has become, unquestionably, the best historian of the primitive nations of the earth that Europe has to this time produced. His volume on Greece; his Manual on Ancient History; his European States-System; and his Miscellaneous Pieces, are all based on sound and extensive erudition, and pervaded by the sober and enlarged views which characterise the most elaborate of his works.

In his style, this author seldom aims at any thing more than to state his meaning clearly, without the use of superfluous words, or the aid of ornament of any kind. No attempt is made to exhibit finished portraiture of the great men, or of the tribes and nations which pass before him. His descriptions of this nature are brief, general, and commonly mixed up with other matters. In this respect, he has no part in the genius of Plutarch or Tacitus; though there are seasons, particularly when his imagination is roused by the presence of the monuments of departed greatness, in which he shows himself master of a grave and manly eloquence, that we are sometimes inclined to wish he indulged more frequently. It is remarkable too, that much as Heeren has written on the subject of history, no one of his works is of a narrative kind. His larger and smaller productions are all of the nature of disquisitions on history, rather than examples of the thing itself. The cause of this somewhat curious fact is not difficult to be discovered. The writer who can speak of Shakspeare

as an object of dislike rather than of interest; of the poetry of Germany, as containing little worth reading; and of Tasso as the prince of modern epic poets, must possess a structure of mind, which, however admirably adapted to some departments of historical investigation, could never have succeeded in imparting that dramatic interest to a regular history on which the highest order of excellence in such compositions must always depend. With all its good qualities his mind is essentially didactic. This is not so much the case as to endanger the permanence of Heeren's fame; but it will limit the number of his readers; while writers more expert in popularising the materials which he has collected, will ere long acquire, by his means, a wider celebrity than his own, at much less cost.

It is more than forty years since this author became professor of history in the University of Gottingen. He is now in the seventy-eighth year of his age, having survived nearly the whole of the distinguished men who divided the republic of letters in Germany between them in the early part of his career. It is worthy of observation too, that Professor Heeren, large and secure as his fame now is, owes very little to the great critical authorities of his own country during the former part of his life. His position is the effect of the self-sustained enterprise of his own mind, and of the unbiassed patronage of the public at large. Literature has its Toryism no less than politics, and we must say that we are pleased whenever we see its pride and heartlessness defeated, whether it be in the one connexion or the other. It may be that this temper—this disposition to keep new pretenders down, especially if they enter not at the right door, and with due obeisance, belongs to human nature, more than to the men of any party or country. But it is not the less hateful on that account, and delighted should we be if the secrets of many an editorial prison-house were fully exposed, so that the stranglings in the dark which have been perpetrated there might be placed as in the light of day. What an instructive tale might be furnished in this shape from the early history of the 'Quarterly Review,' and the recent history of the 'Times' newspaper! But we must not dwell upon this topic just now.

Such, then, are the general characteristics of Heeren's works. It will now be proper to make such of our readers as are not conversant with them more intimately acquainted with their contents. The earliest of this writer's publications, after having employed his learning with no great effect on an edition of the *Eclogæ* of Stobæus, was the first two volumes of the work intitled, 'Historical Researches into the Politics, Intercourse, and Trade of the Principal Nations of Antiquity.' These volumes treat of the African nations. They were published in 1793. Since then new editions have been printed from time to time, and each has

been an improvement on the former. We are much gratified to find that, a second edition of the English translation has been called for, and that to this edition an interesting memoir of Professor Heeren, written by himself, is prefixed. This edition is also otherwise enriched by corrections and contributions made expressly for it by the author. The first of these volumes relates to the Carthaginians and Ethiopians; the second is wholly occupied with the Egyptians. The account of Carthage is divided into eight chapters, and embraces a description of the formation and condition of the Carthaginian Dominions in Africa; with a review of their Foreign Possessions; Government; Public Revenue; Maritime Commerce; Land Trade; and War Forces; concluding with some inquiries relating to the causes of the Decline and Fall of that memorable state—the eldest daughter of Tyre, and the most formidable rival of Rome during the age of her republic. Of these several chapters, that on the Government of Carthage is, upon the whole, the most interesting and valuable, and we shall select a few passages from it as examples of the manner in which the author usually conducts his investigations.

It is as follows that he speaks of the sources whence our information on this subject must be derived.

‘Aristotle, who possessed so accurate a knowledge of the different constitutions of his age, mentions it as a merit in the Carthaginian government, that it had at that time undergone no very great change, either from the civil broils of its citizens, or the usurpation of tyrants.* He justly considers this as a proof of its judicious organization; and an inquiry into it would, on that score alone, deserve attention, even if the state with which it is connected did not, on so many other accounts, justly claim it. To give, indeed, what the historical inquirer would naturally wish for, an historical development of the Carthaginian government throughout all the periods of the republic, our want of information renders impossible. But few accounts have descended to us, and even those few we do not make use of without mistrust. The foreign historians of this republic rarely extend their research into its internal affairs; and when they do, the form of the Roman government floats continually before their eyes: they compare silently, and often imagine that they find similarity because they look for it. The names of the Roman magistrates are given to the Carthaginian, and, together with the name, its attributes; although the nature of things tells us, that the corresponding situation of the magistrates among a commercial and a warlike people must be very different. The inquiry is thus rendered exceedingly difficult, and if we could at all succeed in our object, we must not number the authorities but weigh them. The first place among the historians is due, without contradiction, to Polybius. He was best acquainted with the constitution, is accurate, and the most uniform in his expression. His authority, where we can

* Aristot. *Polit.* ii. 11.

quote it, is in my opinion decisive, whether confirmed by the agreement of others or not. Diodorus and Appian are certainly inferior to him, yet not so much so as Livy and Justin. We make use of them only where Polybius fails us. Fortunately, however, historians in this part of our labour are not the only source of information. In addition to these we have Aristotle, who in his *Treatise on Politics* has devoted a whole chapter to the constitution of Carthage.* To him we are indebted for the most valuable, and, at the same time, the most faithful particulars; and the following remarks are, for the most part, founded upon his statements.'

Having remarked that the government of Carthage, like those of Athens, Sparta, and Rome, was municipal—that is, the government of a single city, over all the towns or cities within the territory subject to its sway; and having shown that the opulence and power of Carthage were derived in nearly an equal degree from agriculture and commerce, Professor Heeren proceeds further to consider the origin and character of the elements by which its political constitution was distinguished.

'The government of Carthage was the work of time and circumstances. An express legislation, by which the rights and relations of the constitutional authorities were defined, is no where mentioned. And if we consider this rightly, it will immediately appear that nothing was more firmly established, or accurately determined, in the Carthaginian constitution, than in the Roman; consequently, the government could not come to maturity at once. Probably, therefore, the constitution was perfected by degrees, chiefly by internal broils, of which some slight traces are found in the early history of the state: custom and usage was the sanction which made it legal. A monarchical government is usually given to Carthage at its foundation; this afterwards became changed, we know not how or when, into a republic. That this really happened is stated, though only incidentally, by Aristotle. This opinion, however, only rests upon an uncertain tradition concerning a queen Dido, who is generally supposed to have been a princess of unlimited authority. But without doubt Carthage adopted, after the custom of all the colonies of ancient times, the constitution of her parent state; and notwithstanding she might give her-

* Arist. *Polit.* ii. 11. How much better still should we have been informed if his last 'Treatise on Governments' had been preserved! That of Carthage was explained therein. In his politics this was not his object, but only to show how far the Carthaginian constitution corresponded with the advance, which man, according to his system, may make towards a good government. A complete and detailed explanation of it cannot therefore be expected. The treatise of THEODORES METOCHITA, belonging to the fourteenth century, *περί Καρχηδόνος καὶ τῆς κατ' αὐτὴν πολιτείας* was not published till after the third edition of this work, in his *Miscellanea philosophica et historica*, Græce, Lips. 1821; and reprinted and explained by Professor KLUVER, at the end of his *Aristoteles de Politia Carthaginiensium*. It is, however, not so much an investigation as a character of the Carthaginian government, mostly from known sources, yet altogether without new matter.

self what were called kings, yet, as will be seen under the head of Phanecia, this government was by no means despotic.

‘However this may have been, all accounts agree that an aristocracy arose, which soon obtained that strength and solidity which form the striking feature of that kind of government, distinguished, however, by many institutions peculiar to itself.

‘During the flourishing period of the republic, and even as late as the Roman wars, it remained unshaken, two attempts to overthrow it passing over with little or no effect. The foreign policy of Carthage was the counterpart of her domestic government. While the latter remained firmly established, the former remained equally secure. The constant prosecution of the same plans for many centuries, a willing limitation of her conquests, and a moderation even in the midst of fortune, are all characteristic features of a temperate aristocracy, and are incompatible with a democratic government. The prevailing projects remained as it were hereditary in the ruling families; and as these became changed by the wars with Rome, a reaction upon the internal relation of the state followed, as an almost unavoidable consequence, for they were too closely connected not to be mutually influenced by each other. The all-dissolving hand of time, and the corruption of the national character by avarice and immoderate wealth, helped also to effect this change; but it is probable that the careful and bustling activity of aristocratic policy would have found means to prop up the tottering fabric of the state, if the internal shocks had not been assisted by violence from without.’—pp. 110—113.

What then was the nature of that aristocracy from whose characteristic steadiness, moderation, and activity, our Author, under more favorable circumstances, would have expected so much? It was an aristocracy consisting, not in an hereditary nobility, but in a number of *optimate families*.

‘The number of these families cannot now be ascertained with anything like certainty; it could not always have been the same; but it is evident that sometimes a single family maintained for a long period so high a degree of authority that the generals and principal magistrates were taken chiefly from it. The house of Mago, the first Carthaginian conqueror in Sicily and Sardinia, affords a striking example of this. From the genealogy of this house, so far as it can now be collected from the fragments which remain of ancient writers, it is clear that for at least four generations, (a full century, if not more,) it gave generals to Carthage; and even the repeated misfortunes of some of its members did not take from it this privilege.

‘But, however great the power and influence of such families might have been, it remains, nevertheless, certain that the government never became a pure aristocracy, but always contained a mixture of democracy, though that democracy was very limited. Both Polybius and Aristotle agree in placing the government of Carthage among the mixed forms, although the aristocratic element predominated. A closer inquiry into the rights of the people, the nature and power of the

senate, concerning the magistrates and their business, as well as the formation of the courts of justice, will give us a deeper insight into the internal organization of the state.'—pp. 115, 116.

These inquiries are all ably prosecuted, and, as the result, Carthage appears before us with the entire frame of a republic, not based upon democracy, but including it, and bearing a near resemblance to the government of Sparta from the first, and to the government of Rome from the time when her Plebs began to divide the offices and the control of the state with the Patricians.

In Africa, if we except the slight footing obtained by the Greek colonists on its north-eastern coast, nothing approaching to a republican form of government has ever been known except at Carthage. And there, it not only existed, but acquired root and strength for ages, and that, strange to say, among a people of Asiatic origin, without any apparent mixture of European blood, or any other influence than that which grew up along with them as industrious, ingenious, and enterprising colonists. In the history of Europe, if we pass by the Moslems of Spain, commerce has every where been the harbinger of freedom. It was thus in Italy, and among the Hanse towns of Germany, during the Middle Age. It gave to the United Provinces the boldness to assert their liberty, and the strength to retain it. The government of France could not become wholly despotic until the commercial spirit of her Protestant population was either crushed or exiled. And among ourselves, our House of Commons has been powerful, and popular freedom secure, in proportion to our commercial prosperity. In the wake of commerce you find wealth, refinement, and augmented sources of rational indulgence, and with much of the power necessary to realise such objects, there then comes a natural solicitude to secure the person and the property of the worthy from all wrong. It would be easy to show that similar causes operated to produce similar results both in Greece and Rome. But they nowhere seem so powerful as in Carthage, where they appear to triumph over climate, and even nature itself. With such a fact before us, is it well to conclude that the children of Asia must be for ever the victims of despotism? We are a little surprised that a point of so much interest in relation to the probable or possible history of the species, should seem to have escaped the humane sagacity of Professor Heeren.

We could willingly detain our readers at much length amid the scenes, and the races of people, to which these volumes relate; but it must suffice to observe that every thing we have said in praise of the works of this Author in general, applies with the strictest truth to these investigations concerning the ancient African nations; and not less so to the three volumes which embrace the great Asiatic continent and India.

In the volumes last mentioned, questions of the kind discussed in the chapters on Carthage, are considered in relation to the Scythians, Babylonians, Phœnecians, Persians, and Indians. The history of the Jews is touched upon only incidentally. But the Author owes much in this department of his labors to the Hebrew Scriptures; and in return has done much, apparently without design, to demonstrate their unrivalled antiquity and truth. In vain does he search for any documents like them among the archives of ancient Egypt, or the great empires of the East. The father of history in Greece was about contemporary with the last of the prophets in Judea; and all written testimony in the eastern world prior to that time is limited to a few fragments of very recent origin, which serve rather to irritate than gratify the curiosity of the historian. When the fragments adverted to are considered, together with the information conveyed by the Greek writers from about the time of the Persian war, and the evidence supplied by the architectural monuments which have survived to our own day, we see that a state of society existed in the East at that period, in every respect of the sort which the sacred writers describe. But if the stream is to be traced far back toward its fountain, the inquirer must not hope for a single oriental scribe, apart from the school of the prophets, as the companion of his journey. How is this to be explained? Was there anything in the political or intellectual character of the Jews, to have placed them, in this manner, more than a thousand years in advance of the powerful empires which rose and fell in succession at their side? The phenomenon admits of but one explanation.

Much do we wish that those who 'are set for the defence of the Gospel,' were more familiar with studies of this nature than is their wont. The tendency of such reading would be to nerve their own confidence in the cause to which they are devoted, and to qualify them for acting with greater efficiency in its behalf. In short, we know of few studies carrying with them a greater promise of utility to the dissenting minister than the study of history—particularly as relating to the great question of government. Every dissenting church, talk of it as we may, is an ecclesiastical republic, demanding a knowledge of human nature from him who would preside over it wisely, which is not likely to be supplied by the passing occurrences of the hour. Similar social relations, are found to produce similar effects on all men; and is it not reasonable to expect that the man will judge best of human nature under the influence of any given circumstances, who has been accustomed to mark the influence of such circumstances upon it in a multitude of cases before? To deny this would be to say that men are not capable of profiting by the experience of others, which would be the next good thing to saying that they are not capable of profiting by their own.

Professor Heeren's volume on Greece consists, in common with those already mentioned, of a number of Essays, on so many separate subjects included in the ancient history of the country to which it relates. It was, we believe, the first of our Author's works that made its appearance in the English language. In the variety and accuracy of its learning, and in the principle and feeling which it every where exhibits, it is just the kind of book that might have been expected from such a writer. In fact, there is an inspiration in the theme which sometimes raises the Author above his ordinary level. We know of no single volume on Greece exhibiting so much erudition, and containing, at the same time, so much adapted to interest every class of readers.

The Manuals of Professor Heeren, the one on Ancient History to the Fall of the Roman Empire, and the other on Modern Europe from the close of the Fifteenth Century, have been more extensively translated, and, in consequence, we must suppose, much more read than any of his more finished works. We are pleased to find that this is the fact, inasmuch as it seems to justify the conclusion that the study of history, not for matter of idle show, but as a science, and for purposes of utility, is becoming prevalent over great part of Europe.

The object of these works is to present the great facts belonging to the different sections of Ancient and Modern History in a compressed and lucid form; and, still more, to point the attention of the student to those primary and secondary sources of information from which he is to fill up the somewhat bare but vigorous outline which has been laid before him. They are not books to be read through at once, or alone, as though sufficient of themselves to impart satisfactory views concerning any one of the many subjects on which they touch. Their object is not so much to communicate knowledge, as to show how it may be acquired; and if they may be said to perform something of the office of a tutor or guide, it is only in relation to this limited object. It is not completeness of information, therefore, nor is it—which is of much more importance—the capacity for reasoning well upon the facts of history, that is to be derived from the use of such books. Their value, however, in their own sphere, is very great. In this country, history has been so little a matter of real study, even with the more educated classes, that publications of this nature are hardly known among us. In Germany they abound, and, in fact, have become so common that not a few of them are of indifferent merit, and might be well dispensed with. But such works, and the best of their kind, will ere long be in request even in England. In the *curriculum* of the Faculty of Arts, agreed upon by the Senate of the London University, History, at length, has its place as a fixed and separate branch of education; and we have heard that the students who presented themselves for

matriculation, from University College, and King's College, during the past month, were examined on this subject in a manner which men of much longer standing in the old Universities would not have deemed themselves competent to sustain. In this respect, as in others, the improved spirit of the younger Institution will operate as a principle of regeneration on the older. Contemptuous talk about such things, as novelties soon to die away, will not suffice to meet this movement.

Beside the works to which we have adverted, Professor Heeren is the Author of a number of miscellaneous pieces, the principal of which are under the following titles:—Miscellaneous Historical Pieces, in 3 vols.; on the Method of Preserving the Nationality of Conquered States; Development of the Effects of the Crusades upon Europe; on the Influence of the Normans on the French Language and Poetry; on the Colonization of Egypt, and its probable consequences to Europe; the Influence of the German Federation upon Europe; on the Historical Value of Plutarch's Lives; History of the Civil Commotions under the Gracchi; Five Archeological and Antiquarian Tracts; History of Classical Literature during the Middle Ages; Biographical and Literary Memoirs; Memoirs of German Historians; Development of the consequences of the Reformation on the Politics of Europe; on the Influence of Political Theories on Europe; on the Rise and Progress of the British Continental Interests. Of these Pieces the last three only have been translated into our language. They form a volume which no historical student can read without interest and advantage.

It will not be supposed that we have become familiar with the works of so voluminous an Author without meeting with some things which we deem erroneous, and more that we think might be amended. But matters of this sort are so much the exception, and, in general, so little likely to be very injurious, that we have felt no disposition to dwell upon them. To Mr. Talboys, the intelligent translator of a considerable part of these Works, and the spirited publisher of the whole of them, the thanks of the British public are eminently due. We trust that he will not lack encouragement in his liberal efforts to make the treasures of German literature still further accessible to the English student. When are the two remaining volumes of Wachsmuth's Antiquities to make their appearance? We defer our review of that Work, and of Herman's volume on the same subject, until both are placed within the reach of the English reader. We are ready to do what we can toward making our countrymen aware of what our neighbours have been doing on subjects of this nature, while we have been comparatively asleep.

Art. II. *The Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell, and the State of Europe during the early part of the Reign of Louis XIV. Illustrated in a Series of Letters between Dr. John Pell, Resident Ambassador with the Swiss Cantons; Sir Samuel Morland; Sir Wm. Lockhart; Mr. Secretary Thurloe; and other distinguished men of the time. Now first published from the Originals.* Edited by ROBERT VAUGHAN, D.D., Professor of Ancient and Modern History in University College, London. With an Introduction on the Character of Cromwell, and of his Times. Two volumes. 8vo. London: Henry Colburn. 1838.

IT is not our intention in the present article to enter on a discussion of the numerous points, which are suggested by the character and administration of Cromwell. A fitter opportunity for this will be afforded when we notice, as we purpose to do ere long, Mr. Forster's recently published Life of the Protector. The appearance of this volume will enable us to investigate at some length, the complex elements of a character, as yet but little understood, and too commonly regarded as a debating ground on which hostile factions have sacrificed the truth of history, to the maintenance of their respective theories. In the meantime, and as no inappropriate introduction to such an investigation, we introduce the present volumes to our readers. Dr. Vaughan's previous labors in the department of English history are well known to the readers of the Eclectic. His life of Wycliffe is universally admitted to have wiped away the disgrace from English literature of having overlooked, or but partially appreciated, the labors of the 'Morning Star' of our reformation. Few books in our language display greater laboriousness of research, or a more thorough and sifting investigation of all authorities bearing on their subject. Destitute of attraction to the indolent and unreflecting reader, it constitutes a rich and invaluable depository of all which can throw light on the character, opinions, and ministry of this early reformer. 'The Memorials of the Stuart Dynasty,' though less distinguished by originality of research than 'The Life of Wycliffe,' was an equally valuable, and still more attractive contribution, to our historical literature. Displaying the same patient investigation and honesty of judgment, it meted out, with an even hand, the praise and blame which are due to the several parties whose struggles it records. The great value of the book is in the obvious purpose of the Author to do justice to all; neither sparing censure when his friends are in fault, nor withholding praise from whatever is commendable among his opponents. No attentive reader of 'The Stuart Dynasty' can fail to perceive the intimate acquaintance of the Author with all veritable documents bearing on the illustration of the times he describes. Much

more might have been made of this knowledge on his title-page, but Dr. Vaughan was too upright an historian to permit any personal considerations to mould his narrative. A safer and better book cannot be put into the hands of intelligent young men. Free from the faults of our common histories, it does justice to the puritans and commonwealth-men without betraying an insensibility to their faults.

The present volumes are distinct from both these Works,—consisting, with the exception of the Introduction, which extends to a hundred and twenty pages, of letters printed from the Lansdowne Manuscripts in the British Museum.

‘The value of such documents,’ Dr. Vaughan remarks in his Preface, ‘to the historian will be at once admitted. They have their place among his safest guides; and are indispensable if his narrative is to be characterized by accuracy, fulness, and the real spirit of the times which it is meant to describe. Communications made in the confidential freedom proper between parties alike initiated into the mysteries of state policy, often enable us to distinguish between the true springs of the most memorable proceedings, and the alleged grounds of them; and furnish such illustrations of individual character, as are rarely supplied by the conduct of men while acting on the open stage of public affairs.’—p. i.

The Editor's Introduction supplies an able sketch of the leading statesmen who presided over the fortunes of England from the accession of Charles to the establishment of the Protectorate. They are divided into classes according to their party alliances and views, and are severally assigned their measure of praise and blame according to their deserts. They are grouped with considerable skill, so as to combine the distinctness and force of individual sketches, with the comprehensive range of general history. A more vivid impression is thus produced,—the reader is better informed, and carries away with him a clearer conception of the character of the times and of the temper of different men than could be secured by any more general description. The political portraits thus drawn are in immediate and obvious subserviency to Dr. Vaughan's main design.

‘In judging,’ he remarks, ‘of the times of Cromwell, and of the nature of that genius which gave him the ascendancy to which he ultimately attained, it is indispensable that a clear and comprehensive idea should be formed with regard to the character of the men who acted with most effect on both sides during the civil war. It was Cromwell, greatly more than any other man, who subdued the one party in this memorable contest; and we know that he lived to supersede some of the most distinguished names in the other. The character of the men over whom he exercised this species of mastery, belongs

as much to his history as the immediate steps by which he gained the successive stages of his power.'—Vol. I., p. xxviii.

We are glad to perceive that the character of Pym is vindicated from the charge of criminal intimacy with Lady Carlisle, preferred against him by the royalist libellers of his day. Mr. Forster, in his *Life of Pym*, leaves the matter in some degree of doubt, but our Author, with much more propriety, rejects it as utterly unworthy of credit.

'The beautiful Lady Carlisle,' he remarks, 'sister to the Earl of Northumberland, was the most conspicuous person in a numerous class of females who meddled considerably in that age with political intrigue. To gratify her passion for such meddling, this lady had cultivated the friendship of Strafford, and she afterwards, for the same object, sought the acquaintance of Pym. That her intimacy with either of these great men was formed with any impure intention, will not be supposed by those who are acquainted with the little we know concerning the history of that singular woman. Scandal, however, of this sort, was insinuated at the time; but that it was not credited by Baxter, is manifest from the confidence with which that strict divine has spoken of the religious character of this patriot, assigning him a place with Lord Brooke, in the better commonwealth of the skies. Pym expired giving expression to sentiments which breathed the spirit of a sober Christianity, and an enlightened patriotism.'—ib., lxiii.

The Editor's main subject in his Introduction is Cromwell himself; and his vindication of the Protector, though not entirely satisfactory in all points to our mind, is entitled to much respect. We waive discussion at present, and shall therefore do little more than present our readers with two or three extracts illustrative of Dr. Vaughan's views. The part taken by Cromwell in the execution of the king has been commonly represented by our historians as one of the darkest and most criminal transactions of his life. We are of a different opinion, and the facts of history are in our favor. During the monarch's residence at Hampton Court under the charge of the army, negotiations were set on foot by Cromwell and Ireton, the object of which was his restoration, under certain conditions, to the throne of his fathers. It is sheer folly to deny, as many of our writers do, the sincerity of the future protector in these negotiations. He was never deluded by the visionary hopes of the republicans, and was as yet free from the taint of a dishonorable ambition. There is every reason therefore to believe, that he was honestly concerned for the accomplishment of this scheme, and that its success was prevented solely by the infatuation of the king. Charles believed himself to be more essential to his foes than they were to him, and was in consequence perpetually endeavoring to play them off against

each other. 'I shall play my game as well as I can,' remarked the short-sighted monarch to Ireton; whose brief and significant reply, uttered with the usual honesty and plain dealing of his character, ought to have admonished Charles of the perilous ground he stood on. 'If your majesty,' said Ireton, 'have game to play, you must give us also the liberty to play ours.' But in the meantime the army became dissatisfied. When the monarch's intrigues with the Scotch Commissioners and other parties were known, the military clamoured against their general, and began to credit reports of his having sold himself to Charles. His own safety, to say nothing of his power, was perilled, and a change of policy was in consequence inevitable. This is the only correct view of the case, and it is well put by Dr. Vaughan in the following passage.

'So great were the jealousy and resentment called forth by this means among the soldiery, that, at length, all idea of a secure peace, founded upon the king's restoration, on any terms, was completely abandoned in that quarter. The officers who had shown themselves most concerned to replace him on the throne, became objects of great suspicion and disaffection; and Cromwell, in particular, found himself shut up to the alternative of either moving on with the wave, which no man had power to resist, and so of becoming a party to the death of the king, or else of relinquishing all connexion with the army,—which would have been to leave his own fate, and the great interests for which the war had been waged, in the hands of men, from whose uncontrolled ascendancy his own better discernment could augur nothing but confusion, weakness, and the return of the old royalists to power. He could not be ignorant, that while the army, and the fragment of a parliament which remained, included many able and honest men, there was no one mind among them capable of checking and balancing the elements of rival parties, so as to hold out any sober promise of harmony and stability. The course of events proved that the only man at all equal to the difficulties of such a position was himself; and this fact, so palpable to us, could not have been altogether beyond the reach of his own sagacity.

'Even in such a case, if we suppose him to have been persuaded that the punishment of death was a much heavier penalty than the king had justly incurred, a mind of faultless virtue would have refused to become a party to the inflicting of such a punishment. But where is the man whose moral aptitudes have never listened to those subtle processes of thought which relate to what is called a choice of evils, and who has not, as the consequence, allowed decisions appearing to be those of a strict rectitude, to be softened by the influence of considerations regarded as carrying with them the weight of a great moral expediency? Where is the bosom whose arcana of motives will admit of a sifting of this sort, even when the matters which occur to test them are things far below a man's liberty or life, a nation's freedom and happiness? But we have still to learn, that the reasoning concerning the absolute justice of the proceedings against the king,

which satisfied such men as Ludlow and Hutchinson, were not in the end satisfactory to Cromwell. We only know that for some time, as the effect of his larger views on the subject, he betrayed more hesitation in relation to it than many of his colleagues.'

—ib., pp. lxxvii.; lxxviii.

The influence of the Protector's policy on the reputation of England amongst foreign States is thus described, and may well shame the men who bearing the English name, can laud the times of the Restoration, and calumniate those of Cromwell.

'By means of an army, including within itself so many elements of disorder and weakness, had Cromwell to maintain his place against the covert, and often the open attacks of royalists, presbyterians, and republicans who presented themselves in every other connexion, and were ever ready to conspire, either separately or conjointly, for his overthrow. It must be supposed, that to a large portion, both of the army and of the nation, his ascendancy was not unacceptable; but it may be said without hesitation, that a less amount of ability than was necessary to meet the exigencies of his position, would have sufficed to govern half the nations of Europe in that age. History informs us that Cromwell not only showed himself equal to those exigencies, but that he secured to the country comparative order and tranquillity; encouraged learning, agriculture, and commerce; and so far augmented her general resources and naval power, as to confer upon England a name and influence in the affairs of Europe, which she had not attained under the sway of any sovereign in the long line of her princes. With the commencement of the civil war, the spirit and power of the country began to manifest itself as in the best days of Elizabeth. The nation of which foreigners had learnt to speak as having become one of the most pusillanimous, and the most incompetent to any critical or perilous undertaking, is suddenly found capable of affording proofs of well-trained prowess, both upon the land and the deep, to which modern history had no parallel. The only satisfactory explanation of this change would seem to be that presented in those popular views of government, and still more in those views of religion, which were then so commonly entertained by the soldier and the sailor, and which taught them to regard the contests in which they were engaged as relating immediately to their personal rights. It was the novelty and nobleness of the objects pursued, which gave this new development to the national character.

'Powers which had learnt to fear the infant commonwealth, looked upon it with increased apprehension so soon as it became probable that its energies would be directed in future by the mind of Cromwell, which, seen as it was at a distance, in the bold outline of its character, could not but promise a greater unity and vigour than ever to the development and application of our national resources. It was Cromwell who said, that he hoped the day would come, when the name of Englishman would be as sure an immunity from wrong in every part of the world, as that of Roman had been; and no Englishman ever did

so much towards realizing that patriotic wish. It was this magnanimous temper that disposed the same populace which had gazed in heedlessness or exultation upon his remains as fastened on a gibbet in 1660, to lament, in less than seven years, that he could not be called from his grave to rescue their country from the contempt of the meanest of her enemies.'—ib., cii.—cvi.

The following paragraph, with which our extracts from the 'Introduction' must close, is deserving of serious attention from all who would fairly estimate the character of the Protector.

'Be it said then, once for all,—no pressure of circumstances can justify an act of insincerity or injustice. But when Cromwell is charged with dissimulation; with having made use of parties at one time whom he put down at another; with severity towards the English royalists; with cruelty in Ireland; and with becoming a party to the death of the king, possibly against his own better judgment;—we are bound to consider the temptations to which the circumstances in which he was placed exposed him, and the tendency of the peculiarities in his religious opinions and natural temperament, and then to reflect how many men there have been who, in a similar position, would have preserved an unblemished character. The activity of public life brings a current along with it which never fails to test the moral principles; and in a degree which private persons can rarely comprehend. Even in quiet times, men who take the lead in political parties are too apt to bring themselves to believe that the success of their party is necessary to the well-being of the state; and that the loss of their power would be the greatest calamity to their country; but in a revolutionary period, when every political passion is excited to the highest degree, this tendency must be augmented in a manner of which persons who have always lived under a regular government can hardly form a conception. In this excitement, as pervading the mass of society in his time, Cromwell fully shared, and to its influence, in part, we must attribute the fact of his having lived and died satisfied that his conduct, in the main, had been governed by the principles of rectitude, and the feelings of humanity.'—ib., pp. cxviii., cxix.

The letters included in these volumes consist mainly of the correspondence between Secretary Thurloe, and Dr. John Pell, the Protector's Agent to the Protestant Cantons of Switzerland. Few of them are singly of much importance, but collectively they throw considerable light on the foreign relations and domestic policy of the English government. They furnish in many instances the light and the shade which are necessary to complete the political portraiture of the times. The outline may be learnt from other and more general sources, but the details of state affairs, the hopes and the fears, the passions and resolves of the principal agents, are to be gathered only from such volumes as the present. We will furnish an instance or two.

Cromwell's vigorous interposition on behalf of the Vaudois,

then suffering from the persecution of the Duke of Savoy, is well known. The letters of Milton, his latin Secretary, are happily preserved, and no impartial Englishman can read them without exultation and pride. They embody, in language befitting the noblest of English poets, the true spirit of the Protector's policy; and were dictated as much by his personal feelings as by his political sagacity. This is evident from Thurloe's letters in the present collection.

'I have received yours,' he writes to Pell, May 8, 1655, 'and should have been exceeding glad to have received the certainty of the condition of those poor Protestants in Savoy, since the duke's forces fell upon them. We very much long to know and understand that business particularly; and whether the French forces had any hand in it; and if so, whether the French ambassador in Savoy gave any consent thereto; I desire you to be as inquisitive as you can therein. We should have been also glad to have understood the sense of the Protestant cantons as to this massacre, for I can call it no other; and whether their mind is disposed to consult of a proper and effectual means and remedies for the relieving of those poor people. I do assure you it is a matter which his highness lays very much to heart, and will rejoice to hear that other Protestants do think themselves concerned in it also. And I do not doubt but you and Mr. Dury will also contribute your utmost endeavours to make the Protestants in those parts sensible of this horrid action, and to get a true measure of their intentions about it, and to certify them hither by the first opportunity.'

—ib., pp. 174, 175.

The same subject is referred to in a subsequent letter of the 25th of the same month, in which the Secretary informs his correspondent of the measures which had been adopted by Cromwell.

'It doth very much afflict his highness, and so it doth indeed this whole nation; and I hope nothing will be omitted which can be put in practice for their relief. There is a fast appointed and a general collection through the whole nation. His highness hath also writ unto the Duke of Savoy in their behalf; a copy of the letter you will receive herewith. He hath also writ to the King of France to mediate with the duke, and to all Protestant princes complaining of this horrible massacre, as, to the King of Sweden, the King of Denmark, the States General, and also the six Protestant cantons; the letter to them you will receive herewith, which you are to deliver to them. I have also sent unto you the copy thereof, that you may see what is writ; upon the delivery of it you may, by word of mouth, further explain the great grief and trouble his highness hath for this slaughter of these poor innocent people. The copy of the letter to the Duke of Savoy which I have sent you, I desire that you would not let it go out of your hands, nor any copies taken of it, until you hear that his highness's messenger is arrived at Turin, because I would have it secret at that court before the original be presented.'—ib., p. 185.

The Protector watched over the interests of the Protestants of France with equal solicitude. Though desirous of securing the friendship of Louis the Fourteenth, he hazarded the advantages which it proffered by insisting on the toleration of the Protestants. The treaty was in consequence retarded, and was sometimes in danger of being broken off, but Cromwell was firm to his purpose, and the crafty and bigoted Louis was content at length to yield. It was under a restored Stuart, when the old monarchy was re-established, and the politics and the men of the protectorate were consigned to infamy, that the Protestant subjects of France were left as a prey to the destroyer. The following are among Thurloe's allusions to this subject.

'May 1654.—There are great endeavours used by the French to make an alliance here, but no progress is made therein as yet; nor will there be, without making full provision for the protestants, and that you may be confident upon on all occasions; nay, that no agreement at all will be made without communicating with those to whom you are sent.'—ib. p. 2.

'July 7, 1654.—Thirty articles have been delivered in to the French ambassador; one whereof is, that the protestants in France shall have the free exercise of their religion, and enjoy all their privileges whatsoever; and this (as I believe) will not be departed from, H. H., (Cromwell) continuing his ancient zeal to the protestant religion, whereof nobody need doubt nor have the least scruple, but may build the greatest resolutions thereupon.'—ib. p. 21.

'Nov. 10, 1654.—Concerning the jewels you writ to me formerly, there will be now scarce any opportunity to speak with the French ambassador about them, it being very doubtful whether the Protector and France will come to any terms of amity. The ambassador is not yet gone, but pretends he hath commands to return forthwith to give an account of his negotiation. You know what interest it is that the protector hath espoused, and which is dearer to him than his life and all he hath, and therefore cannot consent to put a prejudice upon that by any treaty with a foreign state, and France insisting upon some things bearing very hard upon that interest renders the present treaty deficient, if not hopeless.'—ib. pp. 76, 77.

The most interesting portions of these volumes to the English reader are those which relate to the discussions of the Protector's parliaments, and to the innumerable conspiracies by which his government and life were assailed. The references are most numerous to the parliament of 1654, which Cromwell opened in great pomp, with a proud consciousness of having recovered for his country the reputation which distinguished it, during the best days of Elizabeth. This assembly met on the third of September, and the Protector was sanguine in his hopes. 'We have hopes,' says Thurloe to Pell, October 24th, 'of bringing matters to good issue.

'The parliament is very full, and I believe there is not above thirty persons in the whole four hundred and sixty that have refused the recognition.' These hopes, however, were doomed to bitter disappointment. The house consisted of three parties, the presbyterians, the republicans, and the partizans of Cromwell. The last was more numerous than either of the other two, but was unable to cope with them when united. 'Sir Arthur Haslegrave, Mr. Scott, and many others,' says Ludlow, 'especially, the Lord President Bradshaw, were very instrumental in opening the eyes of many young members, who had never before heard their interest so clearly stated and asserted; so that the commonwealth party increased daily, and that of the sword lost ground.'*

The following from Thurloe, under date of Nov. 10th, 1654, refers to the Committee of Fundamentals, one of the most questionable measures in which Owen and some other independent divines allowed themselves to be engaged. By sitting on this committee, they became unwittingly the instruments by which intolerance sought to execute its fell purpose.

'The parliament is still in debate upon the articles of the government; they have passed most of the things in the grand committee, and are now upon the report of them in the House, where they have agreed that the legislative authority is and shall reside in the Protector and parliament with such limitations as shall be agreed upon in parliament. There is some variety of opinion as to the negative vote, but that I hope, in time, will be accommodated. The parliament hath likewise approved of the officers which his highness did put into the place before they met, as the commissioner of the Great Seal, the Deputy of Ireland, &c.

'For what concerns religion, I told you, by my last, that they had agreed to the fourteen articles at a grand committee, which were formerly passed by the assembly; they are now upon further considerations as to a confession of faith, and what indulgence is to be given to dissenting brethren in matters not fundamental; and after three whole days' debate thereupon, they referred the consideration of the whole business to a committee of ten, who are to call to them such divines and other persons as they should think fit, of all judgments, to endeavour an accommodation between them. The committee had likewise authority to attend the Protector in that business, who, through his knowledge and experience he hath in matters of religion, and of several tempers of men, hath been happy in accommodating differences of the nature. The divines the committee have called to them are, Mr. Thomas Goodwyn, Dr. Owen, Mr. Marshall, Mr. Fairclough, Mr. Manton, Mr. Nyl, Mr. Vynes, Mr. Jacombe, Mr. Baxter, Mr. Jay, and Mr. Dyke; some of the officers of the army, who are likewise

* Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 500.

called unto this consultation. They have met yet but twice, at which meeting, the order and method of their proceedings was only the subject of their debate. I heartily wish a blessing upon their endeavours in this business.—ib. pp. 77, 78.

The parliament was dissolved in January, just five lunar months from the day of their meeting, and the following is Thurloe's defence of his master.

‘The truth is, there was so little consistency and agreement amongst themselves, and so violent and strong parties contradicting each other, that it was scarce possible for them to come to any resolution among themselves that might be for public good. In all the time they sate they prepared not any one act to present to his Highness, nor not so much as for raising money for paying the army, which they suffered to go upon free quarter, to the discontenting of all the people, a thing which has not fallen out before these eight years, and which of itself had been enough to have put the nation into blood, if the Protector had not been able by his own interest alone to keep things in peace. And during their sitting there have been many great and dangerous designs on foot.’—pp. 118, 119.

‘And although the Protector and the Parliament did not agree in all the things of the government, yet in most they did : as, for instance, they agreed for the altering of the government from a republic to a single person and a Parliament ; that the single person should be the present Protector ; that the family of Stuarts should be for ever excluded, and many other particulars ; so that they came to a consistency and full agreement in those things wherein the contest lieth between us and our enemies. Their slowness and dilatoriness (they bringing nothing at all to perfection), which the present constitution of the nation could not bear, was their greatest fault, which I suppose another Parliament will amend, and husband their time better.

‘In the meanwhile, all things have a face of peace and quiet ; the late designers being so far discovered as that they are discouraged, and the bringing some of them that are taken and apprehended to punishment will I hope discourage more, and make men weary at last of such wicked attempts. And however men may apprehend us to be in an unsettled state, and prefer the condition of France and Spain unto ours, yet I cannot but think that such men do take a very ill measure of things, and judge rather by affection than any solid grounds. For although we have had some discontents, yet these discontents are but in particular persons, who have neither interest nor credit in the nation ; and I dare affirm, that either of these two crowns are less safe even in those respects than this state, their subjects being apt and prepared to rise upon any occasion of a foreign invasion from abroad against their princes, that they might free themselves from the thralldom they are under. Besides, you know what war they have in their own bowels, whereas (through the goodness of God) we have no war at all in the three nations ; and although taxes have been as heretofore heavy,

yet they have been, ever since the beginning of this government, upon the abating hand. Thirty thousand pounds a-month was abated the time twelvemonth by the Protector and council, and now they abate thirty thousand pounds a-month more, bringing the tax from one hundred and twenty thousand to sixty thousand pounds, which is but a small proportion to this nation, and that which the people will not feel, so that (through the blessing of God) we may expect on good grounds, more stability in our affairs than was looked for (some years past) in so short a time; and I believe no man ever knew this state in so great reputation abroad as now it is. And although I perceive those where you are, are shy of an alliance with us, yet other states and princes do earnestly desire it. The French have been seeking of it ever since the Protector's accession to the government, and Spain would give a million for it. I speak not this boastingly, knowing that what we are, we are by the goodness of God.'—ib. pp. 125—127.

Charles the Second resided during this period at Cologne, where his adherents busied themselves in propagating the most unfounded and ridiculous reports of the state of things in England. The little court of the exiled prince was an epitome of all the vices which usually flourish within the precincts of royalty. Had he wielded the sceptre of three kingdoms, his followers could not have intrigued and plotted more basely against each other. They were torn by factions, the animosities of which were only partially restrained by the presence of a common enemy, and the predominance of a deep spirit of revenge. The following are among the reports respecting Cromwell of which Pell informs Thurloe.

'Jan. 28, 1655.—The Protector has spent three days in prayer and fasting, with thoughts of resigning the government.'—ib. p. 132.

'March, 1655.—The English in this city say, that they hope to see King Charles on his throne shortly. They showed us letters, said to be written at Antwerp, concerning his landing at Hull; that then upon the Protector was gone from Whitehall into the army; that some thousands of soldiers (I know not from whence) are landed in England to serve King Charles, who had written to his chancellor at Dunkirk, that Fairfax and Harrison had declared for him, with a great part of the army, and many of the chieftest towns in England; that at Dunkirk they heard the continual thundering of the London cannons.'—ib. p. 155.

'March 25, 1655.—Men write from England, that the royalists have taken Salisbury, Plymouth, Portsmouth, Yarmouth, and other places. A person of very great quality assures us that England generally declares for King Charles; and that the Protector, not daring to stay in London, went to Windsor, yet, changing his mind, came back again to London, but found the gates shut against him.'—ib. p. 165.

We must close our extracts with two short paragraphs of opposite, but equally interesting character. The one refers to Crom-

well's mother, whom he tenderly loved, and to whom he uniformly displayed the most filial regard. Her solicitude concerning her son is well known, and from the following anecdote communicated by Thurloe to Pell in a letter dated November 17th, 1654, it appears to have occupied her last moments.

'My Lord Protector's mother, of ninety-four years old, died the last night, and a little before her death, gave my lord her blessing in these words:—'The Lord cause his face to shine upon you, and comfort you in all your adversities, and enable you to do great things for the glory of your most high God, and to be a relief unto his people; my dear son, I leave my heart with thee; a good night.'—ib. p. 81.

Our other and final extract is of a different character, but is not without interest as illustrating the free spirit occasionally displayed in the middle of the seventeenth century in Rome itself. It is furnished by Pell to Thurloe, and refers to the election of a new pope then pending.

Jan. 23, 1655.—Of the sixty-nine cardinals now alive, only three are absent, Santoval, Cueva, and Mazarin. The other sixty-six are here in conclave. We believe it will be long ere they agree in the choice of a new pope. General Blake's fleet is going from Livorno towards Provence.

'The pasquils here are innumerable,—almost all obscene, or, at least profane. This is reckoned one of the least blame-worthy.

'One knocking at the door of Paradise, Saint Peter looked out, and asked, 'Who's there?' He that had knocked, answered, 'I am Pope Innocent the Tenth.' Unlock the door, and come in,' said St. Peter. 'I have not the keys about me,' quoth the other. 'No,' said St. Peter, 'you left them with Donna Olympia; go fetch them. I do not use to turn the key for popes; they may use their own keys.'

'The old man going thence discontented, saw a door standing open, into which he was invited to enter, and was told that he was welcome. 'O,' said Pluto, 'long looked for, come at last.' The hellish darkness was not so great but that Mascabruno quickly spied him: 'And art thou come at last with all thy faults?' said he: 'thou that madest me be executed unjustly.' 'Not unjustly,' said the pope; 'your behaviour in the datary redounded too much to my dishonour.' 'What!' said the other, 'I did nothing without order of your factotum, your donna.' After much contesting, they fell to cuffs, and that with so much noise, that they disturbed Pencirolo, who coming out, and having learned the occasion of the quarrel, composed it for a time, by telling them it was impossible to decide the controversy between them, till Donna Olympia came thither, which would be very shortly. So that, in the interim, they ought to keep the peace.

(Witness) PASQUIN.—pp. 133, 134.

The numerous extracts we have made from these volumes, will enable our readers to judge for themselves of their value. Though

wanting the attractions of a lighter and more ephemeral class of publications, they will be read with interest by all concerned in historical inquiries. Our own interest has deepened as we have proceeded, and we have no hesitation in pronouncing them to be an important addition to our historical library. The notes of the editor are numerous, and greatly assist the general reader in entering into the spirit and comprehending the allusions of the letters to which they are appended.

Art. III. *Not Tradition, but Revelation.* By PHILIP N. SHUTTLEWORTH, D.D. London: J. G. Rivington. 1838.

‘**D**OOTH a fountain,’ says the Apostle James, ‘send forth at the same place sweet water and bitter?’ The learned University of Oxford just now might serve as an example that such a phenomenon, however rare, is sometimes to be met with. While Dr. Pusey, Mr. Newman, and their friends, are putting forth in a cheap and popular form a defence of some of the most dangerous and germinant errors of the Romish church,—errors in which ‘the essence and rectified spirit’ of popery resides, we have in this tract of Dr. Shuttleworth an able, manly, undaunted defence of that doctrine which has ever been, and will ever be, the main bulwark of Protestantism, but which nevertheless we have lived to see so contemptuously assailed,—‘That the Bible, and the Bible only, is the religion of Protestants.’

It must be confessed that the proportion in which the well-head of Oxford learning pours forth its sweet waters, is very different from that in which it pours forth its bitter. With the exception of Dr. Shuttleworth and a very few more, the Puseyites and the Frouditers seem to have it nearly all their own way in that great seat of perverted learning; having either converted the doctors and masters to their views, or having astonished them into silence. It is the more honorable of Dr. Shuttleworth that amidst this shameful acquiescence, or scarcely less shameful indifference, he at least has played the part of the ‘faithful’ among the ‘faithless,’ and has stood up in the very throng of the teachers of this new and subtle popery, to enter his solemn protest against their defection, and to vindicate the honors of the **WORD OF GOD** against that usurping spirit—**TRADITION**. Like Abdiel, he must expect the scorn, or at best the diminished respect and honor of those whom he has so boldly opposed; but he will hear the voice of an approving conscience proclaiming even now, ‘Servant of God, well done;’ and that sentence, we feel convinced, will be ratified by a yet greater tribunal. If the old Greek adage, *μεγα βιβλιον μεγα κακον*, be true, Dr. Shuttleworth’s

little tractate is at least free from one great fault; the converse of the proposition, 'that a *little* book must be a *good* one;' is by no means universally true. Where a book, however, is really good, as in the present case, moderate size is in itself no mean advantage, as it insures reception and perusal where more voluminous treatises would be neglected.

Brief as Dr. Shuttleworth's work is, it contains enough, and more than enough, to explode the idle and pernicious theory of those who would make tradition of equal, or nearly equal authority with Scripture; in other words, a sort of supplementary revelation, communicating to us doctrines which the book of God has neglected to convey, or has but partially disclosed; and enjoining them on our belief and reception with an authority equal to that which the written Word could alone have imparted to them. He has said amply sufficient, in our opinion, to expose the deception which would palm upon us the shadowy and unsubstantial figment of tradition, for an inspired messenger from heaven, this 'false Florimel,' raised by the magical arts of popery, for the 'true.' As the controversy after all is one of great principles, Dr. Shuttleworth's apology for his brevity is to us abundantly satisfactory. He says, in the Advertisement,

'As an apology for the brevity of the following remarks on an important and much agitated question, the Author wishes to observe, that the whole body of proof or of objection to which it is fairly open, has ever appeared to him to lie within a very narrow compass. The real point at issue is, 'whether we have any reason for supposing that, in the apostolical age and that which immediately followed, any doctrines were taught as of divine authority, independently of those expressly comprehended in the page of Scripture?' Unless the affirmative of this proposition can be made out, (and the burden of the proof will appear to rest with those persons who impugn the sufficiency of written revelation,) the obvious presumption derived from the reason of the case, and from the liability to error inherent in the minds of men in all ages, would necessarily seem to lead to the opposite conclusion. But to prove this point, the appeal lies to the primitive age of Christianity exclusively. It is readily admitted, that a long succession of comparatively recent writers may be quoted, who have asserted the authority of tradition in points of faith; but such views must be considered as mere opinions only, without any warranty of substantial proof. Where the first links, which ought to connect a chain with any given object are wanting, no addition to its length at the opposite end will remedy the defect. To defend tradition by appealing to tradition, is, in fact, reasoning in a circle.'

In whatever point of view we regard the theory,—that tradition is to supply certain supposed deficiencies of revelation, and possesses an authoritative power to enjoin the reception of the doctrines thus supplied,—it appears to us equally flimsy and irrational;

while the arguments *against* it seem perfectly _____ verable. Let us examine in a very few words the chief of them.

First; there is the *a priori* argument derived from the very purposes and design of divine revelation. Is it, we ask, at all probable that the Divine Being having resolved to give a revelation to mankind would communicate it in any other than a written form, the only form in which, as all experience attests, truth can be kept incorrupt from age to age, at least without a series of daily and hourly miracles, all as great as that which is involved in the original communication?

Secondly; if a revelation, preserved and perpetuated by written documents, was, (as we *know* it was,) that which commended itself to the Divine wisdom, shall we dare to charge Him with having left His work imperfect? Shall we say, that having fixed in a durable and authentic form *some* of the doctrines we are to believe, He has committed others scarcely less important,—if we were to credit these champions of tradition,—not less claiming our belief, to the loose and careless keeping of tradition to be transmitted from mouth to mouth through unknown generations—through long ages of utter darkness and ignorance—by men often weak, often fanatical, often superstitious, always fallible; to be transmitted down to us, mixed up as they must have been, with the opinions and errors, the additions and innovations of those who propagated them, and thus liable to be so deteriorated by false speculations and superstitious practices as to render it a work of super-human difficulty to separate truth from error, what is divine from what is human? Is this, we repeat, probable? Is it even decent to imagine that He who adapts his means to his ends with such consummate wisdom and with such exquisite skill, should have entrusted such momentous communications to such a vehicle as this? Why, even the winds to which the sibyl abandoned her prophetic leaves, would be a more faithful and trustworthy depository than that vehicle which it pleases the advocates of tradition to represent the God of Wisdom as having selected for perpetuating His truth amongst mankind: Far from us be the absurdity, not to say profanity of attributing to the Supreme Being such carelessness as to the integrity and inviolate preservation of those truths which concern the eternal salvation of his creatures!

The whole history of tradition in other matters serves to show us at once that a more uncertain vehicle for the transmission of truth could not be selected. In tracing up the history of any nation, the moment we get beyond the era of written documents, we find ourselves involved in a cloud of myths and fables, where facts are so overlaid with poetical inventions and gross superstitions, that the utmost efforts will not enable us to tell where truth begins and error ends. The reasons are at least as strong and as

numerous, if not more so, which would lead us to suspect that religious truth, if entrusted to such a mode of transmission, would be equally liable to be encrusted with error and corrupted by superstition; and we know in fact that this has been the case. The enormous accumulation of follies, mummeries, and inventions in which the popery of the dark ages was at length perfected, went on with increasing rapidity, in proportion as men's minds were drawn off from the only standard of truth, the only canon of faith—a written revelation. So utterly inefficacious and uncertain is the oral transmission of truth, that even the advocates of tradition do not trust to it. It is still to what is *written*, though written by fallible and uninspired men, that they trust. Destroy all the writings of Christian antiquity, and they themselves would acknowledge that they would be all at sea, and would be utterly unable to conjecture what or whether any thing had been uncorruptedly transmitted to us. So that the only question is, whether we can conceive it to comport with the Divine wisdom that it should have left doctrines, unrevealed in Scripture, to be preserved only in the writings of fallible men,—writings none of them free from acknowledged error; and all this too without any possibility of our winnowing the chaff from the wheat—divine verities from human errors.

Thirdly; another argument against this theory of tradition is that, if we look carefully into the Book of God we see a clear and plain revelation of all those doctrines and facts which appear to be *essential* to human salvation. One can hardly conceive what those other doctrines are which rendered it necessary to provide such a very different and such a very uncertain mode of communicating them. One would think after reading the New Testament, that the whole clumsy apparatus of tradition might be considered superfluous; and therefore we remark,

Fourthly; that when we examine what those doctrines are which profess to have to come to us by such a circuitous and uncertain route from heaven, we have abundant reason to suspect that they never came from heaven at all, and that some of them travelled in a very opposite direction. Those doctrines on which the fanatical advocates of tradition are so fond of expatiating, and which they tell us reach our ears by this strange road, are not those on which the *written* revelation loves to expatiate, and which form the great bulk of its communications; but they are just those doctrines which tend to magnify the importance and puff up the arrogance of the priesthood—to multiply rites and ceremonies—and to exaggerate the value of what is handed and external. What are the doctrines peculiarly handed down to us by tradition, if we may trust its zealous advocates? What are the things about which they make such a pother? To name them is to disclose the

motives which animate this devout : It is the doctrine of apostolical succession ; of the high prerogatives of episcopacy ; of the official sanctity and authority of the priesthood ; of the *pre-scriptural*, and as we should call them, anti-scriptural mysteries with which the Sacraments are invested ; of the mighty authority placed in the hands of those by whom they are administered :—these are the doctrines on which the convenient oracle of tradition is made to utter such clear responses ; doctrines which, if they were true at all, would from their intrinsic probability, and their extreme liability to abuse, seem specially to require the most clear and authoritative revelation to render them credible, instead of being left to the careless keeping of fallible and often interested men to transmit and enforce them. But these are the things for the sake of which these men call in the aid of tradition. Like the Pharisees of old, with often similar motives, and by similar perversions, they contend (another suspicious sign) and earnestly for their traditional doctrines and observances, than they do for that sacred text which such traditions at the best but overload and encumber, and sometimes render null and void. The doctrines above mentioned, even when most guardedly and cautiously stated, contain the prolific germ of the gigantic growth of popery. Where thoroughly imbibed and practically acted on, they oppress and destroy all the sublimer truths and the vital spirit of Christianity, till at length may be said of those who advocate them, as was said of their ancient prototypes, by our great Master, ‘Ye destroy the word of God by your traditions.’ But,

Fifthly ; even if we were to grant that there are some truths which tradition alone has preserved, how is the principle to be applied, and within what limits of time ? are we to stop at the fifth century, or the fourth, or the third ? Again, if these truths have been delivered only by fallible men, by those whom we know frequently to have been in error ; if expressed after their own imperfect manner, and mixed up with their own opinions, how or by whom is the impure ore to be smelted and refined ? who is to give us the gold of truth ? our opponents will echo perhaps the old cry—that we are to receive only what has always been received, every where, and by the whole church. To this argument Dr. Shuttleworth’s reply is so satisfactory that we extract it.

‘ But, say the advocates of tradition, it is far from our wish to attach an infallible authority to all those oral transmissions of doctrine or of usage indiscriminately, which have descended to us from the primitive times. Our theory is far more cautious and discriminating than the one above supposed. The canon of Vincentius of Lerins, ‘*quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*,’ constitutes our rule. Those traditions only which have been received in all ages of the Church, in all parts of

Christendom, and by the great mass of Christians, we acknowledge as binding upon the conscience, and as really constituting a standard of faith. Be it so. Undoubtedly this is an important limitation. But then, unfortunately, this is a limitation so extensive, that, if acted upon, it would make the exception entirely exclude the rule. For, after all, what are the doctrines connected in any way with tradition which can in strictness be said to have been thus adopted, '*semper, ubique, et ab omnibus*?' We hear the institution of the celebration of our Lord's day, and the non-observance of the Jewish sabbath quoted as a case in point. I deny that it is so. We have authority in Scripture for the celebration of the Lord's day, and we read enough in Scripture to justify our non-observance of the Jewish sabbath. But so far is tradition from being uniform on this question, that we know that for a considerable period after our Lord's ascension a large body of Christians continued to celebrate both days; and that it was only by slow degrees that the former entirely superseded the latter. . . . Even the great fundamental doctrine of the Blessed Trinity, in its orthodox acceptation, clearly as it is conveyed by Scripture to those who will submit to accept it according to the obvious meaning of the language, can scarcely be asserted to have the sanction of tradition limited by the rule just now quoted, when we recollect how very large a portion of mankind at one time adhered to the Arian heresy. But the fact is, that plausible as the canon of Vincentius may appear, it is one which practically is never very rigorously enforced by the champions of tradition. It will be found to relax itself when required, so as to include almost every favourite speculation of the parties quoting it. Who, for instance, would ever have supposed that the Church of Rome, with its masses—its image worship—its purgatory and its indulgences—would gravely appeal to this very test by which to try the validity of a tradition? And yet, so it is. Nothing can be more modest and cautious than the rule which it prescribes to itself. Take, for example, the words of the Romanist Moreri, as given in his General Dictionary, under the head 'Tradition.' They are as follows:—'*Parmi les Chrétiens on distingue deux moyens de connoître la parole de Dieu, et la doctrine de Jésus Christ; qui sont l'Ecriture Sainte, et la tradition. Les Catholiques les croient tous deux de même autorité, et les hérétiques n'oseroient pas nier que la tradition ne soit d'une grande autorité; mais il faut comprendre sous le nom de tradition les écrits des pères, qui rendent témoignage de la doctrine, qu'ils ont reçue de leurs ancêtres, et enseignée à ceux qui leur ont succédé comme la doctrine de l'Eglise Catholique. Et afin que les traditions soient la règle de la Foi, il faut qu'elles aient les conditions marquées par Vincent de Lerins dans son mémoire, qui sont l'antiquité, l'universalité, et l'uniformité qu'il parvienne que c'est une doctrine enseignée dans toute l'Eglise, en tout tems, et par tous les docteurs Catholiques. Les traditions qui n'ont pas ces caractères sont sujettes à l'erreur et il ne faut pas se fier à des traditions populaires, dénuées de preuves et de temoins.*' Such is the security afforded against the possible adulteration of the Christian doctrine by the adoption of this celebrated canon. Can we for a moment question the authenticity and soundness of the Romish traditions, after having been tested by so safe a criterion?'—pp. 77—81.

If then this principle will not hold, if tradition has sanctioned and enforced, as of divine authority, something more than has been held universally and at all times, the question again recurs, who is to determine what is the gold and what is not? By what process are we to detach it from the alloy?

To the above arguments against tradition, as of co-ordinate authority with revelation, we might add many others; but these, we apprehend, will be sufficient. The opinions and writings of good and holy men will never be without their just influence on every well constituted mind, but there will still be an immeasurable distance between them and the authoritative declarations of the Scriptures. The opinions and views of such men may tend to corroborate our own convictions on some points where we are led to the same conclusions with them; they may on others tend to beget a salutary and modest suspicion of our own judgment, where we are compelled to disagree with them. They may even on some doubtful and comparatively indifferent points, on which Scripture is almost silent, carry with them a certain degree of probability of truth. But precisely the same may be said of the opinions of all holy and wise men in every age. Such opinions, whether the men who hold them live in the first century or the nineteenth, must still be regarded as those of uninspired and fallible mortals; must be regarded as liable to error, and therefore fairly open to criticism and revision. For it is quite a mistake, as Dr. Shuttleworth fully shows, that the Christians of the first ages, were, merely on account of their proximity to apostolic times, less exposed to error, or more likely to maintain the truth unvitiated and incorrupt than we are. If they possessed some advantages which we possess not, we possess others, and it seems to us far greater, of which they were destitute. The means and appliances which we possess for detecting and sifting, and conserving the truth—the aids furnished by the universal diffusion of letters—by the *press*—by sound criticism, are far greater than were ever open to them; while the same general tendencies which lead depraved human nature to corrupt the truth by its own inventions, under the dictates of a fanatical or superstitious spirit, were just as strong, and acted as forcibly then as in the present day. Of this we have a practical proof in the extravagant interpretations of Scripture, with which the early fathers are often chargeable, as well as in the subtle corruptions and the idle superstitions which early crept into the church, and defaced the purity of the Gospel. Indeed it is impossible to look into the writings of Christian antiquity, and witness the errors of judgment, the proofs of ignorance which disclose themselves there without feeling that even the wisest and best of the fathers were still but human; or without feeling astonished and indignant that they should be raised, singly or

collectively, to an
writings, thus ~~luckily~~ ~~shows~~
Divine wisdom as ~~the~~ ~~veil~~
revelation has not ~~communic~~
force and authority of ~~revel~~
strous fiction. If it be so, never
barked in a vessel so little

Indeed it has always ap- to that the immense and
obvious disparity between the a writings and those of the
very best of the Fathers, both in m and in manner, in tone
and in style, forms one of the very ingest proofs of the inspi-
ration of the former. If not inspired, the apostles could hardly
have failed to betray those faults of judgment, those infirmities
of temper, those irregularities of a disproportionate or misdirected
zeal, that lack of practical wisdom, which more or less are sure to
disclose themselves in all human compositions. Except on the
hypothesis of their inspiration, it is utterly impossible for us to
account for that sustained majesty, that correctness of judgment,
that cautious and practical wisdom in treating those nice ques-
tions on which human nature is so apt to run into extremes, that
exemption from enthusiasm and superstition, which characterize
the sacred writings. For in every respect, except inspiration,
the majority of the sacred writers possessed inferior advantages
to the Fathers. When we consider then the wide interval between
them, it is not without unmeasured astonishment that we find so
many of the advocates of tradition, elevating the writings of
Christian antiquity almost to a level with the Word of God
itself. On this subject we cannot refrain from citing the follow-
ing judicious remarks of our Author.

I make these remarks not for the purpose of depreciating the
Scriptural attainments of the early Fathers of the Church, or of lowering
their just authority, which will ever have its due weight in all well dis-
posed and Christian minds, but merely to show that we must still
judge of them as men, liable to error, and to be considered speaking the
words of infallible truth, only when they refer to those selfsame written
records of the divine will, which, by God's blessing, have descended uncor-
rupted to ourselves. The fact is, that the moment that we compare
the writings of the Apostles with those of the primitive Christian
Fathers, we perceive at once that, in passing from the former to the
latter, we have crossed the boundary of inspiration, and have to do
henceforward with mere fallible human beings. One of the circum-
stances which strikes us as an internal evidence of the divine aid
afforded to the apostolical writers, is the, quiet dispassionate and sober
manner in which they dwell upon those sublime, or soul-harmonizing
truths which un- d authors would not have been content to detail
without, at the e time, attempting either to per- with terror
or to elevate us to the highest point of imaginative exaltation. Another

of their characteristics, and a remarkable one it is, is their entire freedom from those mistakes with respect to physical facts, which, in an ill-informed age, a writer almost necessarily falls into, and which at once disprove his claims to infallibility. Now let the future advances of physical science be what they may, we may say with certainty that no fatal error with respect to natural facts ever will, or ever can be found in the writings of St. Paul or St. Peter. And yet pass on but a single step further, and take up the Epistle of Clemens Romanus, and we find that good and really enlightened man, not merely illustrating the Christian doctrine of the resurrection by the legend of the phoenix, but absolutely asserting the existence of that fabulous bird as an established fact in natural history. Now it is true that this is undoubtedly a pardonable blunder. It was as gravely stated, at about the same period, as an undoubted physical truth, by the strong-minded historian Tacitus; and the belief in it certainly proves nothing whatever against the soundness of the doctrines, and the true Christian piety of the friend and companion of St. Paul. But then it is equally certain on the other hand, that a mis-statement of this description proves that the writer committing it was at all events not inspired; that opinions delivered by him, unless borne out by Scripture, must be received as human opinions only, and that traditions descending to us through such a channel can never be fairly set up in rivalry to, or as concurrent and equal with, the inspired writings of the Apostles. A remark of a similar character may be made with respect to the epistles of his immediate follower Ignatius. The unostentatious good sense in the recommendations of our Saviour and of his Apostle Paul to the early Christians, that they should not unnecessarily incur persecutions from the Jews or heathen authorities, but should do what they could innocently to put their persons in security, is strongly characteristic of that calm practical wisdom which I have already alluded to as singularly pervading the sacred writings. 'When they persecute you in this city,' said our Lord, 'flee ye into another' (Matt. x. 23). 'Walk in wisdom toward them that are without.' (Coloss. iv. 5.) 'The Lord stood with me and strengthened me; and I was delivered out of the mouth of the lion,' (2 Tim. iv. 17) were the words of his chosen Apostle. Here we cannot but observe that exact medium between ostentatious rashness on the one hand, and a timid denial of the truth on the other, which marks the extreme of good sense, and which, in a period of high excitement, we rarely, if ever, see realized. But up to this point was the age of inspiration. After the close of the apostolic period, the transition to a more showy, and, according to our carnal notions, a more attractive righteousness, began to manifest itself, slight indeed at first, but obviously the commencement of that exaggerated self-denying spirit so natural to the human mind when seeking to work out its own sanctification by the mortification of the body. It were surely impossible to mistake the following sentiments for those of St. Paul, or of any of the heaven-directed Apostles. 'I beseech you,' are the words of Ignatius to the Romans, deprecating their interference for the purpose of preventing his martyrdom, 'that you show not an unreasonable good-will towards me. Suffer me to be food to the wild beasts, by

om I shall attain to God. Encourage the wild beasts, that they y become my sepulchre. May I enjoy the wild beasts that are pre- ed for me ; which also I wish may exercise all their fierceness upon ,—and whom, for that end, I will encourage, that they may be sure devour me, and not serve me as they have done some, whom out of r they have not touched. But, if they will not do it willingly, I l provoke them to it.' In these sentiments, however sincerely con- ved, I repeat, we detect at one glance a deviation from the meek and pretending spirit of the apostolical age. But as we recede further m the primitive times, this deviation becomes gradually still more ceptible. Upon turning to the writings of Justin Martyr, we at e perceive (conjointly, indeed, with abundance of sound and fer- it piety) a deficiency of judgment, and an absence of critical accu- y and sound sense in his expositions of Scripture, which at once ear to disqualify him from speaking with authority upon mere tra- tional topics. He who knows not how to convey even a written mes- e correctly, will scarcely speak with much weight when reporting ely from memory and from his own private impressions. But it is possible to read the works of Justin without occasional feelings of umishment at the strange inferences which he draws from Holy it ; to say nothing of his verbal inaccuracies, which often appear ark rather quotations made from memory, than to be references to e recorded text. Take the following specimens of his inconclusive oning. What are we to think, for instance, of his deriving the valence of moral evil in later times from the influence of demons, progeny of angels having commerce with the antediluvian females? his discovering, as he imagines, a prophecy of our Lord's crucifixion the expression, 'I have spread out my hands all the day unto a ellious people.' (Isaiah lxxv. 2) ; or more strangely still, in another age of the same prophet, 'the *government* (i. e., as he chooses to strue it, the *power of the cross*) shall be upon his shoulder.' (Isa. 6.) Of his discovering the holy symbol of the cross in the masts of pping, in the implements of husbandry, in the tools of the carpenter, even in the position of the nose and eyebrows in the human face, l of his considering this last mentioned strange idea as actually ided to in the words of Jeremiah, 'The breath of our nostrils, the inted of the Lord. (Lamentations iv. 20). How, again, shall we end the accuracy of his theological opinions, when we find him not y arguing in favor of the salvability of the holier heathens (a doc- ie in which most Christians will probably agree with him), but even mpting to show that, inasmuch as our Lord was the *Δόγος*—the ersonation of the Divine Wisdom ; therefore, all persons possessed ny high degree of wisdom, such as Socrates and others, were actual ristians? I am far, very far, from urging that these, or the many er instances of unsound judgment or ignorance which are to be nd in his writings ought to diminish our respect for a holy man, o proved the sincerity of his faith by laying down his life in its se ; but surely one may without censure withhold his confidence ssent, when called upon to accept, as a revelation from heaven,

traditionary opinions or doctrines transmitted to us through such a channel.'—pp. 45—52.

One more citation must conclude our extracts. It is on a point we have already briefly touched.

'It is a fallacious argument which would urge their nearness in time to the age of the Apostles as a proof that no mistakes of importance could be fallen into by the early Christians. Traditional truth, among imperfectly educated persons, does not pass from mouth to mouth, with that accuracy and certainty, even during a very limited period of time, which we are inclined to imagine. On the contrary, at a period when knowledge circulates slowly, and the collisions of well-informed minds with each other are comparatively rare, (and such was the period now alluded to) it is surprising how many erroneous opinions, well-intentioned perhaps, but not therefore the less dangerous, may grow up within the space of a very few years. When the short season of actual contact is gone by, mere proximity or indefinite remoteness of time make, in fact, little or no difference in the degrees of evidence, which historical events are capable of receiving from the labors of literary men. A manuscript, for instance, of the Gospels of the date of the fourth or fifth centuries, is as complete a record at this moment, as it was on the day in which it was written; and, if preserved two thousand years longer, will be as completely so to future generations, as it is to the present. A well-informed historian at this moment has a far more accurate knowledge of the events connected with the Norman conquest, than was possessed by nine-tenths of the villagers of this country, who lived at that period. And yet it is upon this very fallacious, though plausible assumption, that knowledge must necessarily grow older and more certain in exact proportion as we approach to the fountain; that the argument in favor of tradition almost exclusively rests.

'Why, one is naturally impelled to ask, should the primitive age have possessed a privilege which our own times have not, of escaping one of the most besetting infirmities of human nature, and of transmitting unmixed truth orally from one generation to another, without any taint or superaddition of mere human speculation? If, with the preservative restraint of a written revelation, our own age has launched forth into extreme notions with scarcely any common centre in which to agree, why are we to measure the simple and unsuspecting Fathers of the primitive church by a different rule, and argue that, because they meant well, therefore divine truth orally transmitted, must necessarily have passed from them pure and unaltered? Dr. Middleton has observed, that learned men have reckoned about ninety different heresies, which all sprang up within the first three centuries. That the Holy Scriptures should have existed unaltered through the whole of that disturbed period, and 'like a light shining in a dark place,' should have served to check, in some degree, the eccentricities of human speculation, and to direct men's footsteps in the midst of so many conflicting opinions, we can well believe, and must feel thankful, that such

no doubt was the case. But that person must have much more confidence in the general good sense and judgment of mankind than I am disposed to feel, who can suppose the oral communications of those successive ages to have descended to us equally pure; and yet, unless we admit them to have so descended, the whole argument which would set up their authority as equivalent to Scripture, falls of course at once to the ground.

‘Justin and Irenæus, we are told, flourished within the space of about 150 years from the close of our Lord’s ministry, and, therefore, their authority on points of doctrine must be far superior to that of the best informed theologians of the present day. Without wishing to assert any thing bordering on paradox, I must again repeat, I doubt the justice of the inference. In their time truth made its way slowly, and with difficulty, through comparatively isolated districts, unaided by that general spread of knowledge, that enlightened criticism, and that corrective good sense, resulting from an almost universal education, which is in our own day the great security against the growth of unsound and eccentric opinions.’—pp. 40—44.

At the commencement of this little volume, our Author conclusively proves that during more than 150 years from the close of our Lord’s ministry, there is every reason to believe that the doctrine of tradition being concurrent in authority with Scripture, or obligatory on the conscience, (in any degree beyond that in which the established usages of any set of good men must necessarily come with a certain recommendation in their favor to other well-disposed persons,) had never for a moment suggested itself to mankind.’

There is a considerable portion at the conclusion of this little volume taken up in the exposition of the Author’s views on the subjects of Baptism, the Holy Eucharist, Church Government, and Ordinances. While we thank him for the laudable liberality which he ever manifests towards those who differ from him, and while we cheerfully acknowledge that his views are far less extravagant than those of many of his brethren, we still think them on some of these topics sufficiently obscure and erroneous. Still, he thinks that his views are to be defended by Scripture, and is willing to put them on that issue. For this we honor him; since we must frankly confess that in abandoning the ground of an authoritative tradition he, in our judgment, abandons the only ground which can sustain these peculiar views. But this is his affair, not ours; and in conceding that Scripture, and Scripture only, is the authoritative standard of our faith, he has conceded a principle which will enable us to sift these and all other opinions, and to investigate them with a cheering hope of arriving at length at stable truth. Into the correctness or incorrectness of his views on the above-mentioned topics we do not now enter; all these matters being very subordinate to the main object of the work. That object

is to establish the proposition, and in our estimation, it is triumphantly established, that 'not Tradition, but Revelation,' is the test of faith, and that, 'in the apostolical age and that which immediately followed it, no doctrines were taught as of divine authority, independently of those expressly comprehended in 'the page of Scripture.'

Art. IV. 1. *Colonization and Christianity. A Popular History of the Treatment of the Natives by the Europeans in all their Colonies.* By WILLIAM HOWITT. 12mo. London: Longman & Co. 1838.

2. *British Colonization and Colored Tribes.* By S. BANNISTER, late Attorney-General of New South Wales. 12mo. London: W. Ball. 1838.

THE history of European Colonization is one of the darkest chapters in the annals of human crime. It is written throughout with weeping, lamentation, and blood. It discloses a series of atrocities, perpetrated on a larger scale, and inflicting a greater sum of misery than any other event on record. Hitherto it has been but illegibly written; the truth has been told but in part; a dark mantle has been thrown over the misdeeds of European colonists, and the work of oppression, treachery, and murder, has in consequence proceeded unchecked. Few have troubled themselves to inquire after facts which could be gathered by laborious diligence only. The benevolent have been occupied by more palpable and better understood cases of grievance. Evils occurring beneath their eye and claiming their daily notice, have engaged their sympathy and exertion, while the wrongs of distant tribes, the worse than Machiavelian policy to which they have been subjected; the unblushing invasion of their rights; and the murderous rigor with which the outbreaks of their resentment have been checked, have been palliated and justified under a thousand pretexts. The progress of discovery has in consequence been marked by the misery and waste of human life. Every step which civilized man has taken in advance of his former position has augmented the sum of social misery, and brought new victims to the shrine of mammon. A dark line may be traced between the barbarous and the civilized;—a fit emblem of the sufferings of the one party and the crimes of the other.

Prior to experience it might have been anticipated that the presence of a civilized people on the confines of a barbarous tribe, would have been to the latter a harbinger of unmixed good;—that the contact of the one with the other would have been so much clear gain to the cause of human happiness and virtue;—

that the denizens of the forest would have been raised in the scale of intelligent existence, and have gathered from their visitors the arts which embellish social life, and the principles and hopes which give dignity to man. The reverse of all this, however, has been the fact. The white man's presence has been the omen and pledge of coming woe. Dark shadows have been thrown upon the future, and history, has soon told, in brief and disjointed fragments, of numerous tribes that have wasted away, heart-broken, yet unpitied, beneath his sway. So uniform has been the result, that,—as is not uncommon—a theory has been devised to account for and justify, the wide-spreading calamity. The ordination of Divine Providence,—a providence ever just and kind—has been represented as meeting its fulfilment in the erection of an altar to Moloch, at which millions of human victims have bled. Man has impiously appealed to the purposes of his Maker in vindication of his own atrocities. He has pointed to the squalid forms, and sorrow-stricken countenances, and decreasing numbers of Aboriginal tribes, as a practical illustration of the design of that Being who is 'the Father of the spirits of all flesh.' Inhuman and revolting opinions have been uttered on this subject by men standing high amongst us;—opinions that bear a character it is painful to designate, and from which every humane and honorable mind must recoil with horror. It has not often been our lot to meet with a passage of more barefaced and cool-blooded barbarity than the following; which occurs in the account of Sir John Ross's Second Voyage to the Arctic Regions. The man who could pen such language is not likely to have been a benefactor of any uncultivated tribes he visited. 'Our brandy was as odious as our pudding to our Esquimaux visitors, and they have yet therefore to acquire the taste which has, in ruining the morals, hastened the extermination of their American neighbours to the Southward. If, however, these tribes must finally disappear, as seems their fate, it is at least better that they should die gradually by the force of rum, than that they should be exterminated in masses by the fire and sword of the Spanish conquest, since there is some pleasure, such as it is in the mean time, while there is also a voluntary but slow suicide in exchange for murder and robbery? Is it not the fate of the savage and the uncivilized on this earth to give way to the more cunning and the better informed, to knowledge and civilization? It is the order of the world, and the right one; nor will all the lamentations of a mawkish philanthropy, with its more absurd or censurable efforts, avail one jot against an order of things as wise as it is assuredly established.*' The spirit which dictated this passage

* Vol. I., p. 257.

has been extensively prevalent amongst our countrymen, but few have had sufficient hardihood to avow it in an equally unblushing manner.

A new era, however, has recently commenced. It has had its origin in various causes, among the most prominent of which we place, the agitation of the slave question, and the fuller and more accurate information respecting the condition and wrongs of Aboriginal tribes, obtained from the agents of different Missionary bodies. Placed on the outskirts of civilized life the Christian missionary has been a witness of the misdeeds of his countrymen, and has faithfully reported them at home. This has been equally the case in the West Indies, in Africa, and in the South Sea. Wherever commerce has pushed her speculations, the untired missionary has trod, and as an earnest of the spiritual blessings he panted to communicate, has raised a protesting voice against the perfidy and oppression practised on the natives. 'In every distant scene of our crimes,' Mr. Howitt truly remarks, 'the missionaries have stepped in between us and the just vengeance of heaven, between us and the political punishment of our own absurd and wicked policy, between us and the miserable natives.' For a long time their reports were disregarded. Interested witnesses appeared against them. Their motives were impugned, their actions were misrepresented. They were spoken of as the enemies of their countrymen, and the disturbers of colonial peace. The audacity with which their statements were denied, shook for a time the confidence even of their friends, while the danger which was threatened to the permanence of their labors, induced many temporizing supporters to express a wish, that they would be more reserved in their communications, and confine themselves more strictly to their spiritual functions. Happily they spurned the unworthy counsel. Their remonstrances became more frequent and more loud. They were repeated through evil report and through good report, until at length a nation's ear was gained, and even sluggish statesmen were compelled to bestir themselves. Of this improved state of things the volumes before us are an earnest. We are somewhat at a loss to know how to treat them. Their multifarious and deeply interesting details, together with the healthful and high-toned spirit which pervades them, entitle them to a far more extended notice than our limited space admits of. In our despair of doing them justice we are half disposed to content ourselves with a brief and most hearty recommendation of them to our readers. But we shrink from this summary procedure as unjust to our own feelings and unsuitable to a Journal which is specially devoted to whatever promises to advance the well-being,—social, political, and religious,—of every section of the human family. We shall therefore endeavour, however inadequately, to make our readers ac-

acquainted with the works in question. Their character is distinct, yet happily subservient to the same object. Mr. Howitt's volume is designed to lay open, in a popular and attractive form, the evils with which European colonization has been fraught to the Aboriginal tribes in whose neighbourhood we have settled. He limits himself expressly to this object, and in doing so has acted wisely. The system reprobated 'has been in full operation for more than 300 years, and continues yet in unabating activity of evil.' An exposure of colonial enormities,—a laying open to public inspection, of the dark deeds of our countrymen in various quarters of the globe, is therefore the first thing at which British philanthropists should aim, and this has been nobly accomplished by our Author. Let the extent of the evil be once apprehended, and as Mr. Howitt remarks, 'in this great country there will not want either heads to plan or hands to accomplish all that is due to the rights of others, or the honor and interest of England.' The accuracy of this observation will be evident when we come to notice Mr. Bannister's volume.

The wide range contemplated by Mr. Howitt embraces the colonial enterprizes of all the European states. His volume, therefore, opens with a historical notice of the discovery of the New World, and its earlier chapters supply a rapid, condensed, and deeply afflicting narrative of the proceedings of the Spaniards and Portuguese in their intercourse with the native tribes to whom they were introduced by the discoveries of Columbus and his successors. The general character of this intercourse is well known. The brute passions of the adventurers, released from the restraints of civilized life, and goaded to madness by a base appetite for gold, were let loose upon the unoffending natives with murderous effect. 'A day of darkness and of gloominess, a day of clouds and of thick darkness,' broke violently on the Indians, when European visitors landed on their shore. Like the locusts of the East, their progress was marked by desolation. Before them the land was as the garden of Eden, but behind them a desolate wilderness. But we must not dwell on these facts, having other matters before us, in which, as Englishmen, we are more nearly interested, and to which we wish to direct the special attention of our readers. There is one point, however, in the history of Spanish colonization on which we must detain attention for a moment. We refer to the operations of the Jesuits in Paraguay, which stand out in singular and most honorable contrast, to the general character of their order, and to the sordid and brutal policy universally adopted by their countrymen towards the natives of the New World. It is the one chapter in the history of this politico-ecclesiastical fraternity which serves to redeem it from unmitigated reprobation, and to shed around it a halo not wholly obscured by its intrigues and crimes in other

quarters of the globe. Mr. Howitt acknowledges that in a former work,—*The History of Priestcraft* we presume,—he had classed the operations of the Jesuits in Paraguay with the worst deeds of an unholy ambition; but that more extended inquiry had convinced him that ‘their conduct was one of the most illustrious examples of Christian devotion—Christian patience—Christian benevolence, and disinterested virtue on record.’

‘I do not mean to say,’ he adds, ‘that they exhibited Christianity in all the splendour of its unadulterated truth;—no, they had enough of the empty forms and legends, and false pretences, and false miracles of Rome, about them; but they exhibited one great feature of its spirit—love to the poor and the oppressed, and it was at once acknowledged by them to be divine. I do not mean to say that they adopted the soundest system of policy in their treatment of the Indians; for their besetting sin, the love of power and the pride of intellectual dominance, were but too apparent in it; and this prevented their labors from acquiring that permanence which they otherwise would: but they did this, which was a glorious thing in that age, and in those countries—they showed what Christianity, even in an imperfect form, can accomplish in the civilization of the wildest people. They showed to the outraged Indians, that Christianity was really a blessing where really embraced; and to the Spaniards, that their favorite dogmas of the incapacity of the Indians for the reception of divine truth, and for the patient endurance of labor and civil restraint, were as baseless as their own profession of the Christian faith. They stood up against universal power and rapacity, in defence of the weak, the innocent, and the calumniated; and they had the usual fate of such men—they were the martyrs of their virtue, and deserve the thanks and honorable remembrance of all ages.’—pp. 121, 122.

The Jesuits, were invited to Paraguay by the Spaniards, in 1586, from that craving after something that bears the semblance and promises the fruits of religion, which is instinctive in the human mind. They were received with unbounded exultation. Triumphant arches were erected, their path was strewn with flowers, and solemn thanksgivings for their arrival were addressed to heaven. Their popularity, however, was short-lived, but its decline is their imperishable honor. It redounds to their glory, and adds a yet deeper tinge to the infamy of their persecutors. The following is our Author’s account of their proceedings:

‘The Jesuits found, wherever the Spaniards had penetrated, the Indians groaning under their oppressions and licentiousness, ready to burst out, and take summary vengeance at the first opportunity; and they were on all sides surrounded by tribes of others in a state of hostile irritation, regarding the Spaniards as the most perfidious as well as powerful enemies, from whom nothing was to be hoped, and against whom every advantage was to be seized. Yet amongst these fierce

tribes, the Jesuits boldly advanced, trusting to that principle which ought always to have been acted upon by those calling themselves Christians, that where no evil is intended, evil will seldom be received. It is wonderful how successful this system was in their hands. With his breviary in his hand, and a cross of six feet high, which served him for a staff, the Jesuit missionary set out to penetrate into some new region. He was accompanied by a few converted Indians who might act as guides and interpreters. They took with them a stock of maize as provision in the wilderness, where the bows of the Indians did not supply them with game; for they carefully avoided carrying fire-arms, lest they should excite alarm or suspicion. They thus encountered all the difficulties of a wild country; climbing mountains, and cutting their way through pathless woods with axes; and at night, if they reached no human habitation, they made fires to keep off the wild beasts, and reposed beneath the forest trees. When they arrived amongst the tribes they sought, they explained through their interpreters, that they came thus and threw themselves into their power, to prove to them, that they were their friends; to teach them the arts, and to endow them with the advantages of the Europeans. In some cases they had to suffer for the villanies of their countrymen—the natives being too much exasperated by their wrongs to be able to conceive that some fresh experiment of evil towards them was not concealed under this peaceful show. But, in the far greater number of cases, their success was marvellous. They speedily inspired the Indians with confidence in their good intentions towards them: for the natives of every country yet discovered, have been found as quick in recognising their friends as they have been in resenting the injuries of their enemies. The following anecdote given by Charlevoix, is peculiarly indicative of their manner of proceeding.—Father Monroy, with a lay-brother Jesuit, called Juan de Toledo, had at length reached the Omaguacas, whose cacique Piltipicon had once been baptized, but, owing to the treatment of the Spaniards, had renounced their religion, and pursued them with every possible evil; massacred their priests; burnt their churches; and ravaged their settlements. Father Monroy was told that certain and instant death would be the consequence of his appearing before Piltipicon; but armed with all that confidence which Jesus Christ has so much recommended to the preachers of his gospel, he entered the house of the terrible cacique, and thus addressed him: ‘The good which I desire you, has made me despise the terrors of almost certain death; but you cannot expect much honor in taking away the life of a naked man. If, contrary to my expectation, you will consent to listen to me, all the advantage of our conversation will be yours; whereas, if I die in your hands, an immortal crown in heaven will be my reward.’ Piltipicon was so amazed, or rather softened by the missionary’s boldness, that he immediately offered him some of the beer brewed from maize, which the Omaguacas use; and not only granted his request to proceed further up his country, but furnished him with provisions for the journey. The end of it was, that Piltipicon made peace with the Spaniards, and ultimately embraced Christianity, with all his people.’—pp. 127—129.

Numerous settlements, termed Reductions, were formed by the Jesuits, in which the Indians were taught the arts of civilized life, and were associated for mutual improvement and defence.

In process of time they had established thirty of these Reductions in La Plata and Paraguay, thirteen of them being in the diocese of the Assumption, besides those amongst the Chiquitos and other nations. In the centre of every mission was the Reduction, and in the centre of the Reduction was a square, which the church faced, and likewise the arsenal, in which all the arms and ammunition were laid up. In this square the Indians were exercised every week, for there were in every town two companies of militia, the officers of which had handsome uniforms laced with gold and silver, which, however, they only wore on those occasions, or when they took the field. At each corner of the square was a cross, and in the centre an image of the Virgin. They had a large house on the right-hand of the church for the Jesuits, and near it the public workshops. On the left-hand of the church was the public burial-ground and the widows house. Every necessary trade was taught, and the boys were taken to the public workshops and instructed in such trades as they chose. To every family was given a house, and a piece of ground sufficient to supply it with all necessaries. Oxen were supplied from the common stock for cultivating it, and while this family was capable of doing the necessary work, this land never was taken away. Besides this private property, they were two larger portions, called Tupamba, or God's Possession, to which all the community contributed the necessary labour, and raised provisions for the aged, sick, widows, and orphans, and income for the public service, and the payment of the national tribute. The boys were employed in weeding, keeping the roads in order, and various other offices. They went to work with the music of flutes, and in procession. The girls were employed in gathering cotton, and driving birds from the fields. Every one had his or her proper avocation, and officers were appointed to superintend every different department, and to see that all was going on well in shops and in fields. They had, however, their days and hours of relaxation. They were taught singing, music, and dancing, under certain regulations. On holidays, the men played at various games, shot at marks, played with balls of elastic gum, or went out hunting and fishing. Every kind of art that was innocent or ornamental, was practised. They cast bells, and carved and gilded with great elegance. The women, beside their other domestic duties, made pottery, and spun and wove cotton for garments. The Jesuits exported large quantities of the Caa, or Paraguay tea, and introduced valuable improvements in the mode of its preparation.

pp. 180, 131.

These Reductions constituted so many cities of refuge, whither the oppressed Indians repaired in search of repose and civilization. They afforded a brief respite to the children of the forest, but the

spoiler broke in upon them, and their budding civilization was checked, and their inmates were consigned to the tomb, or the yet more cheerless house of bondage. The success which attended the efforts of the Jesuits to civilize the Indians was a practical refutation of the theory prevalent among the Spaniards. It proved the right of the former to take rank in the human family, and to claim as their inalienable property the attributes of an intelligent existence. Hence the great mass of the settlers became enraged against them, and as has happened in other cases much nearer home, their calumnious reports were credited by the supreme government in Spain. Fraud, violence, and cruelty were arrayed against them, and when sanctioned by the authority of the home government were too powerful to be resisted. Their banishment was ultimately ordered, and with their departure the hope of the Indians perished.

Chapter the fourteenth details the proceedings of the Dutch in India, and the scenes disclosed bear a revolting resemblance to those perpetrated in America. We shall not dwell on them, but pass on to the following chapters which take a review of the conduct of our own countrymen. Chapters 15—19 are devoted to India, and we wish our space permitted us to do justice to their details. We must, however, do our best, and refer to the volume itself to supply all deficiencies. Our countrymen little think what atrocities have been practised in their name. 'We talk,' says our Author, 'of the atrocities of the Spaniards, of the deeds of Cortez and Pizarro, as though they were things of an ancient date,—things gone by, things of the dark old days; and seem never for a moment to suspect that these dark old days were not a whit more shocking than our own, or that our countrymen, protestant Englishmen of 1838, can be compared for a moment to the Red-Cross knights of Mexican and Peruvian butcheries. If they cannot be compared, I blush to say that it is because our infamy and crimes are even more wholesale and inhuman than theirs.' This is strong language, and we should be glad to have it disproved, but we fear the attempt would prove hopeless.

On the continent of India, our crimes have assumed a gigantic magnitude, and have been acted out with a consistency and force characteristic of the father of all evil. We must not be misled by the phraseology which is current amongst us respecting our Eastern possessions. It is common with religious people to speak of them as conferred for some important and religious end,—as given to our nation by the Disposer of all events, in order to the conversion of their inhabitants to the Christian faith. In such language truth and error are mixed, and its tendency is to keep out of view the awful amount of guilt contracted by our Eastern policy. The Divine Being has permitted the supremacy of the British crown to be established on the plains of India, just as

Satan was permitted to desolate paradise, or the Goths and Vandals to obliterate for a season the marks of civilization from Europe. He was no farther active in the one case than in the other; and we must not, therefore, lay the flattering unction to our souls. Our Indian possessions constitute the most splendid prize which crime has ever won, and the just retribution which has befallen Spain and Portugal, must be ours, unless the prayers of the righteous avail on our behalf. In other quarters of the globe, we have acted in an equally atrocious manner; but in India we found a theatre, the extent of which was proportioned to the magnitude of our crimes.

'The most masterly policy, regarded independent of its *morale*, and a valour more than Roman, have been exhibited by our governors-general and armies on the plains of Hindostan: but if there ever was one system more Machiavelian—more appropriative of the show of justice where the basest injustice was attempted—more cold, cruel, haughty and unrelenting than another,—it is the system by which the government of the different states of India has been wrested from the hands of their respective princes and collected into the grasp of the British power. Incalculable gainers as we have been by this system, it is impossible to review it without feelings of the most poignant shame and the highest indignation. Whenever we talk to other nations of British faith and integrity, they may well point to India in derisive scorn. The system which, for more than a century, was steadily at work to strip the native princes of their dominions, and that too under the most sacred pleas of right and expediency, is a system of torture more exquisite than regal or spiritual tyranny ever before discovered; such as the world has nothing similar to show.'

—pp. 308, 316.

'From the moment that the English felt that they had the power in India to 'divide and conquer,' they adopted the plan of doing it rather by plausible manœuvres than by a bold avowal of their designs, and a more honest plea of the right of conquest—the ancient doctrine of the strong, which they began to perceive was not quite so much in esteem as formerly. Had they said at once, these Mahomedan princes are arbitrary, cruel, and perfidious—we will depose them, and assume the government ourselves—we pretend to no other authority for our act than our ability to do it, and no other excuse for our conduct than our determination to redress the evils of the people: that would have been a candid behaviour. It would have been so far in accordance with the ancient doctrine of nations that little would have been thought of it, and though as Christians we could not have applauded the 'doing evil that good might come of it,' yet had the promised benefit to more than eighty millions of people followed, that glorious penance would have gone far in the most scrupulous mind to have justified the crime of usurpation. But the mischief has been, that while the exactions and extortions on the people have been continued, and many cases engendered, the means of usurpation have been those
ing and hypocri-

tical arts, which are more dangerous from their subtlety than naked violence, and more detestable because wearing the face, and using the language, of friendship and justice. A fatal friendship, indeed, has that of the English been to all those princes that were allured by it. It has pulled them every one from their thrones, or has left them there the contemptible puppets of a power that works its arbitrary will through them. But friendship or enmity, the result has been eventually the same to them. If they resisted alliance with the encroaching English, they were soon charged with evil intentions, fallen upon, and conquered; if they acquiesced in the proffered alliance, they soon became ensnared in those webs of diplomacy from which they never escaped, without the loss of all honour and hereditary dominion—of every thing, indeed, but the lot of prisoners where they had been kings. The first step in the English friendship with the native princes, has generally been to assist them against their neighbours with troops, or to locate troops with them to protect them from aggression. For these services such enormous recompence was stipulated for, that the unwary princes, entrapped by their fears of their native foes rather than of their pretended friends, soon found that they were utterly unable to discharge them. Dreadful exactions were made on their subjects, but in vain. Whole provinces, or the revenues of them, were soon obliged to be made over to their grasping *friends*; but they did not suffice for their demands. In order to pay them their debts or their interest, the princes were obliged to borrow large sums at an extravagant rate. These sums were eagerly advanced by the English in their private and individual capacities, and securities again taken on lands or revenues. At every step the unhappy princes became more and more embarrassed, and as the embarrassment increased, the claims of the Company became proportionably pressing. In the technical phraseology of money-lenders, 'the screw was then turned,' till there was no longer any enduring it. The unfortunate princes felt themselves, instead of being relieved by their artful friends, actually introduced by them into

Regions of sorrow, doleful shades, where peace
And rest can never dwell; hope never comes
That comes to all; but torture without end
Still urges.

'To escape it, there became no alternative but to throw themselves entirely upon the mercy of their inexorable creditors, or to break out into armed resistance. In the one case they found themselves speedily stripped of every vestige of their power—their revenues and management of their territories given over to these creditors, which still never were enough to liquidate their monstrous and growing demands; so that the next proposition was that they should entirely cede their territories, and become pensioners on their usurpers. In the other case, they were at once declared perfidious and swindling,—no faith was to be kept with them,—they were assaulted by the irresistible arms of their oppressors, and inevitably destroyed or deposed.'—pp. 212—214.

Champion, one of them, says in a letter of June 1774, published in the Report alluded to below, 'the inhumanity and dishonour with which the late proprietors of this country and their families have been used, is known all over these parts. A relation of them would swell this letter to an enormous size. I could not help compassionating such unparalleled misery, and my requests to the Vizir to show lenity were frequent, but as fruitless as even those advices which I almost hourly gave him regarding the destruction of the villages; with respect to which he always promised fair, but did not observe one of his promises, nor cease to overspread the country with flames, till three days after the fate of Hafez Rhamet was decided.' The Nabob had frankly and repeatedly assured Hastings that his intention was to *exterminate* the Rohillas, and every one who bore the name of Rohilla was either butchered, or found his safety in flight and in exile. Such were the diabolical deeds into which our government drove the native princes by their enormous exactions, or encouraged them in, only in the end to enslave them the more.'—pp. 234—236.

Every Englishman is familiar with the names of Lord Clive, Warren Hastings, and the present Marquis Wellesley. These are the great heroes of our Indian wars, of whose military enterprises and political sagacity we are accustomed to hear so much. Our nefarious system attained its maturity under the administration of the last of these governors, and has been characterised in every stage of its progress by an utter disregard of human happiness and life. It has been a compound of ambition and of avarice,—of the lust of riches and the lust of power. The merchant and the soldier, the needy adventurer and the crafty statesman, have combined to enrich and dignify themselves at the cost of the suffering millions of India. But we must not dwell on this topic. The subsequent chapters of Mr. Howitt's volume (excepting the twentieth, the twenty-fourth, and the twenty-fifth, the first of which reviews the conduct of the French, and the other two, that of the United States) are devoted to a review of our procedure towards the Indians of America, the Hottentots and Caffres of South Africa, and the Aborigines of New Holland, and of the Islands of the Pacific. As we purpose shortly directing the attention of our readers specifically to the case of South Africa, we shall not dwell on these concluding chapters. We cannot, however, dismiss the volume without expressing our deep sense of its value, and of the service its publication will render to the cause of humanity. Its appearance at this critical moment is most opportune. It is just such a volume as was needed, such as the existing state of the public mind called for, and as is adapted,—eminently adapted—to make a deep and lasting impression. It breathes the healthful tone of the pure English spirit, ennobled in its character, and widened in its sympathy, by the influence of the Christian faith. The following

passage in which honorable testimony is borne to the labors of Christian missionaries in South Africa is not more eloquent than just:—

‘ Let our profound statesmen, who go on from generation to generation fighting and maintaining armies, and issuing commandoes, look at this, and see how infinitely simple men, with but one principle of action to guide them—Christianity—outdo them in their own profession. They are your missionaries, after all the boast and pride of statesmanship, who have ever yet hit upon the only true and sound policy even in a worldly point of view ;* who, when the profound statesmen have turned men into miserable and exasperated savages, are obliged to go and again turn them from savages to men,—who, when these wise statesmen have spent their country’s money by millions, and shed blood by oceans, and find troubles and frontier wars, and frightful and fire-blackened deserts only growing around—go, and by a smile and a shake of the hand, restore peace, replace these deserts by gardens and green fields, and hamlets of cheerful people ; and instead of involving you in debt, find you a market with 200 to 500 per cent. profit !

‘ ‘ It was apparent,’ says Captain Stockenstrom, ‘ to every man, that if it had not been for the influence which the missionaries had gained over the Griquas we should have had the whole nation down upon us.’ What a humiliation to the pride of political science, to the pride of so many *soi-disant* statesmen, that with so many ages of experience to refer to, and with such stupendous powers as European statesmen have now in their hands, a few simple preachers should still have to show them the real philosophy of government, and to rescue them from the blundering and ruinous positions in which they have continually placed themselves with uneducated nations ! ‘ If these Griquas had come down upon us,’ continues Captain Stockenstrom, ‘ we had no force to arrest them ; and I have been informed, that since I left the colony, the government has been able to enter into a sort of treaty with the chief Waterboer, of a most beneficial nature to the Corannas and Griquas themselves, as well as to the safety of the northern frontier.’

—pp. 440, 441.

The second volume at the head of our article constitutes an invaluable sequel to Mr. Howitt’s. Its Author is well known to British philanthropists by several publications displaying an intimate acquaintance with the whole Aboriginal question, and a thorough devotion of body, soul, and strength to its advancement. His official station in New South Wales brought him into necessary connexion with the practical working of the Colonial system, and it is not to the honor of the Colonial Office, nor to the advantage of the British people, that his energies are not

* ‘ William Penn is the only exception, and he was a preacher, and in some degree a missionary.’

still employed in some distant settlement. Happily, however,—for such is the overruling providence of God—he may probably be found more useful at home than abroad. Enlightened and humane functionaries, have hitherto been cramped, dispirited, and borne down by the vicious system which has been sanctioned at home. Here then is the place where reform must be commenced, and Mr. Bannister is consequently at his proper post. His labors in England may tell on our colonial settlements throughout the world, whereas, his influence would be limited, and his projected reforms be probably short-lived, if he still retained an official post in any one of our colonies. His volume was published shortly before Mr. Howitt's, who refers to it in terms of marked respect. For a clear understanding, however, of the whole question, it had better be read subsequently. The one volume displays in all its enormities the evil to be corrected; the other traces the variations observable in the intercourse of Europeans with uncivilized tribes, points out the causes of failure, opens up to our view the glimpses of good occasionally discernible in our colonial policy, and proposes such reforms of our system as are deemed necessary to the safe and profitable working of colonial enterprise. Mr. Bannister introduces his volume by an Address to Mr. Fowell Buxton, in which the earnest consideration of that esteemed philanthropist is entreated for the subject discussed.

‘The whole aborigines subject must soon be taken up by the best statesmen in this country. National efforts alone will turn mischievous squatters into useful settlers, and lead aright the tens of thousands at this moment bursting through every frontier we occupy in Canada, in South Africa, and in all the Australias. Without national efforts to correct present oppression, buccaneering in every remote sea must spring out of the indulgence now permitted with impunity to the violent passions of uncontrolled men; and without national efforts now put forth, to follow up and crown those of the admirable missionaries, the possession of unwatched power will corrupt even them; and the whole work, now calling for your aid, must be done hereafter with lessened means of success, and infinitely increased obstacles. By not joining your strength with the well-disposed, but less informed, you leave them to struggle on in the midst of a thousand difficulties, which a prudent concurrence might remove. By concurring with good men in studying this vast subject, you will improve them. And if it be not studied with such help as yours, more patiently and deeply than men of action, left to themselves, can study anything, we shall be exposed, at no distant day, to see the active men, the ill-informed government and all, hurry into the most important colonial enterprises without proper preparation, and with no sufficient guarantees for carrying out with effect the best schemes of aboriginal improvement ever proposed.’—Introduction, pp. ix., x.

Our Author is a strenuous opponent of the theory which represents the decay and extinction of barbarous tribes as an inevitable result of their contact with civilization. We confess for ourselves, that nothing short of overwhelming evidence would bring us to the admission of such a doctrine. Facts we know are adduced, and that in great number ; but we have yet to learn that they cannot find their solution in other and more temporary causes than 'the order of the world' to which they are so coolly and approvingly referred in the extract we have made from the Narrative of Sir John Ross's Voyage. Mr. Bannister displays a sounder philosophy and a more humane heart in the following passage, to every syllable of which we subscribe.

' All the causes of their decay in numbers, and of their debased condition, are no less susceptible of a simple solution. To comprehend those causes thoroughly, and by their means to devise correctives of the system which has done such enormous evil, it will be indispensable to trace the long and melancholy story of Christian domination over the colored races, through its sanguinary course of three centuries, and in its many varied shapes. But gloomy as this retrospect will be, bright spots are not wanting to cheer the inquirer. In the excellent conduct of many individuals of all periods of time, he will find abundant reason to be convinced, that the past, with its horrors, is far from being the model on which the future is necessarily to be framed. It is the abuse of our relations with the uncivilized man, not the essential character of those relations themselves, to which his misery is attributable. The corruptions of *some* Christians, not the true doctrines of their pure religion, have made him a victim. The short-sighted cupidity of *some* traders, not the real character of enlightened commerce, has stripped him of his national resources, by unfair dealing, even when gross frauds have not outraged him. The selfishness of *some* settlers, not the unavoidable tendency of Christian colonization, has exposed him hitherto, with comparatively rare exceptions, to the most unsparing oppression ; whilst a conspiracy of falsely called statesmen has set up the snares of our unchristian and mischievous maxims to entrap the ignorant savage, in defiance of the genuine law of England, which may be moulded to every emergency, for the protection of the weak, and the elevation of the lowly.

' But the triumph of the men who have done all this evil is fast passing away. The exposure of great errors must lead to great reforms. Among the colonists there have always been many worthy men who have grieved at the existence of a system which encourages only the worst passions, and scatters dissensions over all our frontiers. The mass of these will soon look forward to securing competence for their families without wronging their neighbour. The merchant of the better class—a class not to be measured by wealth alone—scorns the proceedings, reprobated by us all, in the fraudulent traders ; and he will cheerfully receive into his ranks the colored competitor, whose

employed in some distant settlement. Happily, however, it is the overruling providence of God—he may probably be more useful at home than abroad. Enlightened and able functionaries, have hitherto been cramped, dispirited, and worn down by the vicious system which has been sanctioned. Here then is the place where reform must be commenced; Mr. Bannister is consequently at his proper post. His labours in the colony may tell on our colonial settlements throughout the world, whereas, his influence would be limited, and his proposed reforms be probably short-lived, if he still retained an appointment in any one of our colonies. His volume was published shortly before Mr. Howitt's, who refers to it in terms of high respect. For a clear understanding, however, of the question, it had better be read subsequently. The one displays in all its enormities the evil to be corrected; the other traces the variations observable in the intercourse of Europeans with uncivilized tribes, points out the causes of failure, holds up to our view the glimpses of good occasionally discernible in our colonial policy, and proposes such reforms of our colonial system as are deemed necessary to the safe and profitable work of colonial enterprise. Mr. Bannister introduces his volume with an Address to Mr. Fowell Buxton, in which the earnest conviction of that esteemed philanthropist is entreated for the subject to be discussed.

The whole aborigines subject must soon be taken up by the best talents in this country. National efforts alone will turn mischievous wanderers into useful settlers, and lead aright the tens of thousands of the moment bursting through every frontier we occupy in Canada, in Africa, and in all the Australias. Without national efforts to prevent oppression, buccaneering in every remote sea must be the indulgence now permitted with impunity to the passions of uncontrolled men; and without national efforts now to follow up and crown those of the admirable missionaries, possession of unwatched power will corrupt even them; and the work, now calling for your aid, must be done hereafter with diminished means of success, and infinitely increased obstacles. By not putting your strength with the well-disposed, but less informed, and leaving them to struggle on in the midst of a thousand difficulties, a prudent concurrence might remove. By concurring with them in studying this vast subject, you will improve them. And, if not studied with such help as yours, more patiently and deeply men of action, left to themselves, can study anything, we shall be doomed, at no distant day, to see the active men, the ill-informed men and all, hurry into the most important colonial enterprises without proper preparation, and with no sufficient guarantees for carrying with effect the best schemes of aboriginal improvement ever devised.—Introduction, pp. ix., x.

show ourselves towards your servants, if at any time they shall pass by our regions; thus doing, we promise you by the God of all things that are contained in Heaven, Earth, and the Sea, and by the life and welfare of our kingdom, that they shall as friendly and gently be entertained; as if they were born in our dominions, that we may thereby recompense the favor and benignity which you have shown to our men.'—pp. 27—29.

These were sentiments worthy of the unsophisticated and pious Edward. Unhappily, however, they were not followed up in succeeding reigns, though individuals were found to advocate their adoption. Ignorance, prejudice, and a short-sighted selfishness, availed against the claims of justice and the injunctions of the Christian faith. The Society of Friends, and William Penn in particular, are honorably distinguished by Mr. Bannister for their conduct towards the Indians of America. Yet he deems their policy to have been defective in many important respects. They nobly asserted the right of the Indians to their lands, and refused therefore to recognize a title founded simply on a grant from the crown. 'Under favor we beg nothing of the Duke,' said some quakers referring to the Duke of York, 'the soil is none of his; 'tis the natives', by the law of nations, and it would be an ill argument to convert them to Christianity, to expel, 'instead of purchasing them out of those countries.'

'In New Jersey, as well as in Pennsylvania, considerate personal treatment by the Friends greatly conciliated the Indians to a late period; but it is certain that neither Barclay nor Penn formed a due estimate of what was wanted to be done to protect and elevate that race;—and by their mode of settling the proprietorship of the country, an exclusive interest was soon raised in white people, quite inconsistent with the promised reserves for the Indians, and never balanced by any rights duly defined, nor well secured in their favor. What Penn stipulated in his treaty was, however, distinctly explained and openly recorded; and he soon learned the native language, himself, pursuing a very different course from a subsequent governor, who was unwilling to let the Indians even have a clerk to note a treaty. In these respects his example can never be too much studied; but he neglected the essential guarantees for ensuring them justice, so as completely frustrated his excellent intentions. In this statute there is no trace of a law dispensing with *oaths*, which no Indian, not converted, ever could take; and, without abolishing which, justice could not be done in Indians' cases.

* * * *

'That a price was commonly given for Indian lands, long before William Penn's time, is well established; and he states, in his letter of 1683, p. 6, that some of the chiefs gave him tracts without any payment. It has, however, been shown that he made his acquisition

with unexampled liberality;* and there is no doubt of his having done much towards fulfilling the condition of the grant from the House to him, which was: 'to reduce the savage nations by gentle and just manners, to the love of civil society, and the Christian religion.' The Indians were at first content with what Penn did; but he should not himself have been content to stop there; and it is clear that the true price of the principality obtained from the Indians, namely, their civilization—could not be paid by the means he took. He secured peace by bountiful present liberality, and by considerate kindness and simplicity of personal treatment.—But his scheme failed there. It does not contain a trace of intention to make the chiefs capable of acting with the colonists in the government; and the well-meant plan of arbitrators of half whites and half Indians to settle disputes could only serve, as it soon turned out, where the parties were satisfied with an arbitration. To have been effectual, such a stipulation should have been confirmed by a law, which Penn seems to have endeavoured to obtain. In his own time, it was found that the ordinary classes of colonists disregarded his example and injunctions, and excited bitter discontent among the natives, by their unredressed frauds and oppressions; but when he failed in a wise attempt to pass a law in the province for the protection of the Indians, it does not appear to have occurred to him that the home government ought to have been appealed to for aid. Disposed himself to be their best protection, he did not think of the greater utility of an office of that character, into which his principles might have been perpetually instilled.

In his settlement of the lands purchased, and in which the Indians had various reserved rights, no provision was made for giving them a share of the increased value, as is now begun to be arranged.† This defect occurred when in Penn's own time the increase was often tenfold, even among the colonists; so that their motives for ousting the Indians increased every day; and money wanted for many objects indispensable to the latter, could only be got from the precarious source of liberality. At the same time, that it was an understanding that what the Indians might want on the soil would be at their service, both races being to dwell there in common, no system was planned by which that desirable object could be brought about.—pp. 78—83.

The personal kindness and unswerving integrity by which the transactions of Penn and his associates with the Indians were distinguished, won greatly on the latter. They were confided in and beloved; and the same feeling was cherished towards their successors. The result proved the soundness of their principles, and reads an instructive lesson to the men of our own times. We will give it in Mr. Howitt's language:

* 'Statement of Dr. Hodgkin, to the Aborigines Committee, of 1837, p. 113.'

† In the South Australian plan.

While the Friends retained the government of Pennsylvania it was governed without an army, and was never assailed by a single enemy. The Indians retained their firm attachment to them; and more than a century afterwards, after the government of the state had long been resumed to England, and its old martial system introduced there, when civil war broke out between the colonies and the mother country, and the Indians were instigated by the mother to use the tomahawk and the scalping-knife against the children, using—according to her own language, which so roused the indignation of Lord Chatham—"every means which God and Nature had put into her power," to destroy or subdue them,—these Indians, who had laid waste the settlements of the colonists with fire, and drenched them in blood, remembered the treaty with the *sons of Onas*, AND KEPT IT INVIOLEATE! They had no scruple to make war with the other colonists, for they had not been scrupulous in their treatment of them, and they had many an old score to clear off; but they had always found the Friends the same,—their friends and the friends of peace,—and they revered in them the sacred principles of faith and unity. Month after month the Friends saw the destruction of their neighbours' houses and lands; yet they lived in peace in the midst of this desolation. They heard at night the shrieks of the victims of the red men's wrath, and they saw in the morning where slaughter had reached neighbouring hearths, and where the bloody scalp had been torn away; but their houses remained untouched. Every evening the Indians came from their hidden lairs in the woods, and lifted the latches of their doors, to see if they remained in full reliance on their faith, and then they passed on. Where a house was secured with lock or bolt, they knew that suspicion had entered, and they grew suspicious too. But, through all that bloody and disgraceful war, only two Friends were killed by the Indians; and it was under these circumstances: A young man, a tanner, had gone from the village where he lived to his tan-yard, at some distance, through all the period of outrage. He went and came daily, without any arms, with his usual air of confidence, and therefore in full security. The Indians from thickets beheld him, but they never molested him. Unfortunately, one day he went as usual to his business, but carried a gun on his arm. He had not proceeded far into the country, when a shot from the bush laid him dead. When the Indians afterwards learned that he was merely carrying the gun to kill birds that were injuring his corn, 'Foolish young man,' they said; 'we saw him carrying arms, and we inferred that he had changed his principles.'

The other case was that of a woman. She had lived in a village which had been laid waste, and most of the inhabitants killed, by the Indians. The soldiers, from a fort not far off, came, and repeatedly intreated her to go into the fort, before she experienced the same fate as her neighbours. For a long time she refused, but at length fear entered her mind, and she went with them. In the fort, however, she became wretched. She considered that she had abandoned the principles of peace, by putting herself under the protection of arms. She felt that she had cast a slander on the hitherto inviolate faith of

the Indians, which might bring most disastrous consequences on other Friends who yet lived in the open country on the faith of the Indian integrity. She therefore determined to go out again, and return to her own house. She went forth, but had scarcely reached the first thicket when she was shot by the Indians, who now looked upon her as an enemy, or at least as a spy.

‘These are the only exceptions to the perfect security of Friends through all the Indian devastations in America; for wherever there were Friends, any tribe of Indians felt bound to recognize the sons of Father Onas: they would have been ashamed to injure an unarmed man, who was unarmed because he preserved peace as the command of the Great Spirit. It was during this war that the very treaty made with Penn was shown by the Indians to some British officers, being preserved by them with the most sacred care, as a monument of a transaction without a parallel, and equally honourable to themselves as to the Friends.’—pp. 362—364.

Mr. Bannister adduces several cases in proof of the capacity of barbarians to share in the benefits of commerce, and of its tendency to promote their civilization. The following account of the inhabitants of the Arrú Islands, a small group south-west of New Guinea, is taken from a paper read to the Geographical Society by Mr. G. W. Earl.

‘As the Arrú Islands are supposed to contain no spice trees, the Dutch have not formed any establishment* in them; and they are consequently thickly inhabited by an industrious population, chiefly agricultural—a mixture of the New Guinea negro and the Arafura, or brown-complexioned, straight-haired race. They are larger and more powerful than the Malays and Javanese. They are noted for their honesty, and are not easily offended. The women† are well treated by their husbands. The majority are pagans, but there are many Christians and Mohammedans among them: the former probably emigrants from some of the islands near Timor and the Moluccas, the people of which have been converted to Christianity, and partly civilized, by the persevering Dutch missionaries. The Arrús are the *entrepôt* of the products of the neighbouring coasts and islands; and much commercial intercourse prevails with them, chiefly confined to the Chinese and native traders. Tortoise-shell, bees-wax, ambergris, Missory bark (an aromatic resembling cinnamon, much used in the East, but never imported into Europe‡), birds of Paradise, trepang, and birds’-nests, are the chief exports. Fresh provisions and supplies for shipping may be procured in abundance. British manufactures

* ‘The Arrú Islands seem also to be beyond the limits of the Dutch possessions in India.’

† ‘The most commercial people of the Archipelago, the inhabitants of Celebes, are remarkable for the elevated station held among them by women.’

‡ ‘Missory bark has been brought to England, but it was disregarded.’

are introduced among the Arrûs and adjacent islands by the Bughis, through the medium of Macassar, and at a profit not uncommonly of eight hundred per cent. Had the British settlement on the northern coast of Australia, at Port Essington or Raffles' Bay, for instance, only distant 250 miles from the Arrû Islands, not been abandoned, it would, with proper arrangements, have shortly become the emporium of this part of the Archipelago.—pp. 185, 186.

The cases of Singapore, New Zealand, and South Africa, are equally decisive, and point out the immense advantages which may be secured to the English trader, by a prudent and just arrangement on the part of our government. They are thus recorded:—

'The example of Singapore, also noticed by Mr. Earl, with a just tribute to the memory of its illustrious founder, Sir Stamford Raffles, proves what may be done in these seas, by 'the union of native industry and British enterprise.' The success of Singapore was complete in the short space of seven years, so long as the sound principle of Sir Stamford prevailed. His means were, protection to the people, free trade, economical government, absence of taxes, checks on the government by sharing it with the native and white merchants, encouragement to moral and intellectual improvement, and consequent public confidence. These principles have, from time to time, been infringed by the successors of Sir Stamford Raffles, and the result has uniformly shown the impolicy of the change. At this moment, not only is protection ill afforded to the commerce of Singapore, but the measure was contemplated of raising a duty on its exports and imports. The fatal tendency of such a measure is clearly and strongly demonstrated by Mr. Earl, who declares that it will drive the trade of the Archipelago from that settlement into its old channels, and perhaps to the neighbouring Dutch free port of Rhio.

'The trade of Singapore, which, in 1819, was an *insignificant fishing village*, and a *haunt of pirates*, in spite of recent errors in policy, is an eloquent eulogy of Sir Stamford Raffles' views, both for the civilization of the Eastern Archipelago, and for our own profit.

'In two years and a half from its foundation as a British settlement in 1819, the imports and exports were £1,600,000; and after some fluctuations it rose steadily, in 1836, to £2,888,000.

'The same creation and increase of trade have occurred in New Zealand. In 1794, Governor King kidnapped two chiefs, to teach us how to work the flax; in 1814, the first missionary efforts were made in the Bay of Islands; and now business is done yearly, in the whole country, to the amount of £1,500,000.

'To what extent, against all expectation, trade may be carried on in barbarous countries has been proved in South Africa, in regard to ivory. Thirty years ago, Barrow asserted that it could not be reckoned among the valuable exports from the Cape, and he sets the average amount of it at about twelve hundred weight. During twenty years, the government verified his observation, not by trying the trade, but

by prohibiting it. At length, the Africans were allowed to bring elephants' teeth to our frontiers; and ever since this change of system, the amount exported has increased twenty, thirty, and forty-fold, with only such fluctuations as impolicy, in other respects, occasionally exposes the interior trade to.'—pp. 189—191.

The mention of New Zealand induces us to express our satisfaction at the favorable judgment which Mr. Bannister pronounces on the plan now pending for its colonization. We referred to this subject at some length in our number for April last, and avowed our approbation of the general principles on which the scheme was founded. We have been surprised to find, that our remarks and commendations have given pain in some quarters, where we should have expected them to be received with pleasure. The judgment we then expressed, however, is confirmed by subsequent reflection and inquiry: and the objection which has been urged against it, is founded, we are satisfied, on a hurried and short-sighted view of the case. The failure of former experiments is too hastily regarded as fatal to the present scheme; and the natives are consequently consigned to the multifarious, but unrecognised agencies which, for some time past, have been spreading crime and misery among them. On a review of the whole question, we are still of the opinion formerly expressed, 'that if any thing can save and elevate the New Zealand race, it will be the introduction among them of Christianity and civilization, under the auspices, and with the guarantees, of the proposed colony.'

It is too late to attempt to prohibit colonization; nor would it be desirable to do so were it within our power. It is taking place daily, and in forms the most undesirable and pernicious. Men of questionable character, and of sordid views, are advancing from a thousand points on the uncultivated waste. This is a process perpetually going on, and no power on earth can stay it. In the southern and eastern seas, a body of sailors, intermixed with some convicts, have spread themselves from Terra del Fuego to Japan; and may be every where traced 'in an unchecked career of pillage, and in the diseases they impart to the natives.' Shall, then, this predatory and lawless system continue? Shall the aborigines be surrendered to the caprice and crimes of these fearful intruders, or shall the intellect and moral principle of British philanthropists seek to form from the experience of the past, a more enlightened, humane, and Christian-like system of colonization than has ever yet been acted on? Such is the course adopted by the founders of the proposed New Zealand colony, and they are entitled to our gratitude and confidence. Mr. Bannister 'pronounces this plan to be the 'noblest ever conceived for white colonization,' and affirms that it 'boldly meets the whole colored

‘question; and, for the first time in our colonial history, gives a promise that the whole of its difficulty may be solved.’ ‘Much discussion alone,’ he adds, ‘will give the subject the slightest chance of a satisfactory examination; and if all other merit be denied to Mr. Wakefield, to him it is due to say, that he has thus brought the rights and prospects of the free coloured races before statesmen in a way altogether unprecedented.’

Mr. Bannister is of course a strenuous opponent of our transportation system, and maintains that it must be abandoned, before any hope can be entertained of benefitting the native tribes, in whose neighbourhood our convict settlements are formed. In his remarks on this subject we perfectly concur, and look forward to the result of the Report of the Transportation Committee with considerable solicitude. Hitherto the subject has engaged but little attention; the time, however, is clearly not far distant, when the scrutinizing eye of a discerning public will be fixed upon it. It possesses no one redeeming feature, but is the selfish expedient of short-sighted politicians, who seek relief from a present difficulty at an immense permanent expenditure to the country, and, what is far worse, the certain demoralization and ruin of the aborigines. This crime in morals, and blunder in legislation, cannot be much longer maintained. Let our readers mark the sentence in the following extract which we print in *italics*.

‘In regard to New South Wales, some disclosures were made by the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, Mr. Cones, and by others, that are likely to do good in the pending inquiries concerning transportation; and *if that punishment is to be continued, it would be merciful to destroy all the natives by military massacres, as a judge of the colony once coolly proposed for a particular district, rather than let them be exposed to the lingering death they now undergo.* But half the truth was not told as to New South Wales. Military massacres have been probably more common there than elsewhere: in 1826, Governor Darling ordered such massacres—and, in consequence, one black native at least was shot at a stake in cold blood. The attorney-general of the colony remonstrated against illegal orders of this kind, and was told that the secretary of state’s instructions authorized them. Yet have the poor natives of New South Wales exhibited undeniable proof of capacity for civilization; and they want only breathing-time to attain it. In Van Dieman’s Land matters have been pushed to extremities with them. After being horribly persecuted by the convicts, soldiers, and settlers, they have been sacrificed to the removal-theory, and stifled in an island unsuited to their habits. These documents refer to many other tribes, all of which present, in more or less

How could missionaries used to live amongst the natives and alcohol—*abolished*’ * Mr. Bannister.

gloomy colors, a melancholy picture of the sufferings which the strong inflict on the weak, amply justifying the committee's condemnation of the past system.'—pp. 246, 247.

'All experience proves that the evils of convict transportation exceed the amount of its advantages to any class of people.

'But the evils it inflicts upon the native families and tribes, are incomparably greater than any others, and utterly uncompensated by any advantages to such natives.

'The evidence before the committee on this head is frightful, and yet it is short of the truth.

'Further transportation should therefore be stopped; and the following measures may render the present white population of New South Wales less fatally dangerous to the aborigines than that of Van Dieman's Land has proved to be to those of that island:

'(A.) Missionary establishments should be forthwith placed in the interior, at the extremity of every settlement, in all directions from Sydney.

'(B.) The wives and families of all the political convicts should be immediately sent out to them at the public expense.

'(C.) The wives and families of all other convicts should be sent to them according as their conduct is ordinarily good.

'(D.) In cases of convicts without wives, the best means possible should be taken to encourage their marriage.

'These three measures are indispensable, inasmuch as a great amount of the evil inflicted on the natives of New South Wales arises from the inequality of the sexes, and the absence of domestic ties.'—pp. 296, 297.

Various suggestions are thrown out by Mr. Bannister for the improvement of our colonial system, about a few of which a difference of opinion will probably prevail. The majority of his recommendations, however, are obviously sound, and imperatively called for; and further discussion of the general subject will enable us more satisfactorily to decide on such as may at first seem questionable. As a preliminary to the whole, he insists on a reform of the colonial office, and of the privy council. The necessity of amendment in the case of the former, is now too evident to be denied. We cannot dwell on this point, but must close our extracts with the following summary of what is required to meet the righteous claims of this great cause.

'It is thus seen, that our intercourse with colored tribes, for the most part, injured them; but, at the same time, so far from those tribes being irreclaimably adverse to civilization, it is clear that where justice has been done, where protection has been granted, and instruction provided for, their improvement has ever been *proportionably* extensive. Numerous examples might be adduced, both of their suffering from our injustice, and of their improvement when well treated, but a conclusive case is found in the Hottentots—a people not

long ago in the lowest degree of misery and debasement, and now acquiring property and become civilized, in consequence of their enjoying a considerable amount of instruction, protection, and justice. In no other instance, in any colony, however, are means in progress on a scale large enough to promote effectually those great objects. Now in any other instance, except that of the New Zealand Association, is a promise of such sufficient means held forth; and the old system, condemned by the House of Commons in 1836, is still fatally struggling for prolonged existence. The causes of both the long continuance of suffering, and of the slow progress of improvement among barbarous tribes when in communication with white people, depend, beyond all comparison, more upon that system than upon the intrinsic difficulties of their position, or upon their natural character. Its principal features may be summarily described to be, a proud and ignorant disregard to the rights of the natives, and a mean desire to possess their lands and property, and to control their persons. Independently of these feelings towards them, the existing system is also adverse to good government, which is the real means of insuring their civilization; and the bureaucracy which has so long prevailed abhors the good government of the colored people, chiefly because success in respect of them would render corrupt and despotic principles indefensible in regard to white colonists.

‘In order effectually to reform this condemned system, it would be enough to adopt in future a series of measures the very reverse of those hitherto generally supported. Publicity, instead of secrecy; the prudent encouragement, instead of the discouragement of missionaries; the independence of ecclesiastics, instead of their dependence on the state; friendly intercourse, instead of separation between us and the tribes; courtesy, instead of insolence towards them; knowledge, instead of ignorance of them; good faith, instead of fraud in our dealings; in one word, justice with its special guarantees, instead of injustice in its multitudinous forms and fatal effects. Above all, the British public must be made acquainted with a subject so intimately connected with its honor and interests.’—pp. 268—270.

We have been the more free in our extracts from these volumes from the intense interest we feel in the subject to which they relate. Affecting intimately the happiness, present and future, of all the tribes who are located near our colonial settlements, it prefers claims to the considerate attention of philanthropists and Christians, not to be exceeded by any other theme. Our recent triumph in the case of slavery, instead of inviting us to repose, has opened up other and more extensive fields of labor. It has brought us into contact, immediate and pressing contact, with the whole colored question. Its ramifications are as extensive as the dependencies of our empire, and its claims are too urgent to be honestly neglected. In the present article, we have sought chiefly to stimulate inquiry: we shall return to the subject from time to time, and present its details in a more complete form.

In the meantime, let our readers give in their adhesion to the **ABORIGINES PROTECTION SOCIETY**, let its publications be circulated and read—let its funds be so replenished, that lecturers may be employed throughout the country—let public meetings be held where its righteous objects may be commended to the legislature—and let the voice of prayer, of solemn, earnest, and believing intercession, be addressed to the Father of mercies on its behalf. These are the weapons by which the slave has been emancipated, and they will prove equally efficacious in the case of the Aborigines.

Art. V. *A Dictionary of the Anglo-Saxon Language, with a Preface on the Origin and Connexion of the Germanic Tongues—a Map of Languages—and the Essentials of Anglo-Saxon Grammar.* By the Rev. J. BOSWORTH, LL.D., royal 8vo. London: 1838.

FEW literary wants have of late been more inconveniently felt than those connected with the impossibility of procuring an Anglo-Saxon Dictionary at once accurate, comprehensive, and of reasonable cost. The older publications have long been out of the market, and independently of their rare occurrence, their defects are such as to make them altogether inadequate to the requisition of scholarship in the present day. It may be worth while to illustrate the recent state of things among us, in this respect, by a brief critical history of our Anglo-Saxon Lexicography.

The first published dictionary, was that of Somner. This learned and laborious antiquary was born at Canterbury, in 1606: he died, in 1669. His official connexion with the ecclesiastical courts, seems to have led him to apply himself to the study of our national antiquities, more especially those of the Anglo-Saxon period; and from the steady prosecution of these inquiries, neither the loss of office nor the privation of liberty, availed to turn him aside. He printed various works, of which the most valuable is the '*Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*,' concerning which we learn from Bishop Nicholson, (*Hist. Lib.*) that it 'was published at the earnest request and charges of some of the most learned men in this kingdom:'—it is unquestionably a work of great merit, considering the state of Saxon learning at that time. Few books in that dialect had then been passed through the press, and he could have had but limited access to MSS., yet of these slender materials he appears to have made diligent use. He gives the original words in their order; with explanations in Latin and English, occasionally inserting short examples, and in a few instances entering into some little discussion, or citing charters and other illustrative

documents. The defects of this dictionary are such as might have been anticipated. The vocabulary is very incomplete; and grammatical information is almost entirely deficient. He does, indeed, at the end of his preface, set down a few elementary rules of little value, concluding with '*reliqua docebit facilis observatio*'; and at the close of the Dictionary, there is a '*Latin Grammar*,' composed in Anglo-Saxon by the celebrated Ælfric. This, however useful to Ælfric's Anglo-Saxon pupils in acquiring the Latin language, would afford little help to any one in the study of the native dialect, though Somner, judging from his preface, seems to have thought otherwise. We ought not, however, to lose sight of the fact, that in his time students might have been glad of even such a succedaneum as this, since the first available grammar was Hicke's 4to. of 1689.

The next Anglo-Saxon dictionary, in point of time, was that of Benson. The nature of this work is explained in the author's preface. He states, that in the course of his reading he had filled the margin of his Somner with several thousands of words omitted; and that as '*Somner's Dictionary*' had, even then, become scarce, he had been prevailed on to publish a '*Vocabulary*,' containing all the words of the original, with large additions, in a compact and neat form. The volume contains little more than a mere list of words with, in general, a single *Latin* interpretation to each. Small attention is paid to grammar; and taken only as a vocabulary, the work is far from complete.

The volumes of Somner and Benson were the only aids of this kind, to which the few students of Anglo-Saxon could have recourse, down to the year 1772, when the *Saxon and the Gothic Dictionary* of Lye made its appearance. This work, in a great measure, superseded the former. It fills, including an apparatus of fragments from '*Ulphilas*' and certain '*opuscula Anglo-Saxonica*,' two large volumes, in folio. After carrying several sheets through the press (to the end of letter D vol. i.) Lye, the original author, died, and the remainder of the work was supervised by the Rev. Owen Manning, from whom it received extensive additions. The explanations are given in Latin, and where a word is used in a variety of senses, the different gradations of meaning are exhibited. In the more important instances, examples are liberally cited, and their value is enhanced by translations and accurate references. The connexion between the Saxon and the modern English, is largely illustrated. With all its genuine and exhausting labour, this work has, however, been of late treated with an overwrought severity somewhat too characteristic of Anglo-Saxon criticism in the present day.

The imperfections real or alleged, of this dictionary are mainly the following. Firstly, a considerable number of words, chiefly poetical, and particularly many, occurring in '*Beowulf*' are not

found in it. Secondly, the words are collected from heterogeneous sources.—This objection, though insisted on by an eminent Saxonist, seems hardly tenable. It is well-known, that the dialects of the different Ancient Saxon kingdoms, those, especially, of the northern and southern parts of the island, greatly varied, and, also, that they all underwent gradual alterations till they finally merged in modern English. If, then, we are to have a dictionary really and comprehensively useful to Anglo-Saxon students, it must necessarily be drawn from heterogeneous sources. Thirdly, the same word occurs under different forms; many words are incorrectly spelt; oblique cases are sometimes mistaken for nominatives, &c. This censure has a better foundation than the preceding, yet it may, in some degree, admit of the same extenuation. Fourthly, grammar is not sufficiently attended to; genders, declensions, and conjugations, are not properly nor sufficiently designated.—This charge must in fairness be admitted: though Manning has prefixed a short and rather business-like grammar, there is still a great deficiency of grammatical elucidation in the body of the work. After all, however, it cannot be denied, that ‘*Lye’s Dictionary*’ is an honest book, and even his detractors seem to have found it a useful one. The Author, by the minuteness of his references and the copiousness of his citations, has supplied to a great extent the means of correcting his own mistakes. Such as it is, it has been, during the last sixty years, beyond comparison the best vocabulary available to students; and if the volume now in our hand had been nothing more than an improved edition, it would have been welcomed as a valuable acquisition. We are grateful to Dr. Bosworth that he rejected the easier alternative; and that he has, from his own rich stores, added to those which have been accumulating from the labours of eminent men during the last and present centuries, given to the world a work to a great extent original, and in all respects fairly representing the advanced state of Anglo-Saxon philology.

This publication has relieved us from a somewhat unpleasant feeling. In proportion to our anxiety for the appearance of such a work, has been our fear that some inferior workman, some mere son of labor or superficial waiter on the book-market, might snatch at the opportunity, and put forward some hasty compilation or crude congestion, which, while it apparently supplied a pressing demand, would baffle the learner and annoy the critic. There are, at the present moment, not a few branches of literature which lie, from this very cause, in neglect and obscurity, and we were not without apprehensions of a similar meddling with the Anglo-Saxon language. The same impertinence that comes forward with a bad grammar, is not unlikely to favor us with a bad dictionary, and we owe thanks to men of high scholarship when they prevent this injurious preoccupation, by forestalling the dealer in

contraband wares. Dr. Bosworth had long since made proof of thorough competence to his present task by his two grammars, of which the larger is rich almost to excess in philological illustration, and the lesser has obtained the approbation of the most fastidious critic of our time. These publications, and the extensive research of which they were evidently the result, had directed general attention to the same quarter as that from which was to be expected the long awaited boon of an Anglo-Saxon Dictionary, and we infer from Dr. Bosworth's own expressions, that he had been for many years occupied in preparation. Such an intimation was indeed quite unnecessary, for independently of any verbal pledge, we should have sure ground of confidence, in our knowledge of the man, his philological and critical ability, his unshrinking industry, his honest and disinterested purpose, that nothing would be spared to secure completeness and correctness. Nor has he failed in execution; these great objects have been fairly attained in the volume which now lies open before us, and which will be the companion of our studies so long as the language which it illustrates may give occupation to the failing eye and the halting memory. He has availed himself, not only of the compilations of Somner, Benson, and Lye, but of the admirable materials placed within his reach by the Glossaries to the Apollonius and Analecta of Thorpe, and the Beowulf of Kemble. He has thoroughly investigated the wide field of philological instruction which has of late years been so skilfully broken up by continental scholars, and especially by those of Germany; and he has not been induced by these higher and more extensive inquiries, to overlook those minor circumstances of illustration and arrangement which contribute so much to the usefulness of grammatical and lexicographical composition.

We feel some difficulty in dealing with this volume. The mere exhibition of specimens would be altogether unsatisfactory, and we shall hardly be expected to handle a dictionary in the way of analysis. Gratifying as it might be to our own partialities, if we could enter largely on the discussions connected with a subject so interesting, and for which we have materials so rich in this ample Thesaurus, we must abstain from a course that would occupy much more space than our limits permit us to assign to dissertations of this kind. It only remains, then, that we place before our readers a brief critical view of the contents of a work which supersedes all others of the kind, and which is not likely to be speedily superseded.

The prolegomenary matter is highly valuable, and must have cost great pains before it could be reduced to its actual state of close yet clear compression. The filiation of languages is exemplified in various forms of agreement and transition, and copious references are given to works of authority, where a more com-

plete exposition seemed desirable. All this is skilfully conducted, and with entire mastery of the subject. We must, however, confess that very much of what is conventionally held to be decisive in these inquiries, is to us exceedingly unsatisfactory. The recognised code of criticism, in its application to the theory of language, too frequently lets in a sort of evidence, convenient enough, and exhibiting a specious aspect of direct and definite illustration, but deficient in that large induction and in those broad and comprehensive views which are our only safe guides in the endeavour to discriminate between the essential and the accidental. We would recommend to the attention of our readers some admirable remarks on this subject by Wilhelm Schlegel, in the *Memoirs of the Royal Society of Literature*, with special reference to Dr. Prichard's volume on the *Origin of the Celtic nations*. After a sketch of the origin and descent of the European languages, Dr. Bosworth goes on to illustrate the German and Scandinavian dialects, in an arrangement remarkable for distinctness and for the clear uninvolved style in which it is expressed. In fact, the entire Preface may be taken as a collection of important dissertations on the most interesting subjects connected with Anglo-Saxon and Teutonic philology. A sort of Appendix contains an exceedingly useful 'outline' of the grammatical systems of Rask and Grimm, with 'The Essentials of *Anglo-Saxon Grammar*,' by Dr. Bosworth himself, a brief but admirably compact treatise, which we should be glad to see made accessible in a detached form.

The Dictionary itself is so managed as to economise space without injury either to fulness or clearness. Synonyms, derivations, significations, are all given upon an enlarged scale, and the citation of passages is unexceptionable both for extent and for illustration. One most important particular, too often neglected, is here uniformly kept in view: in Dr. Bosworth's own words, 'no pains have been spared to ascertain and express the precise grammatical inflections:' complete Indexes, Latin and English, follow the dictionary, and an extensive Supplement corrects and completes the Work. 'A Map of European Languages,' neatly executed and coloured, accompanies the Introduction.

- Art. VI. 1. *Funeral Sermons occasioned by the lamented death of the Rev. Robert Stephens M'All, LL.D., of Manchester, &c., &c.* London: 1838. Hamilton, Adams, and Co.
2. *The Messenger of God a burning and a shining light: a Sermon on the death of the Rev. Robert Stephens M'All, LL.D., preached in York Street Chapel, Manchester, August 12th, 1838.* By JOHN BIRT. London: Wightman.
3. *A Sermon occasioned by the death of the Rev. Robert Stephens M'All, LL.D. preached in Roe Street Chapel, Macclesfield, on Sabbath evening, August 12th, 1838.* By G. BARROW KIDD. Published by request. London: T. Ward and Co.
4. *Sheffield Independent, for August 4th—article, 'the late Rev. Dr. M'All, of Manchester.'*

THOUGH our Journal is not designed to be a chronicle of passing events, it is fitting that its pages should contain some record of that profound regret with which we, in common with the Christian public at large, have regarded the decease of the distinguished minister of Christ to whom the above publications relate: nor could our readers forgive us were we to pass without notice the interesting details of personal history and character with which these publications present us. They are the eloquent tributes of an affectionate and deeply sorrowing friendship. With the exception of the last, they are ministerial addresses, and in that character enforce, with a commendably solicitous fidelity, the great evangelical lessons taught by this affecting bereavement. We have sought to read them, not as critics, but with the sympathies due to the occasion on which they were delivered, and the memory of departed worth and greatness. All we can desire is that they may, from the press, attain the ends at which the preachers aimed—ends above all price—to lead the living to a profitable consideration of their journey to the tomb—to impress hearers of the Gospel, and ministers too, with thoughts of their critical responsibilities—to show the power of evangelical faith to produce the highest style of man, and its blessed efficacy in making death triumphant.

The 'Funeral Services,' consist of a discourse by the Rev. Dr. Raffles, an address on the day of interment by the Rev. John Ely, and an oration at the grave by the Rev. J. A. James. The discourse contains a brief but interesting outline of the principal events in Dr. M'All's life, and an account of its closing scene. We select from it some particulars relating to both, and shall be directed in our extracts chiefly by a preference for such incidents as have been less amply referred to in those reports of the discourse which appeared immediately after its delivery in

some public prints which we suppose to be in the hands of most of our readers.

Dr. M^cAll was born at Plymouth, August 4th, 1792. He was the eldest son of the Rev. Robert M^cAll, formerly a minister in the Countess of Huntingdon's connexion, who still survives. For his mother long since deceased, who appears to have been one of the most excellent of her sex, he cherished an ardent filial affection and the deepest veneration. He received his early education at the schools of Gloucester, Penzance, Falmouth, and Redruth, in succession; exhibiting at all of them indications of superior genius, in his ardent thirst for knowledge, his great facility in its acquisition, and his superiority to his class-fellows. 'His earliest years,' we are told, 'were marked by a strong religious bias, which was manifested alike in his own personal habits and in his choice of associates; while his thoughts and inclinations were evidently directed towards the Christian ministry, and his studies, so far as they were under his own guidance, had a more or less direct bearing upon this object.' At the age of fifteen he was united in communion to his father's church, and, after a short period of farther preparatory study, in 1808 he entered the Hoxton Academy. With an education farther advanced than that of most of his associates, and a character honourably ingenuous but as yet immature, he soon found himself in circumstances which induced him to retire from that institution. The following year was spent partly with his friends in Cornwall, and partly in the neighbourhood of London in the society of the Rev. Dr. Collyer, 'from whom he received almost boundless kindness and hospitality, and with whom he formed a lasting and sincere attachment.'

'At this period an incident occurred which I cannot forbear to mention, because it marks the vigour of his intellect and the extent of his information, and the estimation in which, on these accounts, even at that early age, he was held by one well qualified to form an accurate estimate of both. Calling one afternoon on Dr. Olinthus Gregory, at Woolwich, intending to stay a short time and return, the Doctor constrained him to remain, saying, that he expected some young men, students in the military college, to tea, who were under the influence of infidel principles, and that he knew of no one with whom he was more desirous they should converse upon the points at issue, than his youthful visitor. With his characteristic modesty, he shrunk from the proposed interview, and would fain have retired. Dr. Gregory, however, would take no denial, and he at length consented to remain, but only so far to take part in the conversation as that, in the event of Dr. Gregory omitting any thing that might seem to him to be material, he would endeavour to supply the deficiency. The expected guests arrived—the subject of Christianity was introduced—its young apologist was induced to speak—and, having once begun, he poured forth

such a strain of eloquent and irresistible argumentation, that the conversion of at least two of the party was the happy result.'—pp. 28, 29.

He shortly afterwards repaired to the University of Edinburgh, at which he contracted an intimacy with the late distinguished Dr. Thomas Brown, a circumstance which probably had considerable influence in the development of his intellectual character. Through him he was introduced to the best literary society of the Scottish metropolis. The studies which he then prosecuted were chiefly those of medicine; but his bias to the ministry finally prevailed; doubtless in consequence of the growing control of religious feeling and principle over his mind. 'The workings of his mind,' observes Dr. Raffles, 'appear to have been exceedingly deep and powerful during his stay in that university, but happily the result was a conviction, more firmly rooted in his heart, and more practically influential in his character, of the eternal truth and infinite excellence of the Christian system—not merely of its historical facts but of its essential principles and distinguishing doctrines: so that his mind became completely imbued with its spirit, and his whole soul absorbed in its sublime and momentous realities.'

We must find space for another incident which occurred at this time, similarly characteristic with that in the preceding extract of his mental habits and principles, and his early power in extemporaneous discourse.

'Shortly after his entrance into the University, he was present at a meeting of a debating society, established amongst the young men of the medical class, when one or more of the members took occasion to introduce the subject of christianity, evidently for the purpose of treating it with contempt, and giving expression to their own infidel opinions. Immediately, on the debate taking this turn he assumed such an attitude of fixed attention, and an expression of countenance so intensely interesting, that a very clever man who was present was induced to make a sketch of him on the back of a card, which is esteemed by some the best likeness of him ever taken; and so soon as these sceptics had finished their virulent and unprovoked attack on that which it was but too evident they little understood, he rose, and, in a speech of considerable length, replied in a manner so striking, and with arguments so forcible, that all were filled with admiration, while a deep and permanent impression was produced upon the minds of several of his auditors. In the case of one, especially, his reasonings on this occasion, and in repeated subsequent interviews, eagerly sought for the purpose of pursuing the subject, were so signally owned and blessed by God, that they issued, not only in a lasting friendship, but in his decided conversion to the faith of Christ.'—pp. 31, 32.

He finally determined on devoting himself to the ministry.

though his desire was for some time repressed by deep convictions of personal unworthiness and of the awful responsibilities of the sacred office; and he preferred that work among the Dissenters, notwithstanding, we are informed, the earnest entreaties of some of his friends rather to enter the Established Church, and the flattering prospects held out to him in that direction. After a short interval, during which he preached in various places, he accepted an invitation to minister to a congregation in Macclesfield that had been formed in connexion with a large Sunday-School. In the chapel in which that congregation first met, he continued to preach for eight years, when a new and more commodious building was rendered necessary by his growing celebrity and usefulness. His subsequent removal to Manchester is known to all; and from that period the course of his ministrations was under the continual observation of the religious public.

Our limits do not permit us to dwell upon the mournful but edifying details furnished in the funeral sermon of Dr. M'Al's last hours. His ministry in Manchester was only of eleven years' duration. Exhausted by labours which he could not forego even while made too sensibly aware of their effects upon his frame, and by anxieties which his susceptible mind felt with a more than ordinary intenseness, he became the subject of successive attacks of severe bodily disorder, and finally sunk beyond the power of restoration. The whole circumstances of the closing scene present a beautiful and affecting consummation of a life which was passed under the view of many observers, to whom it powerfully asserted the divine excellence of the doctrines he preached. We are particularly impressed with the calm, unwavering reliance of his faith on evangelical truths. If ever a mind was fitted by its structure to detect reasons for distrust, that mind was Dr. M'Al's; and no one could enter much into conversation with him, or hear many of his discourses, without being aware how thoroughly he had been exercised in the whole field of sceptical argument on the subject of the Christian evidences. But now he declared that the principles and views of divine truth which he had long preached, 'appeared to him, in this season of suffering, in a stronger light of demonstration, if possible, than ever, nor had he the shadow of a doubt of his personal interest in the great salvation.' Having, on one occasion, warmly expressed his gratitude to his medical attendants, he then, as we are informed,

'In the most solemn and impassioned manner declared, in the presence of them all—'I am a great sinner—I have been a great sinner; but my trust is in Jesus Christ, and in what he has done and suffered for sinners—upon this, and this only, as the foundation of my hope, I can confidently rely, now that I am sinking into eternity.' He then,

with great earnestness of manner, requested one of his medical friends to look into his eye, and tell him if he appeared like one who understood that about which he spoke, assuring him 'I am no fanatic—no enthusiast. No; I have been too much of the speculatist in my time.' And, turning to another of the medical gentleman, he added, 'You know, Sir, that these are no new sentiments with me, and to you I must look to apologize to these gentlemen for the great liberty I fear I have taken, in talking to them in such a strain.'

The medical gentlemen having retired, he expressed to his attending friend his fear lest they should, for a moment, suppose that he was under the influence of excitement when he addressed them, and appeared anxious that no such erroneous impression should be entertained.—p. 47.

We refer our readers to the Discourse for a touching recital of various domestic incidents relating to the same season. It was next to impossible at any time to record with accuracy the memorabilia of Dr. M'All's conversation, so great was the copiousness and the refined elegance of his expression on every interesting topic; but sufficient of his last words has been preserved to set before us a Christian, of the highest order of intellect, simply reposing in death on the common foundation of all the faithful, and shedding around him in his departure the hallowed light of heaven dawning upon his soul. Another of the precious legacies bequeathed by the triumphant to the militant church.

In the descriptive sketches of Dr. M'All's endowments and character contained in the several publications before us, many glowing and animated passages occur, worthy of the eloquence of their Authors. We have attempted, but in vain, to make such a series of selections from them, as should give, within the limits that can be assigned in the present number, a connected description of this eminent minister. Each separate delineation has the uniqueness of a portrait, and would require to be given entire. We are induced by the comprehensiveness of the outline furnished in the Sheffield paper, which is attributed to the pen of the Rev. John Thorpe, of that town, to transfer the greater part of it to our pages. Its elegance and graphic force will be appreciated by every reader, and its accuracy will be attested by all who knew its subject.

'To form a proper estimate of Dr. M'All, it was necessary to encounter him in one of his happier moods, when unexpectedly called on to perform any public duty, or when unusually excited in conversation. He generally rose to speak with manifest reluctance, but when he had been prevailed on to commence, the flow of his eloquence was unremitting, and at times suggested the idea of perpetual streams of burnished silver or gold, or precious jewels on which the brightest lights of heaven were shedding their radiance. It mattered not on these occasions, what was the subject under discussion. He saw it in all its

relations, with the glance of a seemingly intuitive philosophy. His sources of illustration evinced no signs of exhaustion, and ceased their supply only in obedience to the regal mind, which dismissed their ministry. His argumentation was close and convincing; his wit ready, gracefully playful, and always classically pure. His denunciations fell, like the keen lightnings of heaven, on some aggravated impiety, which had passed the last limits of forbearance, while his pathos exhibited a sweet, yet sublime tenderness, which subdued all hearts, and none more promptly than his own. Within the limits of a single speech, all the various styles of eloquence to which allusion has been made were presented, and the auditor was left at a loss to decide in which department the orator chiefly excelled.

‘In person, Dr. McAll was singularly elegant, and all his movements were graceful. His head was finely formed, his countenance was full of expression, and appeared to the fancy as if it had been moulded by the Grecian chisel. His eye was quick and piercing, and in constant activity, except when the mind was affected by some awful or tender subject, when it looked with indescribable sensibility. His voice was exceedingly mellifluous, and capable of great variety of intonation, while the natural but accurate assimilation of his action to his voice and matter, gave propriety and completeness to his performances.

‘In private life, Dr. McAll was the centre of an admiring and strongly attached circle.

‘He was a high-minded Christian gentleman. He had no sympathy with meanness; he never saw it, but to spurn it like a venomous reptile from his path. In his attachments he was faithful and sympathising, and magnanimously generous in his constructions. He could give an unutterable charm, by his amenity and intelligence, to the intercourse of social life, and he always impressed those who were with him, not only with his mental superiority, but with his deep piety.

* * * *

‘But it was in the discharge of his high functions as a Christian preacher, that Dr. McAll’s pre-eminence was most apparent.

‘His manner of conducting every part of the public services of the sanctuary, was a model of chaste and impressive propriety. He approached the pulpit with a manifest feeling of solemn awe. He read the Scriptures with a beautiful and reverential simplicity. He evidently understood what he read, and made the sentiment to be appreciated and felt by his natural and appropriate emphasis.

‘In prayer he was humble, scriptural, and devout. At times he was borne away by the fervor of his feelings, and the elevating topics which he introduced; and there were moments when he almost resembled a seraph, bowing in meek but rapturous adoration before the throne. He possessed perpetual variety. Those who constantly attended on his ministry would give the fullest testimony to the truth of this statement. His references in prayer to the varied circumstances and trials of his people, were always ready, suitable, and affectionate. Every circumstance which could be properly introduced, was referred to in the best manner, and often have his brethren in the ministry, who imagined that they were unseen, been surprised by hearing themselves.

* *

* Many instances might be adduced of the extraordinary impressions produced by Dr. McAll on particular occasions. Several of these are indelibly impressed on the memory of the writer of this notice. To one only shall more particular reference be made—namely, the occasion of the opening of the chapel, erected for the Rev. R. W. Hamilton, of Leeds. Robert Hall, in describing the effect produced by a sermon from the late Mr. Toller, of Kettering, says, ‘that the frequent, or even occasional recurrence of such a service, would constitute an epoch in the religious history of the world.’ The sentence is strong but just; and had it been applied to the sermon of Dr. McAll, on the occasion mentioned, few, if any, who heard that sermon, would have deemed it exaggerated. The impression was universal. The scene was beyond representation exciting and awful. The effect was not that produced by elaborate rhetoric; neither was it the sympathy of energetic passion alone. The grandeur of God seemed to be vindicated in his own temple; and the majesty of truth commanded the loyal reverence of the assembled multitude. The man, indeed, was there, and glorious he

was, in the brilliance of his sanctified genius, until he was lost in the overpowering splendor of a present Deity.'

So exalted is our opinion of this lamented man, that we can scarcely point to a single expression of admiration contained in these sketches which we regard as misplaced or overcharged. Not that our impressions correspond exactly with those of the respected writers as to every shade or discriminating feature of character on which they touch: but in the case of one so comprehensive in his powers, and so splendidly various and versatile in the exhibitions of them, we look to the united impressions of many minds as necessary to the formation of a just estimate of what he was. It is no disparagement to the delineations which have appeared, to say, that more remains to be done before the public can truly know one of the most extraordinary men of the present age. To those who read them with but an imperfect personal acquaintance with their subject, there will appear some discrepancies to be reconciled, both as to mental and moral character, and some anomalies to be accounted for. We look forward with much interest to the announced 'Sketch' by the venerated Minister entrusted with the editing of Dr. M'All's posthumous works, who will accomplish all that the power of masterly discrimination, and a sympathetic appreciation of whatever is beautiful in character, can enable him to effect. These works themselves will also furnish most essential elements towards a more analytical estimate of their Author's genius, than could as yet be formed. But it is to be regretted that even then the materials of judgment will not be fully before the public. It will be a loss to society, and especially to those engaged in the sacred office, if the restriction he is understood to have imposed on his related survivors, as to a biographical memorial, should finally prevent a sufficiently ample development of his mental and moral history. A memoir which should throw light upon his history, as a believer in revelation, as the subject of divine influence, as an example of the social virtues, as a student of sacred and human knowledge, as a Christian teacher and orator, and, we may add, as a decided, though most candid and liberal-minded, congregational Dissenter,—and upon the maturing reciprocal action of these departments of character on each other,—would present a deeply interesting exhibition of the workings of nature and grace in one of the superior orders of mind, and would be pregnant with instruction. We are far from saying, though now he has gone beyond the reach of all human opinion, that the shrinking of his delicate and sensitive spirit, from the exposure of its more private feelings ought not to be sacredly respected. But if it should be found, as is not impossible, that the misconceptions of any, unqualified to construe his character, should be thrown forth

to public view, it will be thought by most that justice to his memory requires that the materials should no longer be withheld, for such a biography as he himself, could the circumstances have been presented to his view, would not, it may be supposed, have deprecated.

Art. VII. *Memoir of the Rev. W. Steadman, D.D., Pastor of the First Baptist Church, Bradford, Yorkshire, and President of the Northern Baptist Education Society.* By his Son, THOMAS STEADMAN. London: Ward & Co. 1838.

THE biography of eminent men is a most interesting and important part of the literature of our country. It is so extensive and diversified, that the tastes of the reading public, whether correct or otherwise, may be easily gratified. But the question arises who *are* eminent? Doubtless on this point there is much difference of opinion. There are classes of men whose names are connected with an admiration almost universal. Warriors who have conquered nations by the sword; statesmen who have changed or modified those institutions which had become venerable by their antiquity, and thus effected a revolution *without* blood; philosophers, who have brought to light the processes of nature, and enlarged our knowledge by useful and remarkable discoveries; philanthropists who have spent their property and lives in attempts to relieve the wants and mitigate the miseries of their fellow-creatures; and adventurers, who have traversed the remotest regions of the earth, and made us acquainted with vast tribes of the great family of man, or who have pushed their ships into the recesses of the world, and made us acquainted with regions and productions hitherto unknown;—have laid the foundations of an undying fame. This homage to genius and enterprise would be as just as generous, if the best interests of mankind were confined to the present life. But if they are connected with a future state of being, vast and glorious, then it is very clear, the general opinions of mankind respecting character and actions, are not only imperfect, but absolutely erroneous. They altogether overlook that class of persons who devote their talents and energies to promote the eternal welfare of man—men who are deterred by no sacrifice, dismayed by no opposition, but who are ready, at the call of duty, to give up all that is dear to the human heart, and go *any where*, if they might save their fellow-creatures from everlasting ruin. Their names may be little known, and less admired; their deeds may be cast into the shade by bolder and more dazzling exploits. But, if they *that be wise are to shine as the*

brightness of the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever, then those holy and devoted men, who have sought the extension of the Saviour's kingdom, either at home or abroad, will be honoured, at the great day of account, with distinctions that shall utterly eclipse every trophy of earthly greatness. To *this* class belongs the subject of the admirable memoir now before us.

Dr. Steadman was born in the parish of Eardisland, near Leominster, of humble, but reputable parents, on the 12th of August, 1764. His early history is barren of incident. He had no advantages, as to education, whatever. His sight was defective from childhood, and he never recovered it. Until nine years of age, he had an aversion to learning, and at that age he could not read; but a sense of shame overcame this aversion, and he soon made progress. He was at one time, with his father, as a farmer's laborer; but he disliked ploughing, sowing, and driving horses; and having in vain sought for other more congenial employment, he became a maker of bee-hives! He would often repeat in after life, to his children, the way in which he acquired the art and mystery of bee-hive manufacture; for much to his honor, he never was ashamed of his humble origin, but referred to it, in connexion with his subsequent career, as illustrating the goodness of God toward him.

He now began school-keeping at home, and finally became an assistant to the Rev. John Thomas, an excellent clergyman, with whom he maintained an affectionate intercourse through life. Here he laid the foundation of his classical attainments. At this period too, he was employed as an *exciseman*! though he did not continue it long, being too conscientious to qualify by taking the Sacrament.

'It is always interesting,' observes our Author, 'to trace the early mental history of such as have subsequently attained to eminence; to seek out the combination of circumstances which first communicated intellectual action, and determined its direction and character. The individual before us, ignorant even of the art of reading in his ninth year, goaded by a sense of shame to a determined and persevering pursuit of knowledge, in his seventeenth year commenced teacher himself;

—p. 12.

His conversion was a slow process. Frequent impressions, as soon forgotten as produced, at last ended, through seeing some persons openly professing their love to Christ, in leading him to the mercy seat as a penitent and believer. His pastor soon discovered his talents, and he was sent to Bristol Academy. Of his Academic life he speaks with gratitude and pleasure. Dr. Evans was his tutor; Pearce and Josiah Evans his chosen friends. He was more disappointed in the literary than in the religious charac-

ter of the students! During his stay at Bristol, he tells us, and he was a close and faithful examiner of his own heart, that his 'religion did not degenerate; his literary attainments were improved; and his acquaintance with men and things increased.' He also strongly advises all young men about to enter any of our Dissenting Educational Institutions, to make themselves masters of the rudiments of the classics; and in this advice we earnestly join, since time which ought to be more usefully employed will otherwise be wasted, and opportunities of improvement, such as will never occur again, be for ever lost. Our colleges would be more useful than they are, if an acquaintance with the elements of mathematics, and a sufficient knowledge of Latin and Greek to be able to read short sentences in both, were deemed an indispensable qualification for admission.

Dr. Steadman removed from Bristol to Broughton, in Hanthwaite. The church in that place arose out of the operation of the *Five Mile Act*, being a branch of one meeting at Porton, upwards of five miles from Salisbury—and the short history given of it in the Memoir is exceedingly interesting. In acceding to the request of this church to become its pastor, the Doctor evinced that integrity which so strongly marked his subsequent life. Though he had invitations from other places far more inviting, he obeyed, what he conceived to be, the call of duty, and after spending twelve months among the people, he accepted the pastoral office. Here he remained eight years, laboring amidst much discouragement, with a people indifferent to the perishing state of those around them, who had little or no sympathy with their pastor's zeal, who disliked his appeals to sinners, and some of whom would walk out of the chapel when he preached on any rousing or solemn topic. This chapter in Dr. Steadman's history is by far the most interesting. His inward conflicts, his labors, his trials, his discouragements, his small success, his doubts and fears, are described with great fidelity and minuteness. But here the foundations of his eminence were laid. He assiduously cultivated his mind, but watched with still greater care the interests of religion in his soul. Disposed at times to petulance, pride, censoriousness, and levity, he was often betrayed into those slight inconsistencies which so materially affect a minister's usefulness and respectability. Over these he mourned in secret, and by divine grace was enabled to subdue them. But his unaffected generosity, and almost culpable good-nature, with his humour, strong sense, and deep insight into human nature, coupled with an untiring zeal and ardent spirit of enterprise, caused him to be generally admired and esteemed. We wish we had space to present a few extracts from the diary of his labors and experience at Broughton, but as the selection would be very difficult, and our pages are crowded, we must abstain.

We had almost hoped, as we read on, that this Memoir would have settled a question of no small moment, and which in the present day excites much attention. Many pious persons, when they read the lives of such men as Howe, Baxter, Newton, and Fletcher, imagine there is a lamentable decay in piety among ministers of the present day, and consequently in the church at large. These comparisons are often instituted,—but how far they are just is quite another matter. The habits of retirement which distinguished our pious forefathers, as well as their meditation on God's word, were eminently favorable to the growth of personal religion. But, alas, they manifested little compassion for a perishing world! In the present day all is activity to extend Christ's kingdom. Ministers of any eminence, are called incessantly into public life. Travelling night and day, and engaged in the most exciting services, with little time for retirement, and still less to devote to the spiritual welfare of their families, they must find it very difficult to maintain that intercourse with God, and that high state of spiritual-mindedness, which are so desirable, and which are almost incompatible with great prominence in the ardent activities of this enterprising age. Dr. Steadman deplores all this, but happily for those young men, who like him, are destined to future eminence, if, at the outset of their career they seek some sequestered station where habits of deep piety and devotion may be cultivated, they will effectually guard against the distracting influences of the public duties subsequently devolving on them.

During the time he was at Broughton, he took two itinerant journeys into Cornwall. Messrs. Thomas and Carey having declined farther assistance from the Mission Society at home, the committee thought they might embark in other enterprises of mercy, and sent agents to Sierra Leone; which was, however, soon abandoned. They determined to do something for Cornwall, which at that time was in a deplorable state. Wesley had visited it, and accomplished great things, of which proofs remain to this day, such as no other county in England can produce. Messrs. Saffery and Steadman were deputed to go on an itinerant excursion through what was then 'the far west.' In a letter which he sent to Dr. Rippon giving an interesting account of his journey, he remarks when recommending similar attempts in other counties though they might not be attended with similar results, that—

'Cornwall take it upon the whole is more populous than most others excepting those containing large cities, or extensive manufactories; and the inhabitants, as to the main bulk of them, being either miners or fishermen, are more in a state of independence, and less subject to the influence of superiors, who may be hostile to itinerant preaching, than those counties which depend wholly on agriculture. To which I might add,

that the labours and successes of the Methodists have largely contributed to civilize the inhabitants in general, and to bring them into habits of hearing the word. . . . Had the Dissenters made similar exertions they would in all probability have been attended with similar successes; and even now sufficient scope remains for their exertions there: not, perhaps, so much in itinerant preaching, as in attempting somewhat more permanent. . . . Nor can I conceive any more effectual means of doing it, than that of itinerant preaching. Most churches would probably spare their pastors for a month or two in the year. . . . Of the necessity of such exertions in the bounds of this kingdom little doubt can be entertained.—p. 148, 149, 150.

We beg most earnestly to press the hint thrown out in these extracts on a great body of our brethren who take a lead in the conduct of affairs. It has recently been acted upon in the north, and with great success. Another journey was subsequently taken into Cornwall, when Dr. Steadman and his coadjutor, Mr. Franklin, received a heartier welcome, and had much larger audiences—more especially among the miners, a class of men now distinguished as much for their piety as for their intelligence and activity.

From Broughton Dr. Steadman removed to Plymouth-Dock, now called Devonport, where he was associated with the late Mr. Isaiah Birt as co-pastor of the church in Liberty-Street. Soon after, a meeting-house in another part of the town being offered for sale, it was purchased by them, and this subsequently led to the formation of two separate churches; Mr. Birt being pastor of the New Church, Morris-Square; Dr. Steadman remaining with the people in the old place. Here he had his trials, but they were sanctified. In his diary, he says—

‘The affairs of the church here, and some unpleasant things that have turned up in consequence of our separation, have much occupied my thoughts, irritated my corruptions, and greatly damped the missionary ardour I once felt. But these memoirs* have revived the languishing spark of zeal, and led me to lament my backslidings, and resolve and pray to be wholly devoted to God.’—p. 199.

There is one circumstance we have noticed in these memoirs, that whenever the people either at Broughton or Devonport, seemed dead under the Word, the pastor immediately began to examine *himself*. Instead of complaining of the people, though they are often equally the cause of deadness, he looked within, and went to a throne of grace. In this respect he was eminently deserving of imitation.

The want of an enlightened ministry had been long felt in the

* Memoirs of Pearce.

wide and populous districts of Yorkshire: and when ministers died, there was no source of immediate supply. Dr. Fawcett, as far back as 1773, endeavoured to found an institution for these objects. James Bary, Esq. entered warmly into such a design, and offered £500 towards carrying it out. In 1804, the Yorkshire and Lancashire Baptist Association met at Hebden Bridge, and resolved to form a society, to be called the 'Northern Education Society;' for the purpose of encouraging pious and promising young men to devote themselves to the ministry. At the first subsequent meeting, Mr. Hall preached a powerful sermon from 1 Tim. i. 11, 12. After some difficulties and discouragements in securing a tutor, and repeated disappointments in their applications, the committee were directed to Dr. Steadman. He at first declined—but when it was represented to him, that unless he consented the institution would expire, he went down and met the committee; and after much correspondence with his own people, and great anxiety of mind, his flock having at last consented to give him up; he felt at liberty to remove, and accordingly arrived in Bradford with his family in June, 1805.

Here he entered on a new and interesting field of ministerial labour; 'I have now,' said he, 'full scope for all the exertions I am capable of, which I never had till now.' The utility of these institutions is now happily no longer a question among well-informed pious people; and instead of extracting the manly and judicious remarks of our author in rebutting the objections which have been brought against them, we may congratulate our readers on the establishment of another at Birmingham, which bids fair to be the *university* of dissenting colleges. For nearly thirty years Dr. Steadman was the president of the Bradford academy, and pastor of the church in Westgate-Street. He was emphatically the evangelist of the surrounding neighbourhood; the spring that set in motion the movements of the body to which he belonged in Yorkshire; active in promoting the interest of the Baptist Missionary Society, and collecting nearly all the funds necessary for the support of the institution under his care. How he managed to do it all—for the work he performed was enough for three ordinary men—is a matter of astonishment and surprise.

Not many years after his removal to Yorkshire he lost his eldest son, a youth of remarkable piety and talents, his wife, and two young children. He bore these trials with submission and composure. He was subsequently married to an excellent woman, whose mind was painfully depressed by religious gloom for many years, which no reasoning or effort on the part of her affectionate husband could remove. Here too he received a diploma of D.D. from America, which he took without reluctance, and wore without ostentation: his motive in accepting it was the benefit of the academy, jocularly remarking 'that where Mr. Steadman

'might be repulsed, *Dr. Steadman* might succeed.' He used playfully to remark, that his diploma once was really of some service to him, when travelling northward. The coach stopped at York, and he could not get on farther that night as he had been told he should do when he paid his fare. The waiter, estimating him by his appearance, was supercilious, but having cast an eye over his luggage, which Mrs. S. with affectionate care had duly labelled '*the Rev. W. Steadman, D.D.*,' he suddenly altered his tone, and the master of the house being duly informed of the clerical dignity of his guest, most politely assured him that he should be put to no expense for his night's accommodation! We sincerely hope that the diplomas of our brethren who have been recently made doctors, may be equally useful to them.

As a *man* Dr. Steadman was generous, open-hearted, upright, manly, decided, and firm. As a *Christian*, eminently devout, conscientious, catholic, and humble. As a *preacher*, clear, solid, scriptural, faithful, and affectionate; abounding in real labours, and evidently loving his work for its own sake, as well as for the good of souls. As a *writer* he was distinguished for plain manly sense, making no pretensions to elegance in composition, nor subtlety in argument, though he could manage an argument with great skill and force. As a *President* he combined all the qualities which could command respect and love. The students who were educated at Horton, invariably speak of him as a father. It is quite delightful to hear them, and we have conversed with very many, speaking in the strongest terms of affection and esteem. He knew how to rebuke forwardness, and encourage modesty. At table he laid aside all stiffness—told them amusing anecdotes, mingling with them cautions and advice: but they took no liberties with him. He maintained his authority unimpaired to the last, and that without effort. As a *pastor* he was attentive, courteous, assiduous, and kind. He ruled the church in love. He was no despot, but he had the power of one, by securing the affections of his people. As a *parent and a husband*, he was eminently tender, firm, and dignified. His children venerated him; and he deserved all the affection and esteem they could cherish.

The intellectual character of Dr. Steadman did not rank in the highest class. He had no genius whatever. His imagination was very feeble. Invention he had none. But his understanding was vigorous; and his judgment remarkably sound. His views were clear and enlarged; and if they wanted any thing, it was *distinctness* in the minor parts. Hence, he could manage things better in the mass, than in detail. He was most truly, what his son has so honestly as well as so justly described him to be, a *sober, plain, matter-of-fact man*. These mental qualities were rendered more valuable by his acquirements, of

which a ready and retentive memory enabled him to make the greatest use. His zeal and unction, his simplicity and fervour, rendered him universally acceptable as a preacher. He enriched his discourses with so much Scripture illustration, in the use of which Mr. Hall himself was not more successful, that every one was charmed. His labours were blessed far beyond what is usually allotted to ministers of the highest grade. Considering how little time he had, and the immense number of his preaching engagements, with all his abilities and acquirements, it is singular that he preached so well. We have not yet forgotten a discourse we heard him deliver to the students at Bristol, at the close of the session of 1827, from these words; '*Now thanks be to God who causeth us always to triumph in Christ*;' nor the characteristic remark of Mr. Anderson, the classical tutor there, who was an extreme niggard of praise; 'that it was a marvellously sensible discourse!'

It is greatly to the honour of Dr. Steadman that he retired from the presidency of the academy when no longer able to discharge its duties, instead of tenaciously retaining it to the injury of the institution. The committee voted him £100. per annum during his life, which was alike honourable to him, and due from them. He died universally respected, and at his funeral every mark of public respect was paid to his memory. He delivered in forty-seven years 10,065 discourses, 6000 of them after his removal to Bradford. He was present at 115 ordinations, and delivered 101 charges. He preached at the opening of forty-three places of worship, and three school-rooms. It may be truly said of him, *that he rests from his labours and his works do follow him.*

It only remains that we add a word or two as to the way in which his son has discharged his duty as a biographer. It was a delicate and a difficult task. But he has done it well. The greatest judgment and taste are displayed throughout. While he lets his father speak for himself—and this is a delightful feature of the book—he connects the narrative so admirably, and throws in so many judicious remarks, that we are sorry he does not do more. He is fully aware of what few defects his father had, and he speaks of them without any attempt at concealment. He proclaims his manifold excellencies with manly frankness and filial affection. It is an admirable piece of biography, and as to size, price, execution, and spirit, is deserving the highest praise from us, and imitation from all who are now engaged in writing the memoirs of eminent and pious men.

Art. VIII. *Political Discourses.* By GEORGE RAMSAY, B.M., Trin. Coll. Cambridge. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black. London: Longman and Co. 1838.

WE turned the other day, in one of the fashionable watering-places along the southern coast of Devon, into Wombwell's travelling menagerie. The keeper, a man in smart top-boots, with an olive complexion, and something like a cast in his eye, clambered towards the close of his exhibition into the den of a fine lioness with four cubs: and taking up each of the latter in their turns, he exclaimed;—'This, gentlemen and ladies, is the mayor of Exeter; the second is called Wallace, after the great lion that killed the dogs like nothing; the third is named the Duchess of Kent; and the fourth was christened Victoria, in honour of her present majesty.' He then manifested all manner of liberties with the mother; made her get up, lie down, or allow him to sit upon her; until after sundry kicks, cuffs, and other similarly affectionate salutations, he lifted himself in safety from the cage, to collect a few pence from the spectators, with very great apparent satisfaction.

We were contemplating, at the time, the present article on the state of the nation: and it occurred to us, that what had just been passing before our eyes typified most accurately the treatment, which the people of these three united kingdoms, together with the colonies, have experienced at the hands of one of the members of their vaunted constitution. It is our intention to work out this idea; to remind the reflecting part of our contemporaries, where we are; and what is the real incubus upon the country. Without the slightest personal animosity towards partisans of any kind or sort whatsoever, we feel satisfied that systems, rather than individuals are in fault: and that after the longest and most worthless parliamentary session almost ever known, since the leaden days of the Pelhams, both ourselves and readers will be better employed, in obtaining a thorough acquaintance with our position and circumstances;—than in studying the ephemeral politics; the shallow and shabby tergiversations of ministers or their opponents; the vapid logomachy of those calling themselves senators; the waste of breath, and time, and bustle about nothing; which have rendered nine months of fierce and wordy war, a wilderness without an oasis, to the Christian, the patriot, or the philosopher.

It has always appeared to us, that our constitution, such as it is, began to assume for all practical purposes, its regularity of form, under Henry the Seventh, or about the close of the fifteenth century; just as Europe emerged from the middle ages into modern times. All that existed of real liberty before, lay in mere associations, in historical recollections or mighty names; which, when

pronounced by potent magicians, moved and agitated the nation, won occasional victories for freedom, but never did much to mould its fabric as a vast social edifice. We doubt, whether indeed they fulfilled any other purpose, than hewing out, from the quarries of the past, certain foundations for the walls to rest upon in future. The British constitution, as we see it, rose like the bulwarks of Jerusalem, under Nehemiah; in troublous and stormy times:—‘Every man with one of his hands wrought in the work, and with the other hand held a weapon; for the builders had their swords girded by their sides, and so they builded.’ Even Magna Charta had to be constantly confirmed. The five essential checks upon royal authority, found in our laws and customs, before the wars of the Roses, possessed little more than a nominal existence. Of these limitations, that the crown could levy no tax without consent of parliament; nor pass any law without its concurrence; nor commit any man to prison without a legal warrant specifying his offence; nor determine criminal charges without trial by jury; nor violate personal liberty or rights, without subjecting its officers to an action for damages;—we say, that of all these high-sounding limitations, looking so well in the nicely printed pages of our common books of history, only the two first could boast of any practical establishment. The sovereign remained a sort of Rob Roy amidst his subjects; more like king Stork than king Log; with his prerogatives, proclamations, rights of pre-emption and purveyance; and the iron feudalism, which for generations continued to keep its ground. Even Hallam admits, that in general, there was no effective restraint upon government, except in the articles of levying money and enacting laws; and how far these exceptions were realised, the blissful reigns of the Tudors and Stuarts will abundantly tell us. Statutes against crimes, especially treason, were written in letters of blood, as severely as Draco himself could have desired. The capital punishments of those periods must strike us as having been horribly numerous, when we consider that the population of England and Wales did not exceed 3,000,000 at the battle of Bosworth, nor 4,500,000 about the date of the invincible armada! The kingdom increased in opulence through the blessing of providence, simply because compared with other parts of the world, it had something worth preserving and struggling for, and which permitted its energies to develop themselves; whilst the fact of the matter is, that from A.D. 1500, during a term of 140 years to the Long Parliament, our constitution, although nominally a limited monarchy, was in reality an absolute one; or, in other words, an autocracy!

When this state of things had grown intolerable, Hampden, Pym, Hollis, and their fellow-labourers, boldly appealed to patriotism, common sense, steel, and gunpowder. The fifty years from 1640 to 1690, comprising the civil wars, the commonwealth,

with the reigns of the second Charles and James, involve a curious and most important period of transition, during which the government fluctuated between republicanism and monarchy, between anarchy and despotism, until the revolution was consolidated in the enthronement of William the Third, and the annihilation of the divine right of princes. This glorious event, though liable to much exaggeration, introduced a new era, and elevated these realms to a higher and nobler level of social existence. It united, as Hallam well remarks, the independent character of a national act with the regularity and coercion of disorder, which belong to military invasion. It could only repose upon the basis of a liberal theory, recognising public good as the great end for which positive laws, and the constitutional order of states, have been instituted. The convention pronounced, under the slight disguise of the word 'abdication,' that the actual sovereign had forfeited his right to the allegiance of three nations. It swept away by the same vote, 'the reversion of his posterity, and of those who could claim the inheritance of the crown.' And if we bear in mind, that but a very few years before, an overwhelming party had declared the incompetency even of a full parliament, with a legitimate monarch at its head, to alter the lineal course of succession, we shall at once perceive how rapid a change had again taken place in public opinion, on the side of popular rights against regal pretensions. Liberty, however, still found the sons of Zeruiah far too much for her; and although the half century of transition now terminated in an apparent, and not an unimportant victory, never was disappointment, upon the whole, more cruel or more complete. It will be discovered by all keen observers, that the people had only changed masters. One member, instead of another, in the theory of the British constitution, had become lord of the ascendant: and from A.D. 1690 to 1830, a second dreary term of 140 years elapsed, analogous to that from A.D. 1500 to 1640, during which our constitution, although as before in name a limited monarchy, was nevertheless in fact an oligarchy; the most mischievous and contemptible of all forms of bad government, which have ever been inflicted upon mankind.

The histories of aristocracies in general would substantiate this assertion, had we either time or space to go into them: but no instance can be more striking than our own. It was not until the termination of the Elizabethan era, that the lower house renounced its tone of mean servility to the upper. Under the Long Parliament and Oliver Cromwell, there was no sufficient interval of calm to infuse right-mindedness on this subject into the reason and habits of the age. The Restoration re-seated the peers in triumph; and they were enabled so to strengthen and multiply all sources of political corruption, as to take the lead, or at least to shape the entire course which was pursued in dethroning James the

Second, and substituting the Prince of Orange in his stead. To use a common figure,—they so skilfully managed the lottery, as to secure every valuable prize. With some bright exceptions, they were opposed as a body to the grand change: and their true nature broke forth, whenever it could do so, with any chance of success or safety. This will appear from a reference to the debates, from the 28th of January, 1689, to the final settlement of the revolution. Their lordships had indeed learnt to be wise in their generation. They stand out in our annals as the most perfect waiters upon providence imaginable. No bulrushes could bend more easily before the popular gale; whilst in regaining their natural attitude, their influence grew greater than before. It had no doubt always been considerable; but from the close of the seventeenth century, it overshadowed the land. It was the leaven leavening the whole lump. The law, church, navy, army, parliament, corporations, imbibed no other principle, and presented no other result, than the domination of the few over the many, for the benefit of the former, and at the expense of the latter. Hereditary legislators coerced, whenever they dared; and coaxed, or bribed, whenever force seemed inexpedient. Boroughs came to glory in right honourable patrons; whose office it was to fatten the aldermen, corrupt the burgesses, and thereby nominate the representatives. The peerage metamorphosed itself into the great keeper of the menagerie of the nation, an impudent varlet in polished habiliments, with a sinister aspect, and imperturbable familiarity of self-possession. It played with the lioness of the land, as well as with its noblest institutions and municipalities; well-knowing that between good nature, on the one hand, and long-lasting ignorance on the other, it could plunder the masses, dictate to the crown, and carry its own measures through the commons. Within the walls of that house, down to the Reform Bill, less than 200 nobles, or persons immediately connected with them, returned a clear majority. The entire scheme of ruling these nations was a long political farce, which might have been entitled ‘The Way to govern, or Forms of Freedom the right road to Slavery.’ England, Ireland, and Scotland played the ignoble part of being both dupes and spectators: and that this picture is not overdrawn will be most evident to those who have most investigated the history of the eighteenth century. When a bill was introduced soon after the expulsion of the Stuarts, for reforming close corporations, so far as circumstances would then allow, by a revival of the more liberal charters, which had been basely surrendered to Charles and James, it was smothered by the Lords amidst their usual professions of superior respect for liberty, property, and precedent. The cloven foot appeared moreover pretty openly in their attempts to re-shackle the press on the expiration of the Licensing Act; as also, with regard to the bill brought in by Mr. Wortley in 1710,

for Voting by Ballot; which, after passing commons, was thrown out by the peers, as dangerous to the constitution. If we look, too, at those matters which touch and trench upon the daily details of every man's life, as, for example, at taxation; we might easily demonstrate from piles of documentary evidence, that whilst valuable articles, consumed by the rich and noble, paid and still pay a low tax; ordinary articles in demand by the middle classes pay a higher impost; and the lowly commodities, consumed by the poor, a most extravagant one. Tobacco, sugar, soap, glass, timber, wines, spirits, tea, the late house and window duties, the post-office, taxes on knowledge and prudence, and monopolies of every sort will be found to bear ample testimony to the correctness of what has been just stated.

Our foreign policy also tells the same story. After the revolution, pride, prejudice, and an appetite for prey, induced many persons, noble by courtesy, to keep up a clandestine correspondence with the exiled court at St. Germain. Menmouth, Montagu, Carmarthen, and Sunderland, with from twenty to thirty others, both Whigs and Tories, are criminated more or less, by the Mapherson and Dalrymple papers. Some of them acted as spies, or were in direct league with our bitterest adversaries abroad. Marlborough himself, as is well known, communicated to the French ministry at Versailles, the secret of an expedition against Brabant, which failed in consequence, with the loss of 800 men. Embarrassments at home, mainly originating from the hollow allegiance to William of the aristocratic branch of our legislature, rendered welcome what was called the Peace of Ryswick, pregnant as it was with the seeds of future wars, and negotiated in the most unconstitutional manner. The latter years of the War of the Succession, under Queen Anne, manifested that the oligarchy were the real pilots at the helm, guiding the vessel upon principles of party, rather than any broad basis of patriotism, or the general welfare of Europe. The negotiations and treaties of Utrecht, Aix-la-Chapelle, and Paris, just demonstrate, that where the people are not permitted fairly to govern themselves, favorite and exclusive objects are sure to be attended to, rather than those grand elements of prosperity, in which the interests of millions live and move and have their being. Thus commercial advantages, upon a system of free-trade, were invariably sacrificed to colonial policy, with all its monopolies: the latter being important in the way of patronage to the nobles, and the former only in the way of industry to the nation. Through the workings of this mischievous system it was, that we plunged into the vast continental Maelstrom of 1793. The son of Lord Chatham is said to have been essentially a pacific minister, had he been left to follow his own designs: when in an evil hour, scared by the atheism and insanity of France, he threw himself into the vortex of this govern-

ing aristocracy, which had already begun to perceive, that by no other procedure, than opposing liberal opinions both in England and throughout Europe, could its members hope to preserve their immunities and usurpation entire. Nor were the features of the subsequent Peninsular contest different. Its gallant and eloquent historian has shown that the 'occult source of its difficulties was to be found in the inconsistent attempts of the cabinet to uphold in Spain national independence, with internal slavery, against foreign aggression with an ameliorated government. The clergy, who led the mass of the people, clung to the English, because they supported *aristocracy and church-domination*.' Not to protract these remarks, it may be simply asked, whether the entire diplomacy of this country has not received its life, and shape, and language, from the oligarchy, as opposed to the people. Have not the laurels even of the proudest military triumphs proved barren of every thing but leaves? And must it not continue to be so, until common sense shall have driven high-birth from its prescriptive position, with regard to our foreign relations? The trophies of the field have withered in the artificial air of courts and cabinets, where nobles without knowledge, or their connexions without brains, have bartered away both 'the solid pudding and the empty praise,' for a smile,—a bow,—or a snuff-box! Let but American diplomacy be set by the side of our own,—and its superior efficiency, to say nothing of its cheapness, will be apparent in a moment. Would the former have permitted such results, as those of the continental congresses, to have sprung from the victories of Salamanca, Vittoria, and Waterloo? Would it have subjected, and re-subjected Spain to the vile yoke of Ferdinand the Seventh, and the Inquisition? Would it have transferred Genoa to Sardinia,—Norway to Sweden,—or Belgium to Holland; as though republics and kingdoms were so many conquered estates, or patrician patrimonies? Would it have insulted France, chained Germany, planted the Austrian vulture in the vitals of Italy, mismanaged Portugal, winked at the partition and depopulation of Poland, or strengthened the autocratic monarchies? The fact of the matter, then, we repeat it, comes to this,—that from the Revolution to the Reform Bill, whether we look without or within, there passed away a period of 140 years, during which, although Judge Blackstone discoursed upon our constitution, as the perfection of politics, there was no such 'admirably tempered equipoise between one branch of the legislature and the rest,' as he described; the destinies of Great Britain and Ireland being virtually under the feet of an aristocracy, to whom may be attributed nearly all our wars, half our national debt, with the additional blessings of religious establishments and the corn laws.

The finger of death, in closing the reign of George the Fourth,

opened up an entirely new chapter in our history. There then commenced another period of transition, analogous to that lasting from the Long Parliament to the Revolution. Without running the parallel needlessly on all fours, we can scarcely avoid perceiving, that something like a metempsychosis of parties has occurred, from the time when cavaliers, republicans, and constitutionalists, struggled together for the mastery, to our own days. Not that their names or objects are literally, and in detail, always the same. Those, who resisted the abolition of close boroughs, and who would now bring us back to the domination of the eighteenth century, we call the Conservatives; or rather, they themselves have assumed that appellation, as an *alias*, under which to pass once more in the world for honest men! Those, who would overthrow by the roots all existing institutions,—who would dissolve the frame-work of society, that out of its chaos they may evoke some fanciful theory of their own, or by hook or crook be gainers in the universal scramble,—those we designate as Revolutionists. But such as would steer between both extremes,—who wish only to unfeudalize our system,—who would abolish nothing but nuisances,—who would repair and improve, that they may consolidate and preserve,—who are cordially attached to the monarchy as an hereditary executive,—to a real but generous responsibility amongst all the possessors of power,—to the household suffrage, vote by ballot, and triennial parliaments,—to the separation of the church from the state,—who would found the social pyramid upon the diffusion of knowledge, the education of all classes upon religious yet not exclusive principles,—these we consider the genuine, trustworthy Reformers. Their object is to render our constitution *de facto*, what it has always professed to be *de jure*,—a limited monarchy, holding or wielding the prerogatives committed to its charge, as a royal trusteeship derived from the people, accountable to their representatives, and governing for the benefit of every man, woman, and child in the realm. They know, or ought to know full well, that through the blessing of Him alone, who is the Eternal Potentate, can they ever hope to succeed in their purpose. They have with them the bulk of the middle classes in these countries. General intelligence, being essentially progressive, is a circumstance in their favor. It may fluctuate, like the swell and recoil of a wave; but there is a tide flowing, which will care for neither Canute nor Xerxes. Let any man compare the last week of years, with the most brilliant and hopeful amongst former ones, and he will rest satisfied, that the waters are rising. It is not a little remarkable that Toryism itself has almost ceased to exist *eo nomine*. It has adopted a fresh title; makes upon the hustings at all events, very different pretensions from those of days gone by; its earlier speeches after public dinners overflow with outrageous liberalism;

nor is it until men have well drunk, that they bring out that which is worse ! The solitary apprehension with some persons is, lest liberals should be lulled by all this into those fits of apathy which, from having been merely periodical for some generations, may possibly produce permanent paralysis, through the advantage taken of them by the adversary. We entertain no such fears ; but, feeling that we have fairly entered upon what we have already described as a second period of transition, we are anxious that it should yield as fruitful a harvest of advantages, and produce as small an amount of misery as possible. And light, we think, will be thrown upon the subject, by comparing our current circumstances with those which existed at the commencement of the former transitionary period.

The two eras may be contrasted and examined, as to the particulars in which they differ, and those in which they agree. It will be better to enumerate the former first. We say then, that these terms of transition, beginning respectively in the years 1640 and 1830, will be found to differ only in the following particulars. 1. The struggle of 1640 originated from the usurpations of another branch of the legislature than that which is at present opposed to the people. 2. The conflict occurred in times of less wealth,—less liberty,—and less general intelligence, than at present so happily distinguish this favored country. 3. It happened when the rights of conscience were neither understood nor admitted upon either side ; with perhaps the single exception of the Independents. 4. The mere letter of the constitution was more openly violated by Charles Stuart, than by the aristocracy previous to the Reform Bill. 5. There was not in the seventeenth century that salutary horror of violence, and of an appeal to arms, which now providentially pervades almost all classes. 6. The principles of combination for the purposes of passive resistance were not then comprehended, as they are now at Leeds, Birmingham, Manchester, Glasgow, and throughout Ireland,—amongst the trades and working-classes. But in admitting these differences, the two transitionary periods, we think, assimilate in the following more numerous particulars.

1. The people are the aggrieved class ; the aggressor being merely the peerage instead of the crown. If this be doubted,—let the most superficial observer only look upon the signs of the times, as history has evolved them. The spirit of this aggressor meets us in every shape and at every turn,—from the floors and door-posts of the houses in which we lodge, to the food we put into our mouths. It was once sarcastically asked in parliament, under Queen Elizabeth, when a list of monopolies was being read over, ‘Whether bread was not amongst the number?’ What would the interrogator have said, had he lived to see the corn laws imposing a burden of fifteen millions sterling per annum,

on the staff of life in this country,—equivalent to a property-tax of from twelve to fifteen per cent? It may be replied, that the Lower House has never yet voted their abolition, which is true; yet it must be remembered, that the reason is, that the aristocratic poison has never been hitherto fairly extracted from that assembly. It is like a Bungalow in India, with a Cobra Capella living amongst the rats in the roof of it; as a gentleman told us, from Bombay, the other day. Neither the hood nor fangs are ever seen in open light,—yet there the dread reptile dwells and revels notwithstanding. The late member for Bath never uttered a truer thing than when he asserted the House of Commons to be the most aristocratic assembly in the world,—except one! That aristocracy, through the landed interest, first fastened on, and now maintains, the bitter bridle of high rents, made up of high prices, in the jaws of a hungry people. Exorcise the oligarchy from our government, and we will undertake to say, that the corn-laws would not survive another session. Let us only further inquire, what has been, ever since the Revolution, the grand impediment to national improvement, fiscal amelioration, or jurisprudential reform;—and the answer must be invariably one and the same. An expensive loaf,—restricted trade,—taxation upon industry,—as heavy a collar round the neck of the press, as that polyphamous watch-dog will bear,—an extravagant army and navy,—an unfurnished post-office,—a revenue of sixty millions during years of peace, when experience has proved that far less than fifty would suffice for all honest purposes,—an uninvestigated pension-list,—wasteful and unnecessary sinecures,—the lavishing millions after millions upon state churches,—support afforded to the old rottenness of corporations,—oppression of Ireland and the colonies,—in one word, resistance to reform, and aggression upon the middle and lower classes, have been in our view the leading attributes and results of the aristocratic element in our constitution.

2. The aggressor in both cases had been the ruler down to a certain crisis, for a long and about the same term of years; as we have already shown by setting before our readers a sketch, however hasty and imperfect, of British history from Henry the Seventh to Charles the First, and from William and Mary to George the Fourth.

3. The ruler during this term, in each case, maintained his usurpation, by a juggle, or delusion, played off upon the people. All the while that the Tudors were holding these nations like toads under a barrow; whilst the Defender of the Faith was decapitating his unfortunate wives, or changing the religion of his realms, with about as much reason in the matter, as a Russian Czar might exercise towards his Polish subjects;—whilst Mary was burning the Protestants, and Elizabeth incarcerating the Puritans; whilst the first James and Charles were bolstering up a

doomed prerogative,—liberty was in the mouths of all pretended patriots, and blazed in the pages of nearly every writer on government or politics, from Sir Thomas More to Sir Edward Coke and Lord Bacon. Nor was it otherwise, although the oppressor had lost his personal identity, from the battle of the Boyne to Earl Grey's administration. The people were feeling for the key of knowledge, but had yet many years of a severe apprenticeship to serve. William the Third was enabled to recall the Tories to power, and feed them with some of the best honey of the hive. The whole of Sir Robert Walpole's protracted lease of authority was one enormous imposture spread over twenty years. Whilst every young barrister, attorney, and country gentleman, was being taught to believe in the balance and admirable workings of our matchless constitution, Cardinal Fleury had been thus addressed by his minister in London. 'I pension half the British parliament to keep it quiet. But as the money of his majesty is insufficient, those to whom I give none, are all in a clamour. It will be expedient, therefore, for your eminence to remit me three millions of livres to silence these barkers. Gold is a metal, which here corrects all ill-qualities of the blood!' Now it is further notorious, that under the head of Secret-Service, the management of the House of Commons, as it was styled, formed a most important department in the Secretary of State's office. He was only, however, entrusted with it if a commoner; that the consciences of the aristocracy might not be wounded through any interference with the Lower Chamber, contrary to their oaths! The hypocrisy here was hardly a homage to virtue;—so thin was the flimsy veil of their pretence, as to minding appearances; so ready were they to strain at a gnat and swallow a camel! Walpole had always avowed that he knew the price of every man; each member being but a piece in the political game of chess, played between the two parties of the peerage, for their own peculiar profit: whilst all the time, they were throwing dust in the eyes of the nation, lest, light breaking in upon deeds of darkness, their true character should appear. Now what we affirm is, that our pretended liberty, at this time, was a delusion. England was said to be a free country,—and was not so. Her parliament was said to represent the people,—and it did nothing else than represent the aristocracy. What was all this but an extraordinary fraud upon common sense, and common justice? Towards the decline of Sir Robert's influence, the Prince of Wales, as Duke of Cornwall, and the head of a certain section of the Upper House, expended twelve thousand pounds, without scruple, to secure the return for Westminster. Lord Falmouth, at the same dissolution, fought and carried many of the Cornish boroughs against the county through an overwhelming outlay. So again at Derby, in 1748, Lord Chesterfield sent down credit for £10,000

to buy up the suffrages and consciences of the burgesses, as though they had been cattle at a fair. Somewhat later, in the Appleby contest, Lord Thanet and his opponent spent from fifty-five to sixty thousand pounds, in purchasing tenures and votes, and carrying on a petition. The ministers, at the trial, seated their own member, as a matter of course; the right or wrong of the case being about as much considered as the man in the moon. The Dukes of Argyll and Marlborough, with the large majority of their order, always and with success opened their purses wide, to realize Hogarth's pictures of an election, which persons, not well informed on the subject, can scarcely believe to have been any thing more than mere fanciful caricatures. These instances given, are samples only,—taken at random,—specimens of a system, and not individual singularities. Lord Clive tells his friend, in 1767, 'We shall come very strong into parliament this year; *seven* without opposition, and probably one more.' His lordship then enumerates his boroughs exactly as he would his church preferment. Whence did the demand arise for compensation, upon the ground of seats being considered *as vested interests*, in the time of the second William Pitt,—but from the fact of the nominal monarchy being a real oligarchy? Long before his plan for disfranchisement, when the Patriots, as they called themselves, succeeded to office in 1742, nothing less was expected than a complete reform of the constitution. It has been far too sneeringly remarked by Lord John Russell, in one of his publications, that 'the prospect of the sun shining over a new hemisphere hatched a swarm of embryo projects, and theories of amendment:' and he then proceeds to ridicule them. But the truth of the case has altogether escaped him. The middle classes, awaking from their torpor under George the Second, presumed to suppose that words stood for things; that promises made in opposition ought to be redeemed in power; that strokes of eloquence in behalf of liberty should prove something more than a mere prostitution of language,—than a prolongation, by other men, of the same legerdemain, which had so long deceived and gulled the nation. There was not a shadow of unreasonableness in such suppositions and expectations;—nor should their disappointment be thrown in the teeth of honest men, because generations were to pass away under the Pelhams, Graftons, Norths, Pitts, Foxes, Percivals, Liverpools, and Castlereaghs, before any worthy efforts would be made to place affairs upon a right foundation.

4. The crisis came on, both in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, because the juggle or imposture had worn itself out. Time is the great reformer after all; nor can any thing but truth and justice abide the lapse of ages. Hyde, afterwards Lord Clarendon, pleaded the cause of his master Charles I., with consistent

bility; yet the battles of Edgehill, Naseby, and Marston Moor, demonstrated that the mask had fallen;—that royalty, as it then existed, professing to be limited monarchy, whilst its heart was that of utocracy, had been at length seen through, and understood. That fraud had done its work;—and so, if we mistake not, has no other. With the last peace came reflection,—an awkward asting up of accounts,—a tendency to investigate,—to examine the pretensions of parties in the state,—to admire the principle of real responsibility on the part of those entrusted with power,—and to raise the nominally popular branch of the legislature to that proper level, which none can deny that it ought to enjoy. The Manchester Riots, the trial of Queen Caroline, the occupation of Italy by Austria, and Spain by France, the appeals of the press on these and other subjects, deepening in their tone, and daily furnishing food for meditation to an augmented number of readers,—all paved the way for an outcry in favor of freedom. The old motto, *Quos deus vult perdere, prius dementat*, was as usual verified. Wellington and Peel opposed the Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, on the one side; and then yielded on the other, besides granting Catholic Emancipation into the bargain. Yet so astounding appeared their folly, that after such unexpected concessions, county meetings were denounced as farces; Manchester, Leeds, and Birmingham were refused representation; the franchise of convicted boroughs was bartered away to some ducal individual of the aristocracy; and our constitution, with all its gangrenes, being considered perfect, was to be unalterable as the laws of the Medes and Persians. In other words, the right honorable conjurors over-shot their own mark: the middle classes, finding that moderate requests were not listened to, began to buckle on their armour for larger demands; the three days at Paris moreover burst upon the world, and another long chapter of deception and misgovernment at length reached its termination.

5. The period, previous to the time of transition, in each case, involves a gigantic system of oppression and mischief, having its source in usurpation. Amidst the atrocities of the times, it was some small comfort to the sufferers, that their pains and privations came from a quarter, which had no right beyond that of the strongest, to inflict them. Torts and wrongs, upon a national scale, have their sentence of mortality written in their foreheads. By a mighty law of Providence, they bear about with them the seeds of their own destruction. A political faith of this kind upheld many a bold spirit under Elizabeth and James; as it may also have done unknown and obscure thousands and myriads, amongst our operative householders, as that important portion of our community grew slowly out of its gristle under the reigns of the four Georges. Few and cold were the glances, which states-

men condescended to bestow upon them. The age was still a foolish and flagitious one. Its titled and privileged leaders rioted in the fat of the land, and devoured the people, as they would eat bread. Millions of money went forth at their bidding to purchase an enlargement for the electorate of Hanover, to widen the pastures of patronage for an avaricious nobility, to supply the poverty of German princes, to support the imperial pride of Maria Theresa, or prop up the rotten state of Denmark. Was the cradle of liberty, whilst we hugged its theory, rocked on behalf of ourselves, or any single state in Europe; whilst continental sovereigns feasted our ambassadors, took our money, and laughed at us for our folly? Were the parliamentary vote, which supported the closing years of Lord North's administration, the suffrages of a free people, or the decisions of aristocratic nominees, interested personally, as well as through their connexions, in upholding colonial abuses? The single answer, consistent with truth, is now obvious to every man. Nor were either domestic matters, or national morals, different in their principles or results, from the days of Oxford and Bolingbroke, to those of our last coalition ministry. Courtezans, and unmarried females with large fortunes, openly kept young sprigs of the nobility, as in the instance of Miss Edwards and Lord Anne Hamilton. The fashion of ruining honest tradesmen, by not paying them for goods sold and delivered, had received countenance in the highest quarters. Horace Walpole and others bear witness to the frightful number of families reduced to beggary in this way: as well as to the noble extortion and vengeance, unvisited at the time by any public reprobation. A tenant of Lord Euston, for instance, in Northamptonshire, brought him his rent, when his lordship said, it wanted three shillings and sixpence of the full amount. The farmer maintained the contrary, yet rather than offend so great a personage, he finally offered to pay at once the additional demand. But no,—he had touched the pride of a nobleman, who vowed he would write to the Duke of Grafton, his father, and get him dismissed from a little place he held of thirty pounds a year in the post-office. The poor man, having six children, went home under apprehension of this crushing distress, and shot himself. At Oxford, the servant of a college was killed by Lord Abergavenny, and a son of the Duke of Buccleugh, through some tricks they played off upon him, after having thrown the unfortunate fellow into a state of intoxication. A verdict was returned by the coroner and his jury of wilful murder against *persons unknown*; and there the matter dropped! The Sardinian extravagances, excesses, crimes, and suicides, mentioned in the private memoirs and correspondence of those days, it would be tedious to detail. Horace Walpole at length says to a friend, 'I believe I tell you strange rhapsodies,—but you must consider

‘that our follies are not only very extraordinary, but are our business and employment. They enter into our politics, nay, I think *they are our politics*,—and I do not know which are the simplest. They are Tully’s description of poetry; *Hæc studia juvenutem alunt; senectutem oblectant; pernoctant nobiscum, peregrinantur, rusticantur*: so that if you will that I write to you, you must be content with a detail of absurdities. I could tell you of Lord Montfort’s making cricket matches, and fetching up parsons by express, from different parts of England, to play at Richmond Green; of his keeping aides-de-camp to ride to all parts to lay bets for him at horse-races, and of twenty other peculiarities; but I fancy you are tired: in short, you who know me, will comprehend all best when I tell you, that I live in such a scene of folly, as makes even me think myself a creature of common sense.’ That the writer was not in the habit of looking at aristocratic society, through a magnifying medium, may be inferred with safety from such facts as the celebrated affair between Lords Rockingham and Oxford, for £500 to be won by five geese and five turkeys driven from Norwich to London;—from the favorite pig kept in state by the Duchess of Newcastle;—from the gross ignorance in geography of her husband;—from the kissing visit of his grace to the dying Duke of Grafton;—from the solemn reprimand of Lord Robert Bertie for blowing his nose, in relieving guard, under the windows of his Highness of Cumberland;—from the scenes between George the Second and his mistresses;—from Lord Cobham laying a wager that he would publicly spit in the hat of Lord Hervey, and winning it;—from the adjournment of Parliament to go and witness a play acted at Drury Lane, by persons of quality;—or from the interferences of an administration at theatres, to promote the interests of a ballet-dancer!

Yet this unhappily was not all. Folly and cruelty were associated with political corruption,—whilst for so many years, they remained lords of the ascendant. Had nothing else ensued, when the chair of the sovereign was pulled from under him, by titled harlots at a card-table, than an ordinary bump upon the floor, the satirist would only have frowned, denounced, and forgotten it. But it must be remembered that this limbo of sin and vanity rested for its existence upon an aristocracy; upon a privileged order of persons pampered from their cradles, entrusted with usurped power, and re-acting most injuriously both upon those above and below them. By these means were produced important ministerial and social changes. Countesses of Yarmouth and Deloraine had to be fawned upon, and consulted; just as Duchesses of Kendal, or other scarlet ladies were before them. Viscount Folkeston bought his ermine of the first of these worthies at the rate it is said of £12,000 a-yard! In plain language,

she sold him his peerage. The most sober and loyal men might well be calling out for a probing pension and place bill, when base-born, as well as a legitimate nobility swarmed in the palace and acquired parliamentary influence. Not that these evils were by any means confined to left-handed nondescripts. Lord St. John had his situation in the Customs of £1,200 a year purchased for him by his father of a royal concubine, for two lives at £1,000. The sinecures of the Duke of Montague would appear incredible, were they not more than rivalled in the present day. His income, as Master of the Wardrobe, was worth £8,000 per annum; and he had contrived to quarter upon his department of the civil list no less than thirty tailors and arras-workers. Lord Albemarle for a generation had received £15,000 a year from the treasury; and because he after all died poor, having dissipated besides half a million of private property, his widow had £1,200 a year settled upon her! Profligacy spread like a leprosy over all the state. If the democratic principle may be described as having too frequently a devil at its elbow, oligarchy has seven! It is certain from its very origin and circumstances to be spoiled by indulgence,—to be brought up in purple and fine linen,—to believe the many made for the few,—and to act accordingly. Hence tyranny, lechery, and selfishness, are its natural god-father and god-mothers. Let Switzerland, or the United States, or Holland in its best and most palmy prosperity, be summoned to give evidence on this subject; and we will stand or fall by it. Not that we are republicans,—but on the contrary, our attachment to monarchy in Great Britain, where it has entwined itself into the core and character of the people, is warm and cordial. But the follies we have been exposing are those of a kind which, while they pretend to support the throne, in reality undermine it: and we have only to carry forward the series down to our own day, to become sufficiently instructed in the matter. The opponents of the Reform Bill might well kick against the pricks; though it was carried notwithstanding.

6. The first step on the side of justice having been taken, retrogression became more dangerous than advance. When the Long Parliament had once met, and struck down those two grand state criminals, Archbishop Laud and Lord Strafford, there was no stopping without certain destruction to the popular leaders, as well as the dearest rights of their country. Its subsequent step, securing itself from dissolution, was as necessary an act of self-preservation, as turning the bolt upon a laughing hyena in his den. Let us fancy for a moment Pym and his coadjutors falling into the clutches of the mortified monarch; and that monarch is the full exercise of the fancied attribute of the Stuarts, curing them of the King's Evil, through the sharpest of all possible remedies,—the axe of the executioner! Not less essential was

it, in the recent parallel crisis, to wrench the first Reform Bill from the peerage; nor we may add, is it less essential to carry forward the work, and preserve the nation from becoming a Venice, with an hereditary Doge, whose coronation or marriage may furnish occasional pageants, enacted by domineering nobles, for the amusement of subjugated millions. Nothing can be more clear, than that if two persons are travelling on a single horse, one must ride behind: and verily a certain branch of our own legislature enjoyed until 1830 an easy saddle, the comforts of a good-natured soft-pacing palfrey, all imaginable attention on the road, with small necessity for being any thing more than decently civil to the obsequious lacquey on the crupper! The present Chancellor of the Exchequer once said in his place in the House of Commons, if our journals reported him correctly, that the House of Lords, although possessing according to the theory of the constitution a co-ordinate authority, had most surely not a co-equal one. It claims the latter we know,—though with the extraordinary limitation that its members shall exercise it as tribunes of the people! Beyond a doubt, the emperor of all the Russias imagines himself such a tribune, from Warsaw and Cracow to Sebastopol and Circassia. That any nation upon earth can long bear the practical government of two really co-equal powers, was a dream of Montesquieu and his imitators. The world might as well endure a couple of suns, or Asia a dualism of kings, in the ironical proverb attributed to the Macedonian. The majority of our countrymen, whatever may be their other differences, seem at least to have reached this point of agreement; namely, that all irresponsible authority is and must be opposed to the general welfare of mankind. Their selection is to be made, therefore, between these alternatives: either the Reform Bill must be thrown overboard, or its leading principles carried out for the benefit of all classes. To talk of its finality involves a contradiction in terms. To recede now, in the present state of Ireland and our own working-classes, would be to fall back upon convulsion: to advance firmly, ‘staying the plague both ways,’ as Canning once expressed himself, is the sole remaining course, and the only safe one; when the mere pause for breath shall have passed away. As in 1642, so now in 1838, we are ready to rest the arguments for a decided yet moderate movement towards rendering our constitution *in practice*, what it professes to be *in principle*, upon positive necessity in the first place, and positive utility in the second. We are not alluding, in the use of the latter word, to the vagaries of Jeremy Bentham; but to an utility having its basis in religious and moral verities,—including the best interests, whether commercial or intellectual, whether temporal or eternal, of Great Britain and Ireland, with all their

colonies, in all their ramifications through every quarter of the habitable globe.

7. Enormous abuses, remaining unredressed, are likely to continue so, until the various branches of the legislature can be brought into harmony. So said Hampden and his heroes in 1640; and so are myriads saying now. We have admitted that the letter of the constitution was more openly violated by Charles and his predecessors, through their Star Chamber, High Commission Court, Martial law, privy-council warrants, pressing for seamen, quartering soldiers on families, forced loans, purveyance, wardships, embargoes, dispensations, proclamations, arbitrary imprisonments, delays of justice, extension of the libel and treason laws, as well as their perpetual interferences with ecclesiastical matters. Yet it would appear from historical documents, that all the royal exactions of an illegal nature, from 1628 to 1641, did not average more than about £250,000 per annum; nor was the entire revenue of the crown much above three times that sum; never exceeding £800,000 or £900,000 a year. Our system of corn laws, since the peace, has alone plundered the country of three hundred millions sterling; taking the average at £15,000,000 for twenty years,—a lower average than that given by Sir Henry Parnell, or some other well informed economists. This amount of robbery is equivalent to at least one year's income of the whole nation, according to Ricardo's estimate, and is the result only of a single monopoly; not including the pressure of taxes upon industry, the timber duties, the partial valuation of mansions for the house-duty, imposts upon prudence, and the exemption of freehold property from legacy duty;—which last, in the opinion of a very eminent barrister and conveyancer, would yield £2,000,000 per annum to the exchequer, provided the aristocratic immunity were abolished to-morrow! Nor are all the other grievances which flourished before the Long Parliament altogether swept away,—so as to prevent us from recognizing, in many things, the *veteris vestigia flammæ*. Ecclesiastical tribunals, exchequer processes, the game-laws, incarcerations for contempt in the Fleet through the procrastinations of a late keeper of the king's conscience,—the state of our libel-law,—certain powers occasionally assumed by the Privy Council,—and impressment, still call for the pruning-knife of the patriot, as well as the rod of the schoolmaster. When will church-rates be annihilated,—when will the rights of conscience be fully and effectively respected,—when will tradesmen be protected from the dictation of their affluent customers by the ballot,—when will our householders, under the rate of £10, be invested with the elective franchise,—when will local courts be permitted to dispense cheap justice throughout the land? We answer,—so soon, and no

sooner, as our constitution, instead of whispering out of the ground, like a familiar spirit, shall be evoked into vitality and power; so soon, in other words, as the peerage shall cease to place itself, either in will or deed, in a position of antagonism to the people.

8. Both under Charles the First and William the Fourth, our religious establishments ranged themselves on the side of the ruling aggressor. How things went in the former case has been an often told tale, and needs not be repeated: but in our own time, it is impossible to forget, that no less than twenty-one prelates voted against the first Reform Bill; whilst three-fourths, if not a larger proportion of their bench, on all occasions since, have invariably espoused aristocracy as naturally allied to hierarchy: *consanguineus lethi sopor*! Could our courageous forefathers, who formed the congregations of such men as Howe, Owen, Baxter, Flavel, and Manton, now suddenly return amongst us, to hear the Bishop of Exeter in the House of Lords,—or the charges of sundry archdeacons thundering against political Dissenters,—they might well imagine how slightly the ecclesiastical world had changed, since they left it; and that the Church of England continued like that of Rome, infallible, or at least unalterable! When Louis the Eleventh of France had resolved to hang his lying astrologer, the latter always escaped by assuring the credulous monarch, that his own royal existence could by no possibility last longer than that of the student of the stars! Now this is precisely what prelacy in England, and presbytery in Scotland, are always driving into the ears of their conservative supporters. ‘Let the church,’ say they, ‘be but once put on a level with other denominations, and there will be an end immediately to all your power and privileges: separate the crosier from the crown, and we shall all of us,—princes, peers, bishops, and presbyters,—sink into annihilation together!’ Joking apart, however, it cannot be denied, but that the mitre has a large and very intelligible interest in standing by the coronet to the very last gasp;—a much greater interest than the coronet has, in standing by the mitre. Perhaps this may be discovered some day by those whom it more immediately concerns; and as in the seventeenth century, so also in the nineteenth, the right reverend Jonahs may be cast into the waves, to assuage the fury of the hurricane. At all events, they had better commence learning to swim, without either corks or bladders.

9. The principles and objects both of the aggressor and the aggrieved seem in each case fundamentally similar; such modifications of difference as may exist being merely secondary circumstances. Few observations are necessary to show this. Power is an agreeable possession to the fallen heart of man; while at the same time, there providentially subsists in the human breast an

abhorrence of oppression. It even makes a wise man mad. Charles the First found himself the inheritor of a certain prerogative, inflated with preposterous pretensions, yet by no means connected with adequate means for asserting them, or securing their continuance. The aristocracy, on the demise of George the Fourth, felt astounded at the demands of the middle classes, and imagined themselves entitled to much the same consideration, in kind if not in degree, as was formerly expected by the Lord's Anointed. They certainly looked upon their nomination boroughs, as so many vested interests; and to this hour deem themselves very scurvily treated by those, who pronounced their claims altogether unconstitutional. They are in fact straining every nerve to recover the ground they have lost: and being fully aware that they must either govern or be governed, they of course have a very decided preference for the former alternative. The people on the other hand take a totally different view of the subject, and are girding themselves for the contest;—not to appeal to violence, which is too absurd to be thought of,—being at once as wicked, as it would be unnecessary, even if the worst came to the worst. But the parallelism between the two periods, in other respects, remains the same. The holders of usurped authority have been obliged to surrender a part of it, and will shortly have to yield the remainder. Its rightful owners will have learned, we trust, to make a proper use of it, by the time the aggression has fairly reached its termination. It is by careful observation, that history becomes what the ancients described it,—‘Philosophy teaching’ by examples.’

10. Ireland was under Strafford, and has been, since the Union until recently, a sufferer from the grossest misgovernment; and through this circumstance, is likely to prove the *primum mobile* of disturbance. Let any one only compare what is now passing before our eyes, in the sister kingdom, with the evidence afforded by a retrospect of by-gone eras, and the conclusion at which he will arrive is obvious. Our Hibernian population is upwards of eight millions,—a full third of the three kingdoms. From six to seven of these millions are Roman Catholics in the most tremendous state of ignorance, excitement, and organization. Amongst a multitude of other grievances, they press forward the following: municipal reform has been demanded, and again and again either been withheld or rendered nugatory by the House of Lords; their religious establishment does not inculcate either the discipline or doctrines of more than one-tenth of the people; its ample glebes and revenues are not permitted to yield a sixpence for really national purposes; its members glory more boastfully than discreetly of their ascendancy, in the very teeth of those who account them both heretics and oppressors; the whole island sends to the united parliament considerably less than one-sixth of the

lower chamber, and not a twelfth of the upper, including the four prelates; and whilst one person in every four-and-twenty has the electoral franchise in England, only one in every 115 has it in Ireland. It is unnecessary to say more under this head, since the curtain has once more drawn up from the drama of Irish agitation; and its scenes are every day obtruded upon our attention. We are no great admirers of O'Connell; yet we cannot forbear extracting a very few lines from his second letter to his countrymen. He says, 'When Lord John Russell, in his *deliberate* speech 'argued against the ballot,' after his former angry attack upon it, 'I went to my bed in sadness and sorrow; and during a sleepless night,—I may be laughed at for the avowal,—shed many and 'bitter tears. I felt all the mischief, he had thus perpetrated on 'himself, on his colleagues, on the cause of reform in general, 'and on Ireland in particular.' There appear to us a simplicity, a pathos, and a force of truth in this brief statement, which, speaking of style merely, constitute the secret of effective, popular, and heart-stirring eloquence.

11. The last point of parallelism we shall notice, is the religious excitement; which seems one of the most striking features in the former part of that transitional period, during which the *autocratic* principle was tamed, and brought under the yoke of our constitution; as it also does now, when the people are preparing to break in the *aristocratic* branch of the legislature to its legitimate purposes. Through the influences of the Holy Spirit, a revival of fervent piety is illuminating and warming all classes, from the highest to the lowest; with the immense advantages, moreover, in our generation, of an interest being cherished in the spiritual welfare of both Jew and Gentile,—whilst the claims of every man to worship God in his own way are acknowledged by a far larger section of the community than formerly. Meanwhile, as might be expected, the enemy of souls is not idle. The growing flames of genuine religion get occasionally obscured with much smoke of fanaticism. He adapts himself and his devices to the taste of every age,—now transforming himself into an angel of light,—or at another time stalking abroad in what is falsely called the philosophy of reason, to scatter atheism and anarchy amongst the nations. Thank God, the picture delineated by Bunyan yet holds good; and 'there is One with a vessel of oil, 'who maintains the work of his grace; and notwithstanding all 'that the devil can do, the souls of his people prove gracious still.' But what happened, when the zealous preaching of the puritans had sounded their trumpet of alarm through the land, happens also now. The spread of literal millenarianism from Albury to Glasgow,—the vagaries of Irvingism and the Plymouth brethren,—the resurrection of Laudian semi-popery and bigotry at Oxford,—together with the frightful results so recently de-

abhorrence of oppression. It even makes a wise man : Charles the First found himself the inheritor of a certain prerogative, inflated with preposterous pretensions, yet by no means connected with adequate means for asserting them, or securing their continuance. The aristocracy, on the demise of George Fourth, felt astounded at the demands of the middle classes, imagined themselves entitled to much the same consideration kind if not in degree, as was formerly expected by the Anointed. They certainly looked upon their nomination boroughs as so many vested interests; and to this hour deem themselves very scurvily treated by those, who pronounced their claims altogether unconstitutional. They are in fact straining every nerve to recover the ground they have lost: and being fully aware that they must either govern or be governed, they of course have a very decided preference for the former alternative. The people on the other hand take a totally different view of the subject, and are girding themselves for the contest;—not to appeal to violence which is too absurd to be thought of,—being at once as wise as it would be unnecessary, even if the worst came to the worst. But the parallelism between the two periods, in other respects remains the same. The holders of usurped authority have been obliged to surrender a part of it, and will shortly have to surrender the remainder. Its rightful owners will have learned, we trust, to make a proper use of it, by the time the aggression has reached its termination. It is by careful observation, that history becomes what the ancients described it,—‘Philosophy taught by examples.’

10. Ireland was under Strafford, and has been, since the Union until recently, a sufferer from the grossest misgovernment; through this circumstance, is likely to prove the *primum malum* and disturbance. Let any one only compare what is now passing before our eyes, in the sister kingdom, with the evidence afforded by a retrospect of by-gone eras, and the conclusion at which will arrive is obvious. Our Hibernian population is upwards of eight millions,—a full third of the three kingdoms. From seven of these millions are Roman Catholics in the most tremendous state of ignorance, excitement, and *organdy*. Amongst a multitude of other grievances, they press forward the following: municipal reform has been demanded, and again either been withheld or rendered nugatory by the Lords; their religious establishment does not inculcate discipline or doctrines of more than one-tenth of the *pot* ample glebes and revenues are not permitted to yield *any* for really national purposes; its members glory more in than discreetly of their ascendancy, in the *account* them both heretics and oppressors to the united parliament considerably *14*

veloped in the Canterbury Riots,—are all so many ominous signs of the times, manifesting that Romanism, as well as the fifth-monarchy men, may yet again lift up their heads, and that where a vast amount of spiritual excitement prevails, much of it may be expected to ferment for evil,—although more of it for good. Some of the evil now alluded to might be prevented, if pious persons would but oftener engage,—of course we mean in a Christian and proper spirit,—and to a greater extent than they do, in the political world. Nothing can be further from our wishes, than to turn them into politicians *at the expense* of their piety; but we merely desire to have an extinguisher put upon a proverbial description of our senators, that the religious ones are not liberal, nor the liberal sufficiently religious. How absurdly is the text often quoted, ‘Let the potsherds strive with the potsherds;’ as if implying that a spiritual man had no secular duties connected with his country or its government. We must never forget that eternity itself hinges upon time, as regards the future destinies of ourselves and our fellow-creatures. Political liberty, though not in itself a preacher of the Gospel, yet allows that machinery of means to be set in motion, whereby, under the divine blessing, there proceed living waters from the temple of God to fertilize the universal world. We are quite aware of the temptations and dangers peculiar to public life; but all we maintain is, that because these are numerous and manifold, politics are not for that reason to be abandoned to our Joabs, Abimelechs, or Achitophels.

And now perhaps, in conclusion, it will be inquired of us, as to what ought to be done; and our reply is, that by thus carefully comparing our present term of transition, with a former one, we may profit by its experience and avoid its errors. The objects of all honest patriots in both periods were and are the same;—to secure the advantages of good government, and render our constitution in reality what it has for so many ages been by profession. Arms were appealed to in the seventeenth century; let the nineteenth appeal to nothing but justice and argumentation. Retrogression, as we have already said, is out of the question, for it is only another name for violence and revolution: to stand still for any length of time is impossible: in the constitutional movement will safety alone be found. Public opinion, consolidated and respectfully, but firmly expressed, must be brought to bear upon our governors; let them be whosoever they may. As to public character, the present ministers are in the situation of Falstaff’s ragged regiment, with scarcely half a shirt amongst them all. Their supporters, therefore, must exercise towards them apparent severity, but real mercy; and compel them to provide against the future at least some decent garments to clothe and hide their nakedness. We entertain slight fears, that their antagonists, who

are now turning upon them, with some reason, 'the slow pointing finger of shame,' will be ever able permanently to rule these kingdoms, in the current state of Ireland. They may, by some conceivable intrigue, effect a temporary entrance upon office, by the door: but the people will sooner or later effect their final exit through the window! Meanwhile, the Lords, in their house, may be taught wisdom, through a timely perception of their interests, and that love of self-preservation which is inherent in all living animals; or if otherwise, they must be instructed, as Gideon taught the men of Succoth, with the thorns and briars of the wilderness. Men, like Lord Melbourne, are clearly made of squeezable materials. These are the words of a well-known member of the House of Commons, and are true words. The appropriation-principle, which seated them in power, has just been squeezed out of their pretended settlement of Irish tithes; so that the entire question respecting them may always turn upon the mere force of the screw; except that should they be really torn from their places, like Theseus and Peirithous, they will leave their skins behind them! But even now what O'Connell says is probable, that 'if they would but popularize themselves, if they would adopt the ballot, and announce it for next Session as a ministerial measure, grounding it upon the evidence recently adduced before election-committees, such as the fact of £50,000 having been spent in sheer bribery at Norwich alone; they might almost win back the favorable opinion of three kingdoms.' Their cry however would be, 'How are we to deal with the peers?' Yet as extraordinary occasions require extraordinary measures, can we do better than our forefathers did, soon after the Revolution? In 1692 and 1699, the Commons carried their point by tacking their measures to a money-bill; which left their lordships of the Upper Chamber no other course to pursue, than to growl, submit, and give way. Let the pressure from without therefore compel the House of Commons to pass a Bill for the Ballot, *tacked* to the Supplies,—or an Irish Municipal and Parliamentary Reform Bill, *tacked* to the Mutiny Act; and this would not only bring the Upper House to its senses, but probably lead to, whilst it would thoroughly justify, a large creation of fresh coronets to stave off a positive collision between the lords and commons. No senatorial body has undergone greater or more frequent modifications. At the Reformation, about thirty-six spiritual peerages were extinguished; an enormous extent of change, when the proportion is considered, which the number of mitred abbots bore to their lay-associates,—of whom Henry the Eighth never summoned more than fifty-one! Towards the close of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the writ of summons by a constitution of law was held to convey an inheritable earldom or barony; having in earlier ages given but a right of sitting in the parliament, for

which it was issued. Ld. Sunderland's famous Peerage-Bill, under George the First, altogether altering their circumstances, limiting their number, and depriving the crown of its prerogative with regard to fresh nominations, was proposed and carried in their own house. The Acts of Union with Scotland and Ireland added new varieties. There are now forty-four elective temporal peers, and thirty ecclesiastical ones,—some chosen for life, some for a parliament, some for a single Session;—a strange compound surely of heterogeneous contrarieties. Their preposterous practice of suffrage by proxy has also been altered; and more than one motion made within our own recollection for its abolition. No peer can now hold more than two in his own person; but formerly ten and even thirteen were accumulated in the hands of a minister, or his subordinate, though noble assistant.

In fact, we doubt whether the first whirlwind of popular indignation will not carry away the principles of hereditary legislation, exclusive privileges, and the rights of primogeniture altogether. They form the sources of nourishment to that system of caste, against which an increasing school of very honest men protest altogether. The Edinburgh Review has openly, and with much ability proposed a free conference between the two Houses, when they differ; in which a majority of the collective votes is to settle the question. If we mistake not, the present Lord Chancellor had, or has a plan of Peerage Reform, which involved something tantamount to a very large creation, as well as an extensive issue of writs to the heirs of baronies. We mention these things to show that the greatest men of the day are turning over the subject in their minds; foreseeing the danger, and meditating remedies. As matters are at present, we have the elements of progression and retardation,—of vitality and death,—chained together, like the living and dead criminals of Mezentius:

*Mortua quin etiam jungebat corpora vivis,
Complexu in misero, longa sic morte necabat.*

No purple procession of thought, or of action, as Milton describes it, can emanate from so monstrous a union: and we hesitate not to affirm, that should no organic change or concession, whether voluntary or coerced occur, political disease will achieve the business for us, and reduce the component portions of our society to one sad suitability for the charnel-house!

We had written thus far, when the work, at the head of our Article, was transmitted us by its highly respectable Publishers. We have merely room to say, that the Author of 'Political Discourses' appears to us a truly sensible and gifted person. We differ from very many of his conclusions, whilst we wish to do

full justice to his integrity of intention, as well as, the general ability displayed in his work. It consists of Five Essays on Government, Civil Liberty, Secret Suffrage, Equality, and on the Central and Local Systems. We lament sincerely that he is no friend to the Ballot;—so convinced are we that this mode of voting must shortly prevail, and that it will be conducive to the best interests of our common country. With an earnest desire to avoid dogmatism upon the subject, we nevertheless conceive that there are always certain touchstones of political soundness, in every age;—and that a cordial attachment to what Cicero has termed ‘the silent witness for Liberty,’ constitutes one of these, in the present day. The memory of a well-known member for London, as being linked to this mighty question, will pass down to the latest posterity, not because his descent is said to be from Grotius,—but rather because, by his energy and perseverance, he will before long have succeeded in sheltering the consciences of voters under the constitutional shield of—THE BALLOT!

- Art. IX. 1. *The Keepsake for 1839*. Edited by FREDERIC MANSSEL REYNOLDS. London: Longman and Co.
2. *Heath's Picturesque Annual for 1839. Versailles*. By LEITCH RITCHIE, Esq. With Twenty highly-finished Engravings. London: Longman and Co.
3. *Heath's Book of Beauty, 1839*. With beautifully-finished Engravings from Drawings by the first Artists. Edited by the COUNTESS OF BLESSINGTON. London: Longman and Co.
4. *Gems of Beauty*. Displayed in a Series of Twelve highly-finished Engravings of Spanish subjects, from Designs by the first Artists. With Fanciful Illustrations in Verse by the COUNTESS OF BLESSINGTON. London: Longman and Co.
5. *Portraits of the Children of the Nobility*. A Series of highly-finished Engravings, executed under the superintendence of Mr. CHARLES HEATH. From Drawings by ALFRED E. CHALON, Esq., R.A., EDWIN LANDSEER, Esq., R.A., and other eminent Artists. With Illustrations in Verse by distinguished contributors. Edited by Mrs. FAIRLIE. Second Series. London: Longman and Co.

WE critics are proverbially an unamiable and fault-finding race. Such is our general reputation, and it is vain that we utter a plea of ‘not guilty.’ Disappointed authors whose productions we are compelled to censure, and light and trifling readers whose taste we seek to correct, and for whom we endeavour to provide more healthful nutriment than they seek for them-

selves, swell the all but universal cry against us. So general is the complaint, that we have occasionally been visited with sad misgivings, and have been ready to ask ourselves whether there is not some foundation for it—whether we have not, in fact, been guilty of an abuse of our high powers, and thus forfeited all right to the confidence we claim. The truth probably lies midway—the most easy and therefore the most common explanation of such matters—between the critics and the public. Both are in fault, the one by permitting their critical decisions to be influenced by motives apart from their literary province, the other by the indulgence of a morbid appetite for what yields only a momentary gratification, while it endangers a permanent injury to the intellectual and moral constitution. For ourselves, we are of course exempted from the common frailties of our brethren. We never permit our judgment to be influenced by matters apart from the subject in hand. If grave as judges, we are also equally upright, and in the exuberant kindness of our heart would rather that a dozen criminals should escape, than that one innocent man should be condemned. But to be serious; we are not conscious of any unkind feeling, nor have we to accuse ourselves of any wilful departure from the truth. We have no insults to resent, no injuries to retaliate, and no stern masters to please. We are always desirous of retaining the good opinion of the Authors whose volumes we review, as well as of the public for whose amusement and instruction we provide. The beautiful volumes now lying on our table are not eyed with a keener relish by the thousands whom they serve to amuse than by ourselves. The youngest and most ardent of their admirers, would seldom be displeased with the expression of our countenance as we turn over their pages, and gaze with a feeling like their own on the varied forms of beauty which they disclose. It is true that we should be glad to see them somewhat different from what they are, but they are the creations of the public taste, and will retain their present stamp—whatever critics say—till that taste becomes more correct and healthful. They must for the most part, and with a few honorable exceptions, be regarded as works of art, and not of literature. In the former character they are entitled to high praise; in the latter—with the exceptions already alluded to—they do not deserve much.

The first volume in our list came to hand just as the last number of our Journal was going to press, and we were, therefore, able to do little more than announce the fact of its publication. The *Keepsake* is not one of our leading favorites. It is got up with great elegance; and its Engravings, which are mostly of fancy scenes, are executed with skill and effect; but its long list of titled contributors is a poor compensation for other qualities by which it had better be distinguished. Noblemen may be very

useful in their place, but it is seldom that they shine in the character here assumed. The Marquis of Granby, Lord Maidstone, Lord John Manners, the Hon. Edmund Phipps, and Lord Jocelyn, if judged by their poetic contributions to the present volume, have never been largely indulged with the inspiration of Parnassus. The prose contributions contain several pieces of considerable skill. We have been most pleased with Euphrosia's 'a Tale of Greece,' by Mrs. Shelley; 'Some Passages in the History of an Old Foretop Gallant Yard,' by Lord Nugent, and 'Mary of Mantua,' by Mr. James. We can make room only for the following stanzas by Mrs. Abdy:

THE RIVER.

'River, fair river, brightly wandering
Through mossy banks with smiling blossoms dressed;
Sweet birds to thee a tuneful carol sing;
And if rude winds awhile disturb thy rest,
And bid thy angry waters foam and rise,
Shortly the calm of blue and sunny skies,
Soothes them again—Oh! would a lot were mine,
River, in placid peace resembling thine!

'I would in calm retirement meekly live,
And woo to cheer my solitary hours;
Such joys as Nature's lavish hand can give,
The song of birds, the bloom of early flowers;
And should stern passion with restless force,
E'en turn my spirit from its tranquil course,
His voice I trust would check the threatening ill,
Who said unto the billows—'Peace, be still.'

'River, fair river, on the banks to-day,
I marked a blithe procession gaily pass;
Their mirthful looks, their festival array—
All were depicted in thy crystal glass;
And thus, within my chosen dwelling-place,
I would not shun communion with my race;
But ever should their social greetings be
Met with kind answering readiness by me.

'River, fair river, when the throng went by,
Thou did'st reflect their pageantry no more,
But the bright glories of the azure sky
Smiled in thy gliding waters as before;
Thus would I share the gladness of the gay—
Soon should the light impression wear away,
And to my faithful heart alone be given,
The cherished image of a distant heaven.

The Picturesque Annual, appears again this year under the editorship of Mr. Leitch Ritchie, and its title-page announces,

is devoted to Versailles, the palace, and 'monumental poem' of the French monarchy. This is not according to the intimation given in the volume of last year, but we presume that the recent appearance of Mr. Roscoe's 'South Wales, including the River Wye,' has induced a departure from the intention then announced. Mr. Ritchie has been content on the present occasion to perform the part of a translator, it having been thought, as he informs us, 'that the history of Versailles could be best written, 'because best felt, by a Frenchman.' The translation, however, is avowedly of a very free character, and the whole responsibility of that part of the volume which relates to the present state of the palace, rests on the Editor. The history of Versailles is an epitome of the modern history of the French monarchy. It discloses a series of events and characters, in which the gaiety and brilliance of our Gallic neighbours is shaded by unblushing profligacy and heartlessness. It is a melancholy and disgraceful tale which this volume tells, and we regret on this account that the authorship was not retained by Mr. Ritchie in his own hands. There would have been in such case, a clearer and more useful moral deduced from the narrative, than is at present apparent. As an illustration of the manners of the French court, more particularly from the time of Louis the Fourteenth, it is not without interest; but we more than question the propriety of placing such details in the hands of the junior members of our families. The atrocities of the Revolution are no marvel to those who are acquainted with the discipline through which the nation had passed, and that discipline is better understood from works which paint the living manners, and disclose the practice of social life, than from the more formal productions of the historian. Such to a great extent is the volume before us, from which we part with a fervent hope that its disclosures may be a warning to our court and nobility. The Engravings, which are twenty in number, are not confined to the architecture of Versailles or to the scenery surrounding it, but include portraits of the most successful competitors for infamous fame in the French court, as well as of scenes of historical interest.

The Book of Beauty, is of a totally different character. It includes twelve portraits of distinguished ladies, at the head of whom is placed the Duchess of Sutherland. We should be sorry to be deemed ungallant, yet we are free to declare that the title of some of these ladies, to appear in *The Book of Beauty*, is rather questionable. We should not have much difficulty in selecting from a somewhat lower circle, an equal number whose claim to such distinction would be far less doubtful. But we must leave the Artist to his own selection, and proceed with our critique. The Engravings are happily successful in retaining

the distinctive features of each portrait, so as to present the points of countenance and figure which give them character and individuality. The literary contents of the volume, consisting of poetry and prose, are supplied by various contributors, among whom are Lord Abinger, Sir Lytton Bulwer, Mr. Landor, and several other distinguished names in literature. The following verses, by Miss Camilla Toulmin, will find their way to every susceptible heart by their beautiful simplicity and truth.

‘THE BLIND GIRL’S LAMENT.

‘It is not that I cannot see
The flowers and birds of Spring,
’Tis not that beauty seems to me
A dreamy unknown thing;
It is not that I cannot mark
The blue and sparkling sky,
Nor ocean’s foam, nor mountain’s peak,
That e’er I weep or sigh.
‘They tell me that the birds, whose notes
Fall rich, and sweet, and full,—
That these I listen to and love,
Are not all beautiful!
They tell me that the gayest flowers
Which sunshine ever brings,
Are not the ones I know so well,
But strange and scentless things!
‘My little brother leads me forth
To where the violets grow;
His gentle, light, yet careful step,
And tiny hand I know.
My mother’s voice is soft and sweet,
Like music on my ear;
The very atmosphere seems love
When these to me are near.
‘My father twines his arms around
And draws me to his breast,
To kiss the poor, blind, helpless girl,
He says he loves the best.
’Tis then I ponder unknown things,
It may be,—weep or sigh,
And think how glorious it must be
To meet Affection’s eye!’—p. 208.

Gems of Beauty, constitutes a splendid volume, which must be seen in order to be duly appreciated. The engravings last year were illustrative of the passions; this year, the costume and olive complexion of the beauties of Spain are employed by the artist for the accomplishment of his design. The plates are finished in the highest style. The power of expression which they

display is generally admirable, and in perfect keeping with the subject. We are not quite sure that this is the case with 'the Dejected.' The expression in this case is rather that of calmness or placidity, a state of unmoved rather than sombre emotion. The Masquerade, the Bull Fight, the Parting, and the Duenna, appear to us equally felicitous in their conception and execution. They distinctly embody the passions designed, and need no index or interpreter. The illustrative verses by the Countess of Blessington, are most happily appropriate, and are characterised by the elegance and tenderness which so eminently distinguish her poetic effusions. We quote the following, in preference to some other and more striking verses,—from its brevity better suiting our limits.

‘THE GUITAR.

‘Sing me that air he used to love so well ;
 But, softly, sister,—let its tunes come stealing,
 That echo wake not—gently weave the spell,
 To mournful memories of the past appealing.
 ‘Nay, that’s too lively—sing in sadder strain,
 Like the lone bird, that ’neath night’s planet holy
 (Methinks there’s human passion in her pain)
 Pours forth her soul in richest melancholy.
 ‘Oh ! didst thou love—and he was far away—
 Thy heart’s one thought, one life, one hope, one sorrow—
 Thy voice had sweeter been, but far less gay,
 For music pensive tones from love doth borrow.’

The Children of the Nobility, is got up in the same superior style as the preceding, and cannot fail to be a great favorite wherever it is known. The sweetly smiling and innocent groups which it introduces to our acquaintance give it a charm to our hearts—for we too are parents—which no subject could surpass. We love to gaze on the finished beauty of the female face and form,—the mingled grace, and tenderness, and purity which the truly feminine countenance displays; but there is a charm, an indescribable loveliness in infancy and childhood which nothing else on earth possesses. We have no sympathy with the man—be he critic or what else—who can look through such a volume as this without having his heart deeply interested. We would not for the world be desitute of the feelings which its engravings have awakened. But independently of the general subject, there is a real interest in the character of several of the portraits given. Some of them are eminently beautiful. It would be invidious to specify cases, and we must, therefore confine ourselves to this general statement. The following lines attached to a portrait of the son and daughter of the Earl of Durham, are not chargeable with exaggeration or flattery.

‘ My generous boy : I trace, e’en now,
 A character on thy young brow,
 That tells me thou wilt yet aspire
 To tread the footsteps of thy sire ;
 And serve thy country, for its weal,
 With patriotic love and zeal.
 And thou, fair girl ! with rosy cheek,
 Where blushes eloquently speak
 The purity and artless grace
 Hereditary in thy race ;
 No greater boon I wish to thee,
 Than thou mayst like thy mother be.
 ‘ So young—how strange your lot should be
 So oft to cross the stormy sea ;
 The partners of a father’s toil,
 Fair exiles from your native soil ;
 Watched over by a mother’s love,
 As o’er her young bends brooding dove.
 Ye were but fragile flowers to brave
 Each frigid clime and booming wave ;
 Leaving your stately home behind,
 For cradles rock’d by each rude wind ;
 Learning, whilst yet in infancy,
 England ! what men resign for thee.’

Brief Notices.

1. *A Hebrew and English Lexicon, containing all the words of the Old Testament, with the Chaldee words in Daniel, Ezra, and the Targums ; and also the Talmudical and Rabbinical Words derived from them.* By Selig Newman. London : Wertheim. 8vo.
2. *An English and Hebrew Lexicon ; composed after Johnson’s Dictionary, containing fifteen thousand English Words rendered into Biblical or Rabbinical Hebrew, or into Chaldee. To which is annexed, a list of English and Hebrew Words, the expression and meanings of which appear to be the same in both Languages.* By Selig Newman. London : Wertheim. 8vo.

In an age in which happily there is an increasing spirit of devotion to the study of biblical literature, it is pleasing to find a corresponding degree of readiness to meet the demands of the student by furnishing him with those facilities which may render his progress at once agreeable and certain. It is within our memory when Buxtorf, Parkhurst, and Pike were almost the only Hebrew lexicons in use in this country : with what effect the state of biblical science during that period abundantly testifies. Subsequently Eichorn’s *Simonis* was known to a few ; but it was not till Gesenius was translated into our language on the other side of the Atlantic, that it was discovered that a very different method of Hebrew study must be pursued, if any thing like a profound, satisfactory, and consistent acquaintance with the Old Testa-

ment original was to be acquired. Bating the neological views which too frequently disfigure the pages of that author, the perfection which characterises them might appear to render any other labor of the kind altogether superfluous. Since, however, no two minds contemplate the same object in all respects alike, it is interesting and instructive to compare with the results which he has brought out, others proceeding from a totally different school, such as that from which the works have emanated which appear at the head of this article.

The author is a Jew, who evidently possesses a very deep insight into the genius of the language vernacular to his ancestors, and still held in veneration among his people, as that in which are written the inspired volume of their religious faith. He also appears candidly to have availed himself of the light thrown upon words and passages by Christian authors who have labored in the same department; and to have executed his task in every point of view in a very creditable manner. The principal value, however, of his Hebrew Lexicon, the property which distinguishes it from all others, is its exhibition of the words found in the Targums, the Talmudical, and Rabbinical writings. If it contained nothing more, it would, on this account alone, be worth more than double the cost to those who wish to look into such Jewish works as have been composed since the completion of the Old Testament canon.

The English Hebrew Dictionary will be found extremely useful in the preparation of Hebrew exercises, especially to any who may be desirous of translating any English books, tracts, &c., into Hebrew, with a view to effect the conversion of the Jews.

Observations on the Oriental Plague, and on Quarantines, as a means of arresting its Progress. Addressed to the British Association of Science, assembled at Newcastle, in August, 1838. By John Bowring. Edinburgh: William Tait.

An able pamphlet, which, to say the least, makes out a strong case against the contagious character of one of the most fearful scourges that has ever visited the human race. The details which are given by Dr. Bowring, together with the reasonings founded on them, go far to demonstrate that the primary cases of plague are indigenous and not imported, that the progress of the malady is not to be traced from one diseased person to another, and that the establishment of quarantine regulations has no tendency to prevent its introduction or spread. We are glad to find that the medical section of the British Association adopted a resolution, at their recent meeting, recommending an application to government for the appointment of a commission to investigate the subject. The course of such inquiries, should they be instituted, will be greatly aided by our author's labors, who has entitled himself to the thanks of the whole British community, by the pains he has taken in the collection and arrangement of facts bearing on the question.

Christian Beneficence contrasted with Covetousness. By T. Dick, LL.D. Second edition. London: Ward and Co. 12mo. 1838.

Strictly speaking, this is not so much a dissertation upon the principles referred to in the above title as an illustration of them: since in the author's usual style it is chiefly characterised by a mass of facts

bearing upon the subject. But 'facts, we are told, speak louder than words;' we hope, therefore, that what has not already been effected by sober argument and solemn appeals, will result in this case from what may be regarded as a volume of practical evidence, in which the working of these antagonist principles is fairly set forth. Several thousand copies of the first edition have already been disposed of, and we are told that the greater part of the profits of this edition will be applied to objects connected with philanthropy and religion.

Illustrations of the Bible from the Monuments of Egypt. By W. C. Taylor, LL.D. London: Charles Tilt.

The researches which have been instituted by modern science into the antiquities of Egypt, have brought to light several important confirmations of the veracity of the Old Testament history, which it is the design of the present small volume to place within the reach of readers generally. This object it happily effects, in a manner which entitles Dr. Taylor to our warmest thanks. A better service could not be rendered than that which he has accomplished. The coincidences pointed out are incidental, and therefore the more conclusive. They furnish interesting elucidations of the state of society in the patriarchal ages, and, which is of infinitely greater importance, they tend, as our author remarks, 'to confirm the historical accuracy of the Pentateuch, and the truth of many prophetic denunciations.' We recommend our readers, whether old or young, to give to the volume an early and attentive perusal.

Sketches of Judaism and the Jews. By the Rev. Alexander M'Caul, D.D., of Trinity College, Dublin. London: Wertheim. 12mo.

In this interesting little work, the reader is furnished with an accurate, but most affecting exhibition of Judaism *as it is*. It contains a minute account of the intellectual state of the Rabbinical Jews, especially those resident in Poland, where the respected author had, from an intercourse of several years with them, the best opportunities of becoming acquainted with their habits and character of mind. From this it appears that very considerable attention is paid to the education of their children in the principles of the Jewish creed. Almost every boy learns to read and translate the five books of Moses. Many of them make themselves familiar with the Commentaries of Jarchi. A very interesting account is given of the fanatical sect of the Chasidim, the founder of which, Rabbi Israel *Baal Shem* (i. e. possessor of the name), pretended to have acquired the mysterious name of God, by which he was enabled to work miracles and to attain to the knowledge of all mysteries. The author next treats of Moses Mendelsohn and Jewish Reform. Those who have fully embraced his system are pure rationalists. They have thrown off the old Jewish manners; the old method of education; the language; and their national attachment to Palestine. The exposé which he furnishes of Rabbinism considered as a religious system is truly fearful, and calculated to awaken our tenderest sympathies for a portion of our fellow-creatures who are so awfully oppressed by the burden of human traditions, and so completely deluded by false hopes based upon ceremonial merit. The most affecting

chapter, is that on 'the Social and Religious Condition of the Rabbinic Jews.' Rabbinism, it appears, lays it down as an axiom, that to study the law of God is no part of a woman's duty, and that to teach his daughters the word of God is no part of parental obligation; that a woman is unfit to give legal evidence; it teaches that she is not to be counted part of the congregation; that to be a woman is as great a degradation as to be a heathen or a slave: (hence the prayer: 'Blessed art thou, O Lord our God! King of the universe! who hath not made me a woman'); it allows polygamy, and the greatest facility of divorce.

We sincerely hope, that all who are anxious to promote the conversion of the Jews will peruse this work; and, also, any Christians whose minds have not yet been impressed with a sense of the obligations under which they lie to use means for that end: assured, that it is impossible for them to look at its pages without becoming conscious of feelings very different from those with which they opened it.

A Lecture on the Writings, Prose and Poetic, and the Character, Public and Personal, of John Milton, delivered at several Metropolitan Institutions. By Alfred A. Fry, Esq. 8vo. pp. 56. London: Henry Hooper.

An able and warm-hearted tribute to one of the greatest men whom England has produced. It has long been fashionable to praise the 'Paradise Lost,' without reading it, and to reprobate, on equally absurd grounds, the prose writings of the Author. The indolence of most readers accounts for the former fact, while the strength and virulence of party spirit afford a satisfactory solution of the latter. We are happily fallen on better times, and justice, tardy justice, is in consequence being done to the antagonist of Salmasius, whose indignant and manly eloquence has long been dumb to the great majority of his countrymen. We rejoice in every effort to bring the prose writings of Milton before the public mind; assured that they are pre-eminently adapted to promote the growth of every manly and Christian virtue. There is a breadth and comprehensiveness in their views,—the deep magic of a spirit reaching after illimitable perfection, and seeking to imprint on others its own conceptions of the sublime in morals and in politics. We thank Mr. Fry for his present service, and warmly recommend his pamphlet to our readers.

The Pictorial Edition of Shakspeare. Two Gentlemen of Verona. Part I. London: Charles Knight.

This is the first part of a new edition of Shakspeare, which promises to supersede most of its predecessors. It is not to be a mere reprint of the text, but will seek to realize what Dr. Drake, in his 'Memorials of Shakspeare' represents as eminently desirable. 'It is devoutly to be wished,' says that critic, 'that an edition were undertaken, which, while in the notes it expunged all that was trifling, idly controversial, indecorous, and abusive, should, at the same time, retain every interesting disquisition, though in many instances remodelled, re-written, and condensed; nor fearing to add what further research, under the guidance of good taste, might suggest.' An *Introductory Notice* will be

prefixed to each Play, and a supplementary examination of the various critical opinions entertained will be subjoined. The most eminent artists are to be employed on the wood-cuts, which will illustrate the localities, the architecture, the costume, the natural history, the mythological allusions, and other kindred points, referred to in the text. Should the general plan be fairly realized,—and the part now before us affords good evidence that it will be—the book cannot fail to be a general and great favorite.

NOTE TO THE EDITOR.

We have received the following letter from the Rev. Dr. Vaughan, which we insert most cheerfully, leaving our readers to judge on the points referred to. Our opinion is on record, and the Professor's explanation is now given. Here we leave the matter, assured that whatever difference of phraseology may be advocated, the cause of *perfect religious equality* does not possess in the three kingdoms a firmer or more unflinching advocate than Dr. Vaughan.

DEAR SIR,

I regret, that in consequence of the promptitude with which you prepare yourself for making your monthly appearance in the circle of your readers, it was not practicable for me to offer a few words in explanation on a point or two in the Article upon my work on 'The State of Religious Parties,' which appeared in your preceding number. It is by no means my wish to provoke discussion, or even reply of any kind, but simply to explain what appears liable to misapprehension, and you will perhaps allow me still to trespass thus far on your limits.

1. The clauses marked in italics, in the passage cited in the pages 394 and 395, were not intended to express my own opinion concerning any recent proceedings of Dissenters, but rather to set forth admissions, conceded for the sake of showing that even with such things acknowledged, our opponents are far from being justified in the conduct which they have adopted toward us. What my humble judgment as to some of those proceedings may be, cannot be conveyed here, as it would not be possible to state it in few words so as to preclude misconception. I would only say that, having effected our escape from the tyranny of law in the church, let us beware of setting up the tyranny of opinion among ourselves. The men who, in consequence of endeavouring to free themselves from the blinding influence of partizanship, shall refuse to account our doings as altogether immaculate, may possibly have their place among our best friends.

2. With regard to the redress of our grievances, it is, as I conceive, only a small minority among Dissenters, who have shown themselves prepared to make the degree of effort and sacrifice which that object has demanded. Our acquisitions in this shape are invaluable, and should dispose us to renewed exertions until what remains to be done shall be completed.

3. As to my motive in *Dedicating my Work to the Bishop of London*, it was simply that a fair statement of our case might be laid before him,—and laid before him in such a manner as to make his lordship aware that the religious parties around him were cognizant of

the fact. It was done as an act of courtesy and duty to him, and as an act of justice to my brethren. It involved not the slightest sacrifice of truth or sincerity on my part, but was meant to subserve both. That the Dedication states the average views of Dissenters on the points adverted to, I have no sort of doubt.

4. The great point of perplexity, however, seems to be, that I should appear to admit, that the minority in this country should concede to the majority in their determination to perpetuate the Established Church. Here, I mean precisely what I have said. The question of a Church Establishment is, in my view, a social question, as truly so as any other, and to be determined, accordingly, on the great social principles which regulate the affairs of this world. I believe we are right in regarding all such Establishments as unscriptural; and we do right as we endeavour to convince men of their errors on this subject; but we should not do right to demand that there be no Established Church, except as we get the population, and the real power of the country, to our way of thinking. To require that a minority, and a minority which in this case is such in more respects than one, should be permitted to give law, after this manner, to the majority, is to make use of an argument derived from religion, after a fashion that would be subversive of the very ground-work of society. In human affairs, the majority conscience never does anything without having a minority conscience opposed to it. Take the Reform Bill as an example. And to assume on which side the right is in such cases, is to take for granted what your opponent desires you to prove.

But, though the minority cannot prevent the adoption of principles approved and valued by the majority, it may do much to modify the application of them; and if it should fail altogether in such efforts, and tyranny shall take such a shape, that the evils of submission are felt to be greater than the probable evils of resistance, then the choice of the honest man becomes plain. The work, therefore, as I apprehend, which now devolves upon us as Dissenters, is to make use of our strength so as to restrict the application of the Church Establishment principle to as narrow limits as possible, laboring, in the meantime, to propagate those principles, the tendency of which, as they take a sufficient hold on the community, will be to displace all such Institutions, by methods of diffusing the truth more consonant with the religion of the New Testament. Church Establishments were in perfect keeping with the state of things in the Middle Ages, when men were all agreed in their errors on that point, and in the adoption of one creed and one usage. Every step of the Reformation has been so much of inroad upon them. At present, we are in the stage of toleration only. Equality will come. But this latter vision will tarry, and the wise will wait for it. I see nothing inconsistent with these principles in a passive resistance to Church-rates. Your refusing pay, does not deprive the churchwardens of his power to exact. You merely adopt a strong mode of testifying your sense of the injustice; and there may be occasions to make the bearing of such a testimony wise and virtuous. Such are the opinions I have long held, and avowed, on the question of Church Establishments, and upon which I have uniformly acted.

What I have said above, is in full recollection of what your eloquent reviewer has written as to the State not being the lord of conscience, and of much more to the same effect, which we have all heard from our youth up. Some of my brethren have a method of placing this controversy within a narrower compass than I find to be possible.

I am, dear Sir, yours, &c.,

Notting Hill, Nov. 16, 1836.

ROBERT VAUGHAN.

To the Editor of the Eclectic Review.

Literary Intelligence.

In the Press.

The History of Dissenters during the last Thirty Years, or from 1808, when the History of Dissenters by Bogue and Bennett closed, to the present time. By the Rev. J. Bennett, D.D. 8vo.

The Rev. Thos. Wemyss, Author of 'Biblical Gleanings,' &c., has in the Press a volume entitled, 'Job and his Times,' or a Picture of the Patriarchal Age between Noah and Abraham, and a New Version of that most ancient Poem, accompanied with Notes and Dissertations. The whole adapted to the English Reader.

Pulpit Studies; or Aids to Preaching.

The Domestic Altar; containing Prayers for the Use of Families for a Month; also Occasional Prayers for particular Days throughout the Year. By the Rev. E. Temple, Author of the Christian Daily Treasury. 12mo.

Preparing for Publication, under the auspices of the Directors of the Society, the History of the London Missionary Society, including Biographical Notices of its Founders, an Account of its Origin, Progress, and Results, from its Establishment to the Present Time. By the Rev. William Ellis, Foreign Secretary of the Society.

The Rev. William Steven, M.A., of Rotterdam, and Author of the History of the British Churches in the Netherlands, &c., announces for publication, in one small 8vo. volume, 'An Historical Sketch of the Reformed Church in the Netherlands, from the year 1816 to the present time: embracing a Detailed Account of the Proceedings in the Case of the Separatists from that Establishment, with an Appendix, consisting of Public Documents.'

Mr. Steven has also in the Press, a Third Edition of his Pamphlet, entitled, 'A Brief View of the Dutch Ecclesiastical Establishment.'

A New and Uniform Edition of the Rev. Robert Montgomery's Poetical Works in a cheap form, is announced as about to appear in Glasgow. 'Satan' will form the first Volume, and will be published about Christmas.

Blackstone's Commentaries by Coleridge; a New Edition, with Notes explanatory of all the Changes in the Law, since the last Edition; together with a Life of Blackstone, a Preliminary Essay, and a greatly improved Index. By Samuel Warren, Esq., F.R.S., Barrister-at-Law.

Just Published.

The History of Protestant Nonconformity in England from the Reformation under Henry VIII. By Thomas Price, D.D. Vol. II.

The Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell, and the State of Europe during the early part of the Reign of Louis XIV. Illustrated in a Series of Letters now first published from the Originals. Edited by Robert Vaughan, D.D. With an Introduction on the Character of Cromwell; and of his Times. 2 Vols. 8vo.

A Day in May: a Poem, in Six Books. By Thomas Clarke.

History of Madagascar. Comprising also the Progress of the Christian Mission established in 1818: and an Authentic Account of the recent Martyrdom of Rafaravavy; and of the Persecution of the Native Christians. Compiled chiefly from Original Documents, by the Rev. William Ellis. Two Vols. 8vo.

Lives of Eminent British Statesmen. Vol. VI. By John Forster, Esq. (Lardner's Cyclopaedia, Vol. CVIII.)

Services connected with the opening of the Chapel and the formation of the Baptist Church in Wellington Square, Hastings.

The Limitations of Liberty. By John Edgar, D.D.

Treatises on Physiology and Phrenology; from the Seventh Edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica. By P. M. Roget, M.D. 2 vols.

The Call to Hear the Church Examined. By the Rev. John Ely.

The Poems of Richard Monckton Milnes, Author of 'Memorials of a Tour in Greece.' 2 vols.

My Mother's Stories; or, Traditions and Recollections. By Esther Copley.

Letters and Papers. By the late Theodosia A. Viscountess Powerscourt. Edited by the Rev. Robert Dalby, A.M.

A Critical Grammar of the Hebrew Language. By Isaac Nordheimer, Professor of Arabic, Syriac, &c., in the University of the City of New York. 8vo.

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